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**Government  
Publications**





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## CALENDARS.

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### Instructions to Editors.

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The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent, with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed:—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c., are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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\*.\* Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

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**CALENDAR**  
**OF**  
**S T A T E P A P E R S,**  
**IRELAND,**  
**ELIZABETH,**  
**1599, April—1600, February.**





CALENDAR  
OF THE  
STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO  
IRELAND,  
OF THE REIGN OF  
ELIZABETH,  
[vol. 8]  
1599, April — 1600, February.

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## P R E F A C E .

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THE present volume extends over eleven months, from 1 April, 1599, to 29 February, 1600, a period occupied by the governments of the Earl of Essex and of the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, and terminating with the arrival of Lord Mountjoy, who finally shattered for Queen Elizabeth the old feudalism of Ireland.

At the time of his departure for Ireland, Essex had acquired a brilliant name for soldierly daring, and some repute for military skill. When he returned to England, neither friend nor foe could recognise in him the one quality or the other. On April 4, 1599, Justice Goold, of Munster, writes from Limerick, "We hear every day that your " Lordship is expected at Dublin by every easterly wind. " And it is generally wished and prayed for daily by all " good subjects, not doubting, if your Honour come, your " armies shall be such, as your famous victory in mighty " Spain shall not be subject to receive blemish in miserable " Ireland." On February 15, 1600, when the Munster Council had applied to James FitzThomas of Desmond for the victualling of Castlemaine during the truce, the Bishop of Cork writes that the rebels "resolved with " themselves that, Her Majesty employing hither the greatest " man in England, and he not able to daunt them, but to " do as he did, Her Highness cannot now bring them " under." The hopes of friends, and the boasts of enemies, were alike disappointed.

Any feeling of elation that Essex derived from the enthusiastic send-off given him by the Londoners, was but for a moment. He went forth as the commander of an army of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, with the promise of 2,000 men every three months to fill up vacancies. This was the host that the populace in fancy viewed, as they cheered their favourite. But Essex was able to look behind the scenes. Scarcely was he out of London before he wrote to the Privy Council (p. 1), "I perceive . . . how ill Her Majesty's army is cared for in Ireland, and how miserable I am like to find it." He said he was "going to manage a difficult war, and to govern an undisciplined dissolute army" (p. 4). Before he had left the English coast, he expressed a hope that care would be taken by the Irish Government to "make the army live" till he arrived; "for, if that army, which hath been raised with such charge both to Her Majesty and to her kingdom, should now be almost broken, before it be drawn to service, I know not how they that have the charge of the State there could answer it" (p. 9). As regarded the victualling, Essex considered that, with respect to time, the victuallers "gave another account in England in paper than they delivered in Ireland in specie," and declared he would as soon execute the man that let in famine into the army, as the man that practised with Tyrone. The question of obtaining sufficient treasure for the regular and punctual payment of the army caused considerable anxiety to Essex. Warning had been given by Sir Geoffrey Fenton that there should also be enough money brought over to meet the arrears that were due to the army, the country, and the towns, if their just clamours were to be silenced.

Personally, the new Lord Lieutenant was in no fit mood for entering on his difficult mission. He knew how many enemies he had left behind at the English Court. "If



"I have not inward comfort, and outward demonstration  
"of Her Majesty's favour, I am defeated in England"  
(p. 5). He was in a temper with Elizabeth for not allowing  
Sir Christopher Blount, whom he had appointed Marshal of  
the army in Ireland, to be sworn of the Council in Dublin.  
Such refusal was sending him out "maimed beforehand"  
(p. 1). He was not in good health himself, for he wrote  
from Bromley, "neither can a rheumatic body promise itself  
"that health in a moist, rotten country, nor a sad mind  
"vigour and quietness in a discomfortable voyage." By  
slow stages Essex came to Chester. On April 6, he was on  
board the *Popinjay*, off Hilbree, waiting for a favourable  
wind to reach Dublin. From the ship he wrote to Sir  
Robert Cecil, "I must save myself by protestation that it is  
"not Tyrone and the Irish rebellion that amazeth me, but to  
"see myself sent on such an errand, at such a time, with  
"so little comfort or ability from the Court of England to  
"effect that I go about. But *video, taceo*" (p. 6). On  
Easter Sunday, April 8, having crossed over from Hilbree,  
Essex was at Mostyn, in Flint, where again he was detained  
by contrary winds, and "mists so great, that all the pilots of  
"Christendom could not tell how to carry a ship out of the  
"river." Accordingly, on Monday, he arranged with the  
captains of the pinnaces that they should tide up to  
Beaumaris, where he would meet them. By sunset he was  
at Conway, and, fearing that the pinnaces would be at  
Beaumaris before him, he took post horses, and went over  
the mountains, "the worst way and in the extremest wet  
"that he had endured," and arrived at Beaumaris first.  
Here the wind again detained Essex, and his vexation was  
increased by the receipt of unwelcome despatches from  
Ireland, as to the miserable state of the army there. He  
wrote to the Privy Council that, if the soldiers were not  
supplied with all things necessary, "Her Majesty must make

“account that all these great preparations will vanish into smoke, and the charge thereof be utterly lost” (p. 10). The Council were very cordial in their despatches as to the “worth and power” of Essex, and as to his “exceeding care, travail, and wisdom.” They wished him all honourable success, and assured him that they would take care to see him supplied according to all the resolutions agreed on before his departure. At length, on April 13, after a rough and dangerous passage, the *Popinjay* and the *Charell* arrived before Dublin. The next day, Essex, Sir George Carey, and others, landed. Two rather ominous events occurred that day. There was very nearly a serious collision between the two pinnaces, as they endeavoured to cross the harbour bar. Had they “stemmed” each other, all the treasure brought in them for the army would have been lost. Further, there died in the evening Sir Henry Wallop, the predecessor of Sir George Carey as Treasurer at Wars in Ireland. A few hours after the landing of Essex, the posts were with Tyrone, who at once called a council of his chief confederates. On April 15, Essex received the sword, and requested the Council to inform him truly of the state in which the kingdom then lay.

Their report was by no means encouraging. In Munster, Tyrone was ranging about at his pleasure, and greatly strengthening his combination with the Irish chieftains. In Connaught, Ballymote Castle had been lost, O'Connor Sligo had revolted, and Tibbott Ne Longe, although receiving Her Majesty's pay, had made his peace with McWilliam. In Ulster, Carrickfergus, Newry, and Carlingford were the only towns held for the Queen. In Leinster, the rebels had increased in every county, and numbered over 3,000. From the O'Farrells, in the county of Longford, to the Kavanaghs, in the county of Wexford, all the various septs of the province were “out” against the Government.

Frequent consultations were held by the Irish Council as

to how the army might best be employed against "these over-grown rebellions." Essex proposed that Tyrone should be at once attacked in Ulster. This would have cut at the root of all the treasons in the realm, but the difficulties in the way of carrying out the proposition were felt by the Council to be insurmountable. There was no grass or forage to be had in Ulster for horses, nor would there be till the summer was further advanced. It was considered very dangerous, nay, impossible, to lead a great force "into so remote a province" without a large number of beeves for the sustentation of the soldiers. Nor could the requisite number be levied. Leinster, Munster, and Connaught were in revolt, and the residue of the inhabited parts, both in the Pale and elsewhere, had been impoverished and wasted by the rebels. Further, there were no means of carriage for victuals. Accordingly, Essex gave up his plan, and it was decided, first to prosecute the rebels in Leinster, and then, about July following, when there would be a good opportunity to strike at the cows and destroy the corn in Ulster, to invade that province, and make a thorough attempt upon the Arch-traitor. After dealing with Leinster, Essex intended to pass on to Waterford, where he had appointed Sir Thomas Norreys, the President of Munster, to meet him, that they might confer touching the service in that province. Some companies were sent into Connaught, and others to Carrickfergus, of which place Sir Arthur Chichester was made Governor. Great stress was laid on the recovery of Leinster, where the Queen had had both profit and obedience, "until, by the revolt of the Irishry, she was evicted from the greater part thereof" (p. 18).

Although Essex had scattered abroad sundry copies of a proclamation he had brought from England, and which was intended to draw in many of the revolted, not a single one of the chief leaders had made any show of conformity since



the Earl's arrival. The rebels, he wrote, "breathe out everywhere words full of insolency, promising themselves strength and means to withstand whatever forces either Her Majesty now doth, or the State of England hereafter shall be able to, arm against them" (p. 22). They were in high expectation of succour from Spain and from Scotland. Their forces were divided into two main armies. Tyrone was in Ulster, near Armagh and the Blackwater, with 6,000 or 7,000 men, horse and foot; and O'Donnell, with 4,000 men, was in Connaught, about the Curlews. These two armies had to be duly confronted, and Essex pressed upon the Privy Council the necessity of hurrying over supplies of men, money, and victuals. As early as April 28, we find him reminding the Council of the first batch of 2,000 men, promised by June 1, and asking for a larger reinforcement. With extreme toil he had managed to bring some order out of the confusion in which he found all things on his arrival, and, about the close of April, he said, "If I deceive not myself, I shall try how good fighters these proud talking rebels are within ten days." Not that Essex expected to pacify the country by one brilliant victory, or even by a few. He desired the Privy Council clearly to see "how great and almost desperate the indisposition of Ireland is, and consequently how long and difficult the cure thereof is likely to prove" (p. 21). He dwelt on the humours and affections of the people, describing them as "obstinate, superstitious papists," and stating that they held, "and so ever will, that it stands not for the good of the Irish nation to have an English Sovereign over great, or her authority over absolute" (p. 22). Private respects, and not public duty, guided them in their service. He that would serve as a guide to one rebel, would serve as a spy for another. He that would readily draw blood from one sept, would not act against another. He that would bring 100 horse or 200 or

300 foot into the field, to revenge a private injury, would declare himself utterly unable to bring six men or horse into the field for the Queen's service. Those who were out in rebellion corresponded and leagued with those who pretended to be well-affected subjects. Wherever things were inclining to quietness, there a rabble of "idle and unnecessary men" was sent to keep up disaffection. Essex came to the conclusion, "certainly all of us shall have our hands full" (p. 23).

The Privy Council did not gratify Essex's demands for supplies. They pointed out that he had an army of 16,000 men, and that the 2,000 men extra asked for were not due until the expiry of three months from the 28th of April. Essex might get some volunteers, or some of the English who had been expelled from their habitations by the rebels. To this he replied that his volunteers were men of quality, who would never supply the places of ordinary men. And as for the cowardly forsakers of their dwellings in Munster and Leinster, they were worthless. The Council refused to send all the shipping to transport a force to Lough Foyle, as they considered that Essex had barks enough in Ireland for at least a part of the expedition. When they had heard of his success in Leinster, and how he intended to provide for Lough Foyle, they might then take further action. The only point in which the Council yielded was in moving Elizabeth to send some extra victuals. Essex bewailed his "miserable destiny to be employed at such a "time, and in such a country," where a prosecution could neither be deferred without dishonour and loss, nor undertaken without hazard and charge, nor perfected without time and difficulty.

On Wednesday, May 9, the Lord Lieutenant started, with a force of 3,000 foot and 300 horse, on his journey through Leinster and Munster. Sir Conyers Clifford was appointed



to be in Connaught with 3,000 foot and some horse ; and Sir George Carey wrote that Essex was in good hope to assure those three provinces before the month of May was out. The Privy Council expressed the opinion that " all Europe was in expectation of the success " of his arms (p. 35). On the evening of May 9, Essex was at Naas, five miles from Kilkullen, the place of rendezvous for his troops. Leaving two companies at Naas to guard the one half of the victual and munition for which he wanted carriage, he reached Killrush on the morning of the 11th. At Tallacoury, a short distance from Athy, there was a skirmish with the enemy. Two miles from the former place lay the camp of the Earl of Ormonde. He had a conference with Essex, and the next day joined his forces, 700 foot and 200 horse, to those of the Lord Lieutenant. Ormonde also handed over to Essex the two rebel leaders, Viscount Mountgarrett and Lord Cahir. These made their humble submission, and after due admonitions by Essex, were committed by him to the custody of the Provost-Marshal. The army then marched, and an attack was about to be made on the castle of Athy, when James Fitz Piers delivered it up. Essex put a ward into the castle, repaired the bridge, which had been broken in two places, and committed Fitz Piers to the Provost-Marshal. That night the munitions with the victuals, and the rearguard of the army, were lodged in the abbey of Athy and the houses adjoining to it, the major portion of the army passing over, and encamping on the other side of the Barrow. There they remained on the 13th and 14th of May, whilst the munition and victual, that had been left behind at Naas, were being brought up. On the night of the 14th, victuals for four days were served out to every soldier in the force. From the camp 350 men were sent to Carlow, and 750, under Sir Edward Herbert, were dispatched into Offally. The rest of the victual was left at

Athy, and at Woodstock, and a ward of 100 men was placed in Woodstock Castle, which also had been held by Fitz Piers. On the 15th, the army marched towards Stradbally, through the difficult pass of Blackpool. There the rebels might easily have inflicted heavy loss on the English troops, for they were in position on the pass, and had fortified it ; but their hearts failed them, and they allowed Essex to advance without firing a shot. On the 16th, the Lord Lieutenant directed his army to Ballyknockan, two miles from the fort of Maryborough, in which he himself was to place 200 horse, 500 foot, and 150 garran-loads of victual. On the way, Essex sent 50 horse and 300 foot to a Castle of Terence O'Dempsey. The latter had secured three famous rebel prisoners, one of whom, Captain Nugent, was reckoned amongst the best captains of Tyrone. Essex was offered 2,000*l.*, if he would give the three men their lives ; but he declined, and delivered them to Sir Francis Rush, the Commander of Maryborough fort, to be executed, and their heads set on the gate. Having relieved the fort, Essex rejoined his men at Ballyknockan. On the evening of the 16th and the morning of the 17th, the rebels showed themselves "in great multitudes," and a consultation was held as to whether the army should go the nearest way towards Rosconnell, through a pass called Cashel, or, marching round by the mountain, avoid the pass altogether. It was resolved, "that it was necessary to teach the world that Her Majesty's army could and would in all places make way for itself" (p. 39). The pass was then reconnoitred. It was a quarter of a mile long, wooded on both sides, with a high hill on the one hand, and a large bog on the other. The rebels had made an entrenchment at the furthest end. Having skilfully disposed some of his men at various points of the pass, Essex commenced to move his forces through. When the pass was most crowded with them, the rebels attacked

vigorously from both sides, and also charged the rearguard. The troops, however, repulsed them on all quarters, and the enemy were "glad to trust to their lightness and swiftness." On the side of Essex, two officers and three or four men were slain, and two officers and six or seven men wounded ; the loss of the rebels was far greater. In the evening there was a further skirmish with the rebel cavalry, and slight loss on either side. On the next day, the 18th, the army dislodged from Rosconnell, and marched directly to the pass of Ballyragget, which was found to be well intrenched, and more dangerous than that of Cashel. Singularly enough, the rebels offered no resistance worth speaking of, and the army passed safely through. It was thought that the inaction of the enemy arose from two causes ; first, their losses of the previous day, and, secondly, the fear that the Maryborough garrison might seize the prey of the rebels, which was lying near their fort, whilst an attack in the pass was being delivered. From the pass, the army marched to the Castle of Ballyragget, the chief house of Viscount Mountgarret. The castle was one of great strength, situated in a strait, and formed a bulwark against any incursions into the county of Kilkenny. It was also a key to Queen's County on the one side, as Athy was on the other. Essex put a "sufficient" Captain and 100 men into the castle, and directing the Marshal with the army to a village three miles further on the way towards Clonmell, went himself, accompanied by Ormonde and 100 men, to Kilkenny. Arrived there, he sent to Waterford for the President of Munster, who came and had conference with the two Earls. Sir Thomas Norreys persuaded them to stay for a few days, to "look into his "government," professing his inability, with a small means at his disposal, to cope with the strength and pride of the rebels in the province. Moreover, of the 2,000 foot lately sent for the service of Munster, the Lord Lieutenant had cased no less than seven companies.



Although the passage of Essex through Leinster had been thus easy, he had seen enough of the enemy to show him what their tactics would be in any future operations. "This war," he wrote, "is like to exercise both our faculties that do manage it, and Her Majesty's patience that must maintain it." He affirmed that his men had "neither bodies, spirits, nor practice of arms, like" the enemy. The advantages on the English side were, a superiority in horse; an "order," or method of array, "which these savages have not;" and the marked valour of the "men of quality." To counteract the first of these, the rebels fought in woods and bogs. To meet the second, they used "the advantage of lightness and swiftness in going off." The third was a trouble as well as a help to Essex, for he had to check the impetuous bravery of his noblemen and gentlemen, being unwilling to adventure their lives "against rogues and naked beggars."

On the 23rd of May, Essex returned from Kilkenny to Clonmell. There he made a brief stay to refresh his men after their "foul marches," and also to await the coming of some victual, artillery, and munition, together with eight companies, which he had sent for from Waterford. His purpose was to proceed into the county of Limerick, whither he had ordered Sir Thomas Norreys to draw all his men. Three miles from Clonmell lay all the rebel forces of Munster, under James FitzThomas, Earl of Desmond. They numbered about 4,000, though giving out that they were more, and Essex had only 2,000 foot and 200 horse. However, he expected Norreys, with a reinforcement of 1,000, on the evening of the 24th.

There are in this volume six or eight papers, which have been given somewhat fully in the Carew Calendar, but I have deemed it advisable to print them *in extenso*, not only to complete the narrative, but because the papers in this



series are the original ones, differing in many points from the copies printed by Mr. Brewer and Mr. Bullen. Two portions of Essex's journal (*viz.*, those for 21 May to 12 June and for 22 June to 1 July) are wanting in this volume, but we know from his letters, written, the one from Waterford on June 25, and the other from his camp on July 1, that those portions were sent to the Privy Council. Happily, copies are contained in the Carew Calendar.

Essex went near Darrylare Castle, about two miles from Waterford, to meet the supplies he was waiting for, and, on their arrival, summoned the castle to surrender. The garrison did so, and were pardoned, and a ward was left in their place. On the 25th of May, the vanguard and centre of the army were drawn up on a green about a mile from Waterford, whilst Essex went to the quay of the town to hasten the bringing up of a cannon and a culverin, that he wanted for the impending attack on Cahir Castle. He was obliged, however, to start without them, owing to the weakness of some bridges over which they had to pass. The rearguard was left to bring on the guns. Essex soon approached Cahir Castle, one of the strongest fortresses in Ireland. His prisoner, Lord Cahir, had several times promised to yield the castle, and was sent forward with Sir Henry Davers to parley with the garrison. Davers returned with the assurance that the castle would be obstinately defended, and stated that Cahir himself had been insolently treated. Essex charged Cahir with breach of faith, and declared he would not leave the place until the fortress had been reduced. Cahir offered to parley again, but the negotiation was fruitless. Essex then proceeded to lay siege to the castle, and brought his artillery to bear on it with great effect. The rebel army of about 5,000 was not far off, and managed to send some succour to the place. Notwithstanding this, the assault was about to be delivered,

when, one night, the rebels attempted to sally out. They were routed in the effort, and the castle was immediately entered, the breaches repaired, and Captain George Carey left in it with a ward of 100 foot.

On the night of May 31, the enemy encamped near the Abbey of Athashell. The Suir was impassable because of the heavy rain, so the Lord Lieutenant spent a day in repairing the bridge at Colan, and crossing over, lodged a mile from Tipperary. The next morning came a letter from Sir Thomas Norreys, stating that on his way to Limerick he had had a successful engagement with some of the Burkes, and had himself been wounded. By the 4th of June, both he and Essex were in Limerick. There news arrived of the distressed state of the Castle of Askeaton, formerly the chief house of the Desmond, and Essex resolved to relieve it in person, all the more because James Fitz Thomas had vowed to prevent this being done. On the 8th of June, the army left Limerick and marched to Adarc. In a pass near that place, the troops were attacked by Desmond's men, but had only six slain and twenty wounded, to the 100 slain on the side of the rebels. The army then marched to Cappagh, two miles from Askeaton, where they encamped, and Essex went on to Askeaton, to see the entering of the victuals sent by boat from Limerick. The rebels had blocked the river, but dislodged on the approach of the army. Returning to the camp, Essex crossed the river Dyle, and lodged at Callow. Hearing that the rebels, who were about two miles off, had resolved to fight, he advanced the next day, June 11, and soon got into skirmish with them. The enemy were in a wood, but Essex managed to draw them out, and inflicted on them considerable loss. Sir Henry Norreys was among the wounded. The march then proceeded without hindrance, but the enemy boasted of what they would yet do in a pass a little further on. In the evening, the army encamped at

Croon, a castle belonging to the Earls of Kildare. The next day, June 12, leaving the army at Bruff, Essex went with Ormonde and others to Kilmallock, and there met Sir Thomas Norreys, with whom a consultation was held as to supplies for the soldiers, and where it would be best for Essex to divide the forces, and part with the President. It was only on the last point that the Lord Lieutenant could expect any help from Norreys, and Essex resolved, three ways having been suggested to him, to return through the countries of Lord Roche and Patrick Condon to Conna, the Earl of Desmond's chief house, and so to Lismore, whence he might either pass over the mountains to Clonmell, or go by Dungarvan straight to Waterford. It was at Lismore that Norreys was to be left.

On the 13th of June, the army started, and by the 19th arrived within two miles of Dungarvan, having had only one slight skirmish with the rebels. In the evening Essex held a council of war, and assigned to Norreys such horse and foot as the President considered sufficient for carrying on the war in Munster, adding 100 foot to the number. The fittest places for garrisoning were settled, and the Lord Lieutenant gave instructions that the ports were to be specially guarded, and everything in the province burned and spoiled, saving what the owners could defend, or the garrisons protect. Norreys left on the 20th, and, on the 21st, Essex brought his army within three miles of Waterford, and himself, with two companies of horse, lodged in the city.

One of the appointments made by Essex, viz., that of the Earl of Southampton to be General of the Horse in his army, had given great offence to the Queen. Southampton was in disgrace with Elizabeth, and she had expressly prohibited such an appointment. Essex, however, carried out his wishes, and, in consequence, received, on June 10, a peremptory order from the Queen, through the Privy Council.



to dismiss Southampton, and to put some one else in his place. Essex remonstrated warmly, but was obliged to yield. Elizabeth told him that if, as he alleged, many of the volunteers with him were so discouraged thereby as to wish to return to England, she would know how to value their love and service (p. 101).

Whilst Essex had been marching through the country, meeting with little or no resistance, a disaster had overtaken the English arms in Wicklow. Before the Lord Lieutenant had started on his journey, he had sent Sir Henry Harrington back to his government in the O'Byrnes' country, in order to suppress Phelim M'Feagh, the O'Tooles, and "other rogues of their consort." Harrington had been promised 700 foot and 50 horse, with Sir Alexander Radcliffe as his second in command. Out of these numbers, however, Essex drew 150 men to strengthen his own force, and, when Harrington left Dublin for his command, 250 men were absent from the muster, so that he started with but 300 foot and his nephew Montague's fifty horse. Arrived at Wicklow, he waited a short time to refresh his soldiers, and to exercise them in the order of a camp. On May 28 Harrington drew them into the plain, some five or six miles from Wicklow, in the direction of the rebels' country; but, understanding that the enemy were gathering from all parts against him, he gave orders on the next day, the 29th, to return to the town. Before the force had proceeded a mile, the rebel shot had begun skirmishing with it, and maintained their attack for a distance of two miles. Notwithstanding, there was no loss to Harrington's men, until he endeavoured to hurry a portion of them to a ford on the river Ranelagh, which the rebels were evidently bent on seizing first. Some of the latter reaching the ford before their main body came up, the shot in Harrington's rear discharged their pieces, then flung them away, and fled. Most of the men in the rear belonged to



Captain Loftus's company, which consisted entirely of Irishmen, the majority of whom had lately come from the rebels. Loftus himself was charged by Harrington with having parleyed with the rebels during the engagement. Captain Loftus's lieutenant, seizing the colours, galloped with them to Wicklow. All the pikemen broke their ranks and fled. The soldiers, who had come with the recent supplies, were seized with a panic, and none of their officers could make one man turn his face to the rebels. The horse under Montague charged the enemy twice, and thus gained some breathing time for the fugitives ; who, however, did not use the opportunity to take heart again, but employed it to throw away their weapons and strip off their clothes. The rebels came up very fast, charging in the rear with push of pike, and slew many of Harrington's men without resistance. The reports of Captains Atherton, Mallory, and Linley (pp. 83-91) give full details of the fight, and of its disgraceful ending. On June 25, Essex wrote to the Privy Council from Waterford, that he was hastening back to Dublin, and would pass through the county of Wexford and the Ranelagh, both to give order for those parts, and to seek some revenge on the "rogues," who, in his absence, "had the killing of "our base, cowardly, and ill-guided clowns." He vowed he would "make other men hereafter know that the justice of a "martial court is no less terrible than the fury of all the "rebels of this kingdom." The Wicklow rebels had drawn to them not only Donnell Spainagh and the Kavanaghs, the sons of Feagh McHugh, and the mountain gallowglasses, but also the forces of the O'Moores, O'Connors, and others. Yet Essex declared he would not go out of his way, but take his course as it lay through the midst of those rebels' countries.

On June 22, the Lord Lieutenant's army was brought up to the Passage, a village so called from lying at the ferry between Waterford and Wexford. On the 23rd, the crossing

began, but, the ferry being broad, the available boats small, and the "carriages" of the army unusually numerous, Essex found, when he arrived from Waterford on the 25th, that most of his horse were still on the "Wexford" side. Lodging all his foot near Ballyhack, he went with two companies of horse to Tintern, and there awaited the rest of his men. These were got over by the next morning. After viewing the sea coast between Waterford and Wexford, Essex lodged at Ballinegar on the night of the 26th, and joined his army the next day at Ballybrennan, whence, on the 28th, they marched to a ford between Enniscorthy and Ferns. That day was spent by Essex in examining into the state of Enniscorthy and its garrison, and in reconnoitring the Duffry, Donnell Spainagh's fastness. Since the departure from Waterford, not one rebel had been seen ; but at the Duffry side a few showed themselves. Essex held a council of war as to his future line of march, and whether he should take the Enniscorthy garrison with him or not. It was resolved to go to Ferns, and thence to Arklow, since the ways in the Duffry were all fortified, and the rebel forces of Leinster assembled there. To oppose them, Essex had only 1,200 men, and these were hampered by three times their number of churls, horseboys, &c., who followed the army for protection. On the 29th the march was continued to Coolishal. When passing Ferns, Essex viewed the Castle, and formed the opinion that it would have been a fitter place for a garrison than Enniscorthy, had the river by it been navigable. He was informed that the rebels intended to fight him the next day. The news was welcome. Essex formed his men in the strongest order, and, to exasperate the rebels, burned the country as he went along. A short distance from Arklow, he got in touch with the enemy, and was soon hotly engaged with their forces. At one moment it seemed as if disaster would overtake a portion of his troops,

who had been led astray by the guides ; but, by sending all his horse to the rescue, Essex saved his men, and inflicted a severe defeat on the rebels. After the pursuit was ended, Phelim McFeagh sent word that he desired to speak with Essex. The latter replied that if Phelim sent to Arklow for a passport to come in as a repentant rebel and tender his absolute submission, he could have such a safe-conduct ; but that, if Phelim sent in any other form, his messenger would be executed, for Essex would never dishonour his commission by treating or parleying with rebels. That night the army remained at Arklow, and the next day, 1 July, marched towards Wicklow, encamping three miles short of it, just at the spot where Sir Henry Harrington's force had been overthrown. From Wicklow Essex held a straight course to Dublin.

Thither, as he wrote to the Privy Council on July 11, Essex brought "an indisposed and distempered body." After meeting the Irish Council, and giving them an account of his proceedings during his absence from Dublin, he put himself under the care of his physicians for three days, transacting, however, light business during that period. Essex then fulfilled his threat to deal severely with Sir Henry Harrington, his officers, and men. Harrington, notwithstanding his thirty years' service, was committed to the custody of the Provost Marshal, but, being a Privy Councillor, was not brought to trial until the Queen's pleasure was known. Piers Walsh, the lieutenant of Captain Adam Loftus, was, for giving the first example of cowardice, condemned to death and executed. The other officers were cashiered and imprisoned. The soldiers were all condemned to death, but most of them were pardoned by the Lord Lieutenant, and every tenth man only executed.

The results of Essex's journey were not such as could bring any satisfaction or reputation to himself. It was true



that he had traversed the two provinces, and, where there had been any resistance, had succeeded in overcoming it. But he had not effected the submission of a single notable rebel leader, nor had he reduced to obedience a single district in either Leinster or Munster. "If," he writes (p. 76), "so much hath not here been performed, as is there by Her Majesty expected, either it hath been because she made choice of an insufficient minister, or else because it hath pleased her to match him with a weak and insufficient Council." Essex complained that for this service he was provided with "a plastron and not a curate ; that is, I am armed on the breast, but not on the back" (p. 77). In other words, as he said in another letter, he was provided with all necessities for the war in Ireland, but lay open to the malice of his enemies in England, who first procured a cloud of disgrace to overshadow him, and now in the dark were giving him wound upon wound (p. 93). He stated that he would humbly and patiently bear his "unlooked-for, contemptible destiny" (p. 96). The Privy Council, on the other hand, congratulated Essex on having surmounted all the practices and dangers prepared for him by the rebels, told him of all the supplies they had furnished for his support, and wrote (p. 81), "Thus it seemeth unto us that your Lordship hath from hence been armed with such a sound and sufficient backpiece of defence behind you as we know you bear, and God and so just a quarrel standing for your defence, we cannot doubt but that all good and prosperous success will follow, even to Her Majesty's contentation, and all our earnest desires."

Her Majesty had not much "contentation" as yet. She wrote with characteristic bluntness to Essex, "You must needs think that we, that have the eyes of foreign Princes upon our actions, and have the hearts of people to comfort and cherish, who groan under the burden of continual

“levies and impositions, which are occasioned by these late actions, can little please ourself hitherto with anything that hath been effected.” She described the capture of Cahir Castle, the chief feat of arms during Essex’s journey, as the taking of “an Irish hold from a rabble of rogues,” and said that cannon could always make a passage in Ireland. What vexed Elizabeth more than any expense incurred was, that it must be her fortune “to make a base bush kern,” like Tyrone, “to be accounted so famous a rebel,” that many thousands of her forces were thought too little to be employed against him. Tyrone himself was blazing abroad his successes. Elizabeth blamed Essex for giving regiments at such a critical time “to young gentlemen that rather desired to do well than knew how to perform it.” She ridiculed the idea of Essex that he was being disgraced at Court. Forgetting that she had allowed of his distribution of the forces, and of his resolve to pass first into Leinster (p. 28), the Queen now condemned his taking personal command of the prosecution in that province, whilst “that proud rebel” in the north remained unassailed. Elizabeth was right, nevertheless, in asserting that, until that was done, all other courses would “prove like *via navis in mari*.” The Privy Council, in a subsequent despatch, re-echoed the Queen’s sentiments, and urged on the Lord Lieutenant the necessity of all expedition with regard to his northern journey. The “unhappy chances” that had befallen Sir Henry Harrington and other commanders were being daily multiplied in foreign courts, and the Queen remembered that, when Essex arrived in Ireland, the Earl of Ormonde had professed that not one maritime town, or island, or hold, was possessed by the traitors.

When Essex, in the early part of May, started for the south, he gave instructions to one “Captain J. C.” to proceed to Ulster and there gain all the information he



could. That officer was unable to get further than Strangford Lough, and found all the country strongly held by the rebels. He ascertained that Tyrone had firmly resolved to contest every pass by which Essex could go into Ulster, and to draw out the war as much as possible, "knowing that he would thus cress the three furies, *Penury*, *Sickness*, and *Famine*, upon Her Majesty's armies." The "invincible fastnesses" of Tyrone, together with the desert, craggy, and boggy mountains of Slieve Gullion, forty miles in compass, and the great woods of Killultagh, Kilwarlin, Killeleyrto, and Clancankie, had proved an impassable barrier to the journeys of all former Deputies into Ulster. Whilst "Captain J. C." was in Ulster, two Spanish ships laden with munition and treasure arrived at Lough Foyle. Tyrone went to meet them, and claimed the disposal of the whole cargo, although O'Donnell claimed as great a right as he. The Earl, however, prevailed. Help was also expected by him from Scotland, and in June, 1599, sundry Scottish boats and barks laden with munition, morions, and swords, passed into the river of Strangford and into the bay of Dundrum, Tyrone's forces were distributed as follows: In Lecale, under Magennis, 1,000 foot and 140 horse; in the Great Ardes, under Brian McArt, 200 targeteers and 120 horse; in Glenarın, under James McSorley Boy and Shane McBrian, 800 foot and 140 horse. But if to these were added O'Donnell's forces, and those of other confederates of Tyrone, he would have 9,000 foot and 1,400 horse. O'Donnell, further, was to hire from the Earl of Argyle 12,000 Scots, who were to be cessed upon the provinces of Connaught, Leinster, and Munster. Tyrone would not consent to have any numbers of them in Ulster. "Captain J. C." urged Essex to employ 4,000 Scots (who could be obtained from Donnell Gorme, Angus McConnell, and McLane) in the attack on Tyrone's fastnesses. He also

recommended that Sir Ralph Lane should be sent to Carrickfergus, and there, jointly with Sir Arthur Chichester, see the conditions of "the contract with the redshanks" performed, adding that the McLanes would be readier to do Her Majesty service upon Sir Ralph's motion, because of his name.

Before deciding upon any line of action in Ulster, Essex and the Council wrote over, on July 15, an account of the means they had, or were likely to have, for the prosecution there. The army, in list at any rate, consisted of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse. The rebel forces were more numerous, and through the supplies of money and munition furnished by Spain, had further increased. Essex's men were much reduced by sickness. After allowing for the necessary garrisons throughout the realm, he had barely 6,000 foot and 500 horse left for the Ulster journey. If one portion of this remaining force were to be planted at Lough Foyle, and the other to enter Ulster by Armagh and the Blackwater, it would be in the rebels' choice to attack either portion with far superior numbers. Therefore, without a greater force for Ulster, it was thought unfit to send any men to Lough Foyle. Essex was to take up his position at Armagh, and Sir Conyers Clifford at Ballyshannon. Moreover, unless reinforcements were received, Essex would either have to defer his journey into the north, or allow the rebels to reap, in his absence, the very plentiful harvest in the other parts of Ireland. More victuals were asked for, and better apparel for the soldiers, to be sent more seasonably than had been the wont. Additional treasure was also sought from the Privy Council, "for in your wisdoms you know it is the sinews of war." It was represented that it was impossible, if efficient service was to be done, to limit the extraordinary charges to the allowed sum of 5,000*l.* a year. No Governor in Ireland had ever been so restrained. In less critical times, more had been spent under that heading. "And lastly, there was

" never any time, or any army or action, that did require so great an extraordinary expense."

In the account thus given by Essex and the Council, a remarkable tribute was paid to the enemy. "These rebels will hardly be subdued, if some of themselves be not used against themselves. For, besides the daily decay of our English soldiers, those men which are sent hither do not in a good time make so good soldiers as these rogues here are." Leave was therefore asked to take into pay, until the end of harvest, 2,000 men more. "I, the Lieutenant, will draw them from the rebels, and will carry them every day to fight, assuring myself I shall do good service in making a riddance of either side, and I will still have a strength of mine own countrymen, which shall be my *triarii*, and shall (by God's favour) save the main chance" (p. 94).

Whilst waiting for further instructions from the Queen as to the intended prosecution in Ulster, Essex went from Dublin on the 22nd of July in the direction of King's County and Queen's County, once more to attack the Leinster rebels, against whom he had some small successes. Sir Geoffrey Fenton sent word to Cecil of the Lord Lieutenant's departure, and added that Essex, on his return, intended to draw into Ulster as much of the army as could be spared from the other provinces. Tyrone was "kindling coals" abroad, and seeking to bear up the rebellion in the other parts of Ireland, so that he might sit quiet in Ulster. Until, however, a strong garrison had been planted at Lough Foyle, Fenton, like a good many others, had "little hope of the total suppression of that cankered, proud house of O'Neill" (p. 103). Richard Weston, one of the best of Fenton's intelligencers, had gone on the 15th of July to Tyrone's camp near Newry. A messenger from Scotland also arrived there, with a cordial letter from the King. Weston further



heard a letter from the King of Spain read, telling of the help twice sent by Philip II. to Tyrone, and asking if the Earl would renew to Philip III. the promise given by him to the former monarch. O'Donnell, too, had written out of Connaught, stating that Sir Conyers Clifford did not come forward with his forces, but had dispersed them into garrisons. Tyrone sent back answer that O'Donnell was to look well to those parts, and to be ready when he sent for him.

The letter of July 15 from Essex and the Council reached Wimbledon on the 28th, and Elizabeth was not long in answering it. On the 30th, she wrote to Essex, reminding him that, when she yielded to the excessive charge she had been put to, it was upon no other ground than "to assail the "Northern Traitor, and to plant garrisons in his country," for, according to Essex and others of the Council, all else done in Ireland "was but waste and consumption." She pointed to the lapse of time since Essex had arrived in Ireland, and to the little that he had effected. Tyrone, she argued, was not shewn to be stronger now than he had been then, and Essex ought not to require more forces for his expedition to the north, unless, by his "unseasonable journey "into Munster," he had broken the heart of his best troops, weakened his strength upon inferior rebels, and run out the glass of time, which could hardly be recovered. The Queen ordered him to proceed to Ulster without delay, so that all her six months' charges should not prove fruitless, nor all future attempts there unsuccessful, "especially when these "base rebels shall see their golden calf preserve himself "without taint or loss." Then followed the most important part of Her Majesty's letter. She knew how all important it was that Essex should remain in Ireland until the northern action had been tried, and she straitly enjoined him, notwithstanding her former license provisionally given, in no wise to leave that kingdom, or to put the government thereof in any



person's hand, until her permission had first been received.  
 " After you shall have certified us to what form you have  
 " reduced things in the north, what hath been the success,  
 " and whom you and the Council could wish to leave with  
 " that charge behind, that being done, you shall with all  
 " speed receive our warrant, without which we do charge  
 " you (as you tender our pleasure) that you adventure not  
 " to come out of that kingdom, by virtue of any former  
 " license whatsoever " (p. 107).

The Privy Council intimated to Essex that the Queen allowed of his taking the 2,000 Irish into pay until the end of harvest, provided, as Essex had undertaken, that there should be, after the harvest, a reduction of an equal number from his army of 16,000. Complaints as to victuals and apparel were answered. It was pointed out that payments had been made, under "extraordinaries," for divers purposes that could not rightly be included under that heading. A dignified reply was also given by the Privy Council to the statements of Essex as to his enemies at the Court. " We can only say  
 " this, that those imputations of any indisposition towards  
 " you are so improper to us, as we will neither do your  
 " Lordship that wrong to take them so intended, nor  
 " ourselves that injury to go about to excuse them, knowing  
 " you too wise to apply those descriptions to any of us, and  
 " ourselves too honest to deserve any such exception ; and  
 " therefore, as your Lordship pleased to say, that you will  
 " touch that point no more hereafter, so we desire to give  
 " you no occasion by our writing to revive it, nor any  
 " other of like nature."

On Sunday, the 5th of August, 1599, Sir Conyers Clifford was completely defeated at the Curlews by O'Donnell. Although there are some references to this event in the State Papers calendared in this volume, there is no account of the battle. One melancholy document alone (p. 113) tells

the order of array, and the numbers of the killed and wounded. Clifford was slain, and Sir Alexander Radcliffe, his second in command, shared the same fate. Captain Windsor, who was in the fight, reported that more of the soldiers fell through their officers trying to stay them, than by the hands of the rebels. He also asserted that the rebels' loss was greater than that of the English. On the side of the latter, ten officers and 231 men were killed; twelve officers and 196 men were wounded. Sir Robert Cecil endorses the document, "This shews how many are slain." The defeat was peculiarly aggravating to Essex, for when, on July 30, he had sent Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Conyers Clifford's assistance, he gave this charge (p. 120), "Commend me to Sir Conyers, and wish him from me, unless he stand assured that he may go forward without danger to relieve O'Connor Sligo, that he first let me know with great expedition his lot therein, and that he do not venture the breaking of his neck before the army be afoot, at which time I will myself venture the breaking of mine arms, sooner than he should miscarry." The message was delivered at Athlone to Sir Conyers, but he replied that he had forces enough, and that he would rather hasten, so that the northern forces should not join or come to head before his arrival. Notwithstanding the rejection of his advice, Essex appreciated the sterling qualities of the ill-fated Clifford, and wrote thus generously to the Privy Council:—"Connaught hath lost a valiant, a liberal, and understanding Governor, and cannot by me be supplied with another Conyers Clifford, though he also found too hard an encounter, and perished in it" (p. 123).

On August 9, before the news of the disaster at the Curlews could have reached her, Elizabeth addressed to Essex and the Council a vigorous remonstrance, which would have been severer still, had she known of Clifford's overthrow. She told them that their opinions about "the

“northern action” deserved rather reproof than much answer. They made insinuations to dissuade from the accomplishment of that which was of the greatest consequence in Ireland. The Council had acted in a similar way under former Deputies, and she regretted not having called them to a strict account in Sir William Russell’s time. “We see bitter effects of our long sufferings.” She would not see her kingdoms, her honour, and the lives of her subjects, dallied withal. It was not enough for them to have been the greatest causes of “corruption in matter of religion,” by their former “suffering (nay favouring) “Popery,” and the cause of many disasters to the people by lack of discipline, order, and direction, but they must, when Essex arrived, divert his course, when the army was strongest, by persuading him to a long journey into Munster, leaving Tyrone alone. Even now, on the 7th of August, they frame new arguments to keep the army out of the north. Within a week previous, they made “a hot demand” for 2,000 men for the northern prosecution; now they send tidings that “this huge charge” must leave Tyrone untouched. Were they unable to forget their old goodwill to that traitor, or were they insensible to all things, saving their “own particulars”? The Queen put the Council in an awkward dilemma. If, she argued, the courses they had hitherto taken had well settled any of the other provinces, then, seeing this was adjudged the fittest time for a journey into Ulster, what could be the reason of their stay? If, on the other hand, those courses had abated the strength of her army, and given Tyrone more opportunity for preparing against attack, then they must confess that these difficulties were not found, but made by themselves. As for the importance of a garrison at Lough Foyle, she was tired of having this rung in her ears, and expected to be informed by their next despatch that the plantation there had been begun, and was not merely in question,



Essex held it *pro bono augurio* that Elizabeth so much affected the journey to the north, though he himself protested against it. The Queen told him that no one in his place should ever win honour from her by obedience, where the country should receive harm by her commandments. The Presidents of Munster and Connaught, Essex admitted, were mastered in their provinces, without doing anything upon the rebels. In the King's County, a force of 1,500 could not save themselves. The northern garrisons were unable to do anything with 3,000 men. Within two miles of Dublin there were daily stealths and incursions. Elizabeth told Essex that, where he had reckoned on having only 4,750 foot and 340 horse for the prosecution in Ulster, he ought to have added thereto the greatest part of the forces in Connaught (designed to aid in that service), the 2,000 extra men that had been asked for and granted, and such others as he might draw from divers places, and from the frontier northern garrisons, whereby he might reckon on some ten or eleven thousand men all told. With such a force she intimated that some good service ought to be accomplished, and that her letters proved she was commanding no impossibilities.

The Privy Council, writing on the next day (August 10) to Essex and the Council, stated that, although Her Majesty had derived much contentment from the relation of his proceedings, seeing her army was master wherever it went, and had left behind it, in the garrisoned castles, monuments of its passage, it appeared that neither in Leinster nor in Munster could the army be employed, save on the defensive. In Connaught, too, 3,300 foot and 200 horse could neither win the country nor beat the rebel. The Queen, therefore, was highly displeased that so much time had been spent in other parts of Ireland than Ulster. Their Lordships' expectation that "great success" would attend Essex in his journey against Tyrone, had been much weakened by the



Lord Lieutenant having written "in a style rather of obedience than of confidence in the action." Yet they concurred in the Queen's direction to Essex to enter on the prosecution in Ulster, "whereby the Traitor may see he is not given over, as a person that may not be touched," and their Lordships trusted they would hear that Tyrone and the other capital rebels of the north had been suppressed.

Stung by the reproaches of the Queen and the Privy Council, and feeling that something must be done to avenge the defeat at the Curlews, Essex determined to march against the northern enemy. First, however, on August 10, he sent Sir Theobald Dillon to Athlone, to assist Lord Dunkellin and Sir Arthur Savage in settling Connaught, and preventing further accidents likely to arise from the recent disaster in that province. Dillon was to assure Tibbott Ne Longe of Essex's protection, and of his resolve to assist him, if time allowed, in delivering O'Connor Sligo, Tibbott's brother-in-law, from the clutches of O'Donnell. To Lord Dunkellin and Sir Arthur Savage, who had been appointed jointly to the command of the Connaught forces (except those in Thomond and Clanrickarde), instructions were sent to assure the safety of Galway, Athlone, Boyle, Tusk, and Roscommon. After the requisite garrisons had been placed, the rest of the foot were to be sent to Mullingar, "from whence," wrote Essex, "I will send them to keep walls, since they do so cowardly and basely in the field." The Irish lords and gentlemen in Connaught, who had depended on Sir Conyers Clifford, were to be assured that Essex would give them similar support. Secret directions were sent to Sir Arthur Savage to employ one Captain Cocke to look to the victuals, shipping, and soldiers, where Tibbott Ne Longe was, in case the disaster at the Curlews should make the latter forget his duty.

On August 14, Essex and the Council wrote to the Privy Council that they were glad the Queen had allowed the "entertaining" of the 2,000 Irish during harvest time. The disaster in Connaught had made it more difficult to levy them, but Essex hoped to succeed in finding all, and in getting them to stay with him, until Tyrone and he had once tried what they could do upon one another. He then proceeded to defend himself on certain points. It was true that before he came to Ireland, a proportion of 1,300 horse had been agreed upon for his army, whilst the prosecution in Ulster lasted, but that number depended wholly upon the truth of declarations at that time presented to the Privy Council. The Irish rebels were reported to number 16,000 or 17,000; but Ormonde calculated them to be over 20,000, and his estimate was considered by the Irish Council to be under the mark. Then the English soldiers were thought to be of such a quality, that, if they met the rebels with equal numbers, the latter would be cut off or reduced. "But now our men, if they borrow not more confidence from their Commander than they find in themselves, do run away from equal, and sometimes inferior, numbers to themselves." The Irish nobility and gentlemen of the Pale, from whom substantial reinforcements were expected, did not furnish a man, unless he was paid by the Queen. So the campaign in Ulster would not be "a summer's work, or an easy task," but a war to be waged by a strong army with liberal maintenance. As regarded apparel, Essex recommended that the soldier should be made his own provider of shoes and stockings, at the same rates as the merchants had for that purpose. The articles sent from England were admittedly less durable than those that could be purchased in Ireland. On the question of "extraordinaries," Essex remonstrated very strongly. He had asked that the limit of 5,000*l.* per annum might be enlarged, and Elizabeth had

refused. Without extraordinaries, he declared that all things were in "a strait and confusion." Such payments could not be avoided, unless the army was never to march, the magazines never to be removed, and the garrisons to trust to themselves, and never to be supplied. He stated that the 5,000*l.* had run out [*i.e.*, the money allowed for twelve months had been expended in six], and complained that the Queen was "tying him to that stint," adding, "had I not already, and did I not every day bankrupt myself upon these mercenary Irish, I would myself defray many of these charges without asking allowance" (p. 124).

Since the receipt of the peremptory instructions for entering on the Ulster campaign, a delay had been occasioned by the non-arrival at Dublin of the best companies that were to go with Essex. He had good cause to wait for them. "Her Majesty in her list payeth many, but hath her service followed by few; for every town and place of garrison is an hospital, where our degenerate countrymen are glad to entertain sickness as a *supersedeas* for their going into the field, and every remove of an Irish company is almost a breaking of it, so as we can never make account what numbers we have of them." Essex confessed himself so distracted with the misery of Connaught, the wants of Munster, the mutiny in Leinster (because he did not tarry in that province), and the want of Governors and men able to take charge, that were it not for Her Majesty's service and honour, he would "quickly find a fair way to free" himself. Among general officers, he could only count on Sir Oliver Lambert and Sir Henry Dockwra, unless Ormonde spared him Sir Henry Power, Ormonde himself, when the Lord Lieutenant started, was to be left in Leinster, for he would "hardly be drawn to abandon the counties of Kilkenney, Tipperary, Wexford, and Carlow." Another cause of delay was the fact that no beeves or carriages could



be obtained for some eight days. Essex, also, was begged by the people of Leinster to stay at Dublin until they had got in some corn ; otherwise, they would starve, or have to go to England. He wrote, however, on August 14, " within " eight or ten days at the furthest, I hope to be marching." Yet his expectations were not high. He had sought, by all means that industry and ability could compass, to put hope and spirit into his army, yet it had " drooped every day." On August 19, more bad news arrived from Connaught. O'Connor Sligo had gone to confer with Tyrone. Tibbott Ne Longe had betrayed the ships and victuals sent to relieve the forces in the province. The abbey of Boyle had been given up. Essex feared he would have to hasten to Connaught, as O'Donnell would assuredly follow up his success, and overrun the whole province, unless he were encountered. Again the Lord Lieutenant described the disheartened state of his own soldiers. They were amazed by reason of the defeat of Clifford ; they dreaded the northern journey. " They dis- " band daily ; the Irish go to the rebels by herds ; the others " make strange adventures to steal over ; and some force " themselves to be sick, and lie like creatures that have neither " hearts nor souls." Still, Essex declared that the little army of barely 3,500 foot, and not much more than 300 horse, would give a good account of itself against Tyrone.

On August 21, Essex held a council of war, and told the " Lords, Colonels, and Knights " of the army his purpose of invading Ulster. The officers were unanimous in dissuading him from the project, because of the discontent of the troops, the numerous desertions from the ranks, the impossibility of planting a garrison at Lough Foyle before the year was out, and the consequent liability of their small force being attacked by the whole power of the northern rebels. It was argued that from such a force men could not be spared for garrisons, with any likelihood of making a good retreat with



the rest. There was, besides, want of shipping to convey victuals; and, in what victuals they had, there was much decay. If any men could be spared for garrisons at the Blackwater and Armagh, there would ensue the old hazardous business (of which there had been enough under Sir William Russell, Lord Burgh, and Sir John Norreys) of having constantly to force a way to those garrisons, in order to relieve them. "We," declared the officers, "dissuaded "this undertaking with more duty than any man could "persuade unto it." The document is signed by eighteen officers (p. 127).

In view, however, of Elizabeth's stringent injunctions, and of the necessity of "redeeming the late scorn of the Curlews," Essex resolved to go forward. His mind was somewhat relieved by hearing that the report of Tibbott Ne Longe's treachery was false. Unfortunately, O'Connor Sligo had become the prisoner of O'Donnell, but it was more important to attack Tyrone than to rescue even so notable a captive. One thousand pounds were sent to Connaught, with directions as to victualling and securing the castles there, and Essex considered he would not need to be diverted in person to those parts. In Leinster, also, matters had so far prospered for him, that Donnell Spainagh, who had been called in from Munster to aid the Leinster rebels, made his personal submission at Dublin Castle, bringing with him Brian McDonogh and others of the principal Kavanaghs. Onie McRory, too, chief of the O'Moores, had solicited a truce, and, after parley, protection was given him for a month, on his promise that he and his would offend no subject during that period. At the end of the month, or when Essex returned from Ulster to the Pale, Onie McRory offered to come to him, and to bring Feagh McHugh's sons, the O'Connors, the O'Molloys, the McGeoghans, and other septs that were out, and all those of Ossory. Essex agreed to the terms, to keep matters quiet

behind him during the Ulster prosecution, and also because Onie bore a high reputation for keeping his word and oath, and could do what he said, "being the valiantest rogue, and "having the most commanding spirit of them all." In Munster, some of the rebel leaders had sworn to come to the President, Sir Thomas Norreys, when he had recovered from his illness. The Earl of Desmond, also, had written to the President for a month's truce, until he might be able to confer with Essex. But, unhappily, a great loss was sustained by the death of Sir Thomas Norreys on the 16th of August, and by that of his brother, Sir Henry Norreys, on the 21st of the same month. On the 22nd, Essex wrote that he was expecting the arrival at Dublin that night of the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Charles Blount, Marshal of the army. These two officers he was to leave in Leinster, that they might secure the parts behind him. Meantime he was sending away munition and victuals to Kells and Navan, and drawing the army into Meath, purposing himself to follow at the end of the week. As no further instructions had been received with regard to extraordinary charges, and as money for such purpose was indispensable, 1,000*l.* had been borrowed. Sir George Carey, the Treasurer, acknowledged, on August 26th, the sanction of the Privy Council for the expenditure of that sum. He said a long time had been spent in debating the journey, "every man in general protesting against it. The army is "exceeding weak; for, either through the corruptions of the "victuals, or of this cursed climate, or of both, the soldiers "fall sick exceedingly." Carey feared that towards winter they would do so in far greater numbers.

From Dublin Essex sent word to the Privy Council on August 28, "I am even now putting my foot into the "stirrup, to go to the rendezvous at the Navan; and from "thence I will draw the army so far, and to do as much, as

"duty will warrant me, and God enable me." He lodged the same night at Ardraccan. Richard Weston informed his Lordship that Tyrone was gathering his forces at Muckno, and that the sooner Essex went forward, the better it would be, for Tyrone would have fewer men. The latter had received news from Scotland that Essex had been "mightily crossed in England," since he left it, and "would make no great stay" in Ireland. This intelligence, so soon to be verified, doubtless influenced Tyrone to the course of action he adopted, when the Lord Lieutenant got into Ulster. Before the border of that province was reached, Sir Charles Blount, whom Essex had brought with him to Ireland as Marshal of the army, and over whom he had quarrelled with Elizabeth, was sent back. "I have dismissed the poor Marshal, maimed, fit now to serve Her Majesty with his prayers, his limbs being gone, and his service in Council forbidden by Her Majesty. I have with me none fit to succeed him, but must myself do his office, and my own." News came that Tyrone was drawing into the Brenny, boasting that he would do wonders. "If," wrote Essex, "he have as much courage as he pretendeth, we will on one side or the other end the war." But Tyrone was much too skilful, from his own standpoint, to risk all on one decisive action. As Sir Geoffrey Fenton put it, "I doubt not but Tyrone will as craftily seek to eschew the fight, as his Lordship, out of the greatness of his courage, will press him to it" (p. 147). Tyrone desired, as of old, to parley and procrastinate. For the greater security of the English Pale, and also to entice Tyrone to a battle, the plan of Essex was, according to Fenton, to collect his army at Kells, and to march thence and occupy Cavan and Monaghan. This would have deprived Tyrone of the manœuvring ground, from which he was always threatening incursions into "the heart of the kingdom," and would have driven him back



into his own fastnesses at home. But all the companies of horse and foot did not join Essex till the 31st of August, when he assembled them on the hill Clythe, half a mile from Kells, towards the Brenny. Essex encamped that night at Castlekeran, two miles beyond the hill, and stayed in that place the next day, until the victuals for the army should come up. The day was spent in reconnoitring Lord Dunsany's country and a part of the Brenny. Essex had it debated in council, whether it were fit to place a garrison in the Brenny or not, but it was concluded that such a step could not be taken, on account of the wasted state of the country, the difficulty of obtaining carriage of victuals for the garrison, and because Tyrone was in Ferney with an army, ready to enter into and to pillage the Pale, as soon as Essex had got as far up as Cavan. So it was resolved that Kells should be, for the next winter, the frontier garrison towards Cavan, and Essex marched with his army towards Ferney, lodging on September 2 between Robertstown and Newcastle. The next day he went to Ardolph, where he could see Tyrone with his forces on a hill, a mile and a half off, with the river Lagan and a wood lying between. Essex, first of all, stationed his army in battle array on the hill by the burnt castle of Ardolph. As there was no wood for fire, save in the valley towards Tyrone's quarters, the Lord Lieutenant sent some of his men there to cut wood, providing them with a guard of horse and foot. Tyrone sent a party of his followers to check the operation of cutting, and to offer skirmish. They had subsequent orders not to pass the ford, which was disputed by the English guard, so a petty skirmish was kept up on both sides of the river, but to little purpose. On September 4, Essex wrote to the Council at Dublin, that he and Tyrone had "looked one upon another from two hills," and stated that he was going towards Louth, where the victuals for his army were to have been



sent from Drogheda. The letter is a copy in the handwriting of Sir George Carey, who himself adds a note to the effect that, from a friend of his out of the camp, he had learned that the rebels numbered 8,000 foot and 700 horse, whilst the Lord Lieutenant had no more than 3,200 foot and 360 horse. Arrived at the mills of Louth, Essex encamped beyond the river Lagan towards Ferney. Tyrone had marched in a parallel line through the woods, and was now lodged in the wood nearest to Essex, keeping his mounted scouts in sight of the English camp. Being compelled to wait for the victuals from Drogheda, Essex held a council of war as to what should be done against Tyrone's forces, and how his fastness should be entered. It was deemed inadvisable to attack any entrenched places, owing to the superior numbers of the enemy. But it was suggested that a strong garrison might be placed at Louth, or some castle thereabout, to offend the bordering rebels, and to defend the whole county of Louth. As the army was there, it was considered desirable to offer battle to Tyrone's forces, although the disparity in numbers was so great. Essex, having viewed Louth, found that it was utterly unfit for a garrison. On the day of his reconnaissance, September 5, Henry Hagan, Constable of Dungannon, was sent by Tyrone, to express the latter's wish for a parley with the Lord Lieutenant. Essex refused, and told Hagan that he would be the next morning on the hill between the two camps, and if Tyrone called to speak with him then, he would be found at the head of his troops. With this answer Hagan returned. The next morning, Essex drew out 2,000 foot and 300 horse, leaving a Colonel with 500 foot and 20 horse to guard the camp and baggage. The Lord Lieutenant formed his men in battle array on the first hill he came to in sight of Tyrone, and then advanced to a second hill, on which stood Tyrone's guard of horse. These left their position, and it was at once

occupied by the troops of Essex. Up to three o'clock in the afternoon, Tyrone's foot never shewed themselves out of the wood, but there was some skirmishing between the horse on either side. After the skirmish, Tyrone sent a message that he "would not fight nor draw forth, but desired to speak with the Lord Lieutenant, but not between the two armies." Thereupon Essex returned to his camp, and, having placed a garrison of 500 foot and 50 horse, under Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, in the castle of Niselerathy, situated about half a mile from the mill of Louth, he marched the next morning, September 7, towards Drumeondra. Before the Lord Lieutenant had gone a mile, Henry Hagan came again to him with this message, that Tyrone desired Her Majesty's mercy and that the Lord Lieutenant would hear him. If Essex agreed, Tyrone said he would gallop about and meet him at the ford of Bellaclynthe, which was on the right hand, by the way his Lordship was taking to Drumeondra. Upon this message, Essex sent two gentlemen with Hagan to view the ford. There they found Tyrone, but the water was so far out, that they told him it was no fit place to speak in. Thereupon he grew very impatient, and said, "Then I shall despair ever to speak with him." However, knowing the ford, he found a place where, standing with the water as high as his horse's belly, he could be heard by Essex, even though the latter kept on the hard ground. This was notified to the Lord Lieutenant, who drew a troop of horse to the hill above the ford, and seeing Tyrone there alone, went to the river's bank by himself. Tyrone saluted Essex with much reverence, and they talked together for nearly half an hour, and then went to their respective companies on the hills. After a while, Con O'Neill, Tyrone's bastard son, came down, and desired from his father that Essex would let him bring down some of the principal men that were with him, and that his Lordship would appoint a number to come down on

his side. Essex replied that Tyrone might bring six, which he did, namely, his brother Cormack, Magennis, Maguire, Ever McCooly, Henry Hovenden, and one Owyn, who came from Spain, but was an Irishman by birth. Essex, seeing them at the ford, went down, accompanied by the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir Henry Davers, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable. At this second meeting, Tyrone and all his company stood up almost to their horses' bellies in water, whilst the Lord Lieutenant and his companions stood upon hard ground. Tyrone spake for a good while bareheaded, and respectfully saluted all those that came down with Essex. After almost half an hour's conference, it was concluded that there should be a meeting of Commissioners the next morning at a ford by Garrett Fleming's castle. Thus they parted, the Lord Lieutenant marching with his army to Drumeondra, and Tyrone returning to his camp. The next morning, Essex sent Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir William Constable, Sir William Warren, and his secretary, Henry Wotton, with instructions, to the place of meeting. Tyrone came in person thither, and sent into Garrett Fleming's castle four principal gentlemen as pledges for the safety of the Commissioners. At this parley it was agreed that there should be a truce for six weeks, and so to continue, from six weeks to six weeks, until May day, or to be broken upon fourteen days' warning. It was also covenanted, that such of Tyrone's confederates as would not declare their assent to the truce, should be left by him to be prosecuted by the Lord Lieutenant, and that restitution should be made for all spoils within twenty days after notice given. For performance of the covenants, Essex was to give his word, and Tyrone his oath. This being done on the 8th of September, the Lord Lieutenant, on the following day, dispersed his army, and went himself to Drogheda. Tyrone retired, with all his forces, into the heart of his country.



Thus ingloriously had terminated the twelve days' expedition against the "Archtraitor." There had been marching, skirmishing, and parleying, and all had ended in a triumph for Tyrone. It was his object not to be drawn into a battle with Essex, and he had succeeded. His country still remained unwasted and untouched. Three times had Essex seen him, once at a distance, and then on two occasions for only half an hour's space. Then the Lord Lieutenant vanished from his sight for ever. Essex himself said that "the short time of their conference made him not fully "conceive the particular meaning of Tyrone in divers of" the articles before them. This was the wretched result of the costly preparations of Elizabeth, and of the six months' government of Essex. Never did a Governor receive such a stinging despatch from his Sovereign as that which the Queen sent from Nonsuch, on September 14, to her ill-starred Lieutenant. It begins (p. 150), "Having sufficiently "declared unto you before this time how little the manner "of your proceedings hath answered either our direction "or the world's expectation, and finding now by your letters "by Cuff, a course more strange, if strange may be, we are "doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to "build upon your writing unto us in anything." Elizabeth reminded him that, before his departure from England, no man's counsel was held sound, that did not persuade the immediate prosecution in Ulster; "all was nothing without "that; and nothing was too much for that." She recalled his importunity as to the hastening of supplies to Dublin, against his return thither from Leinster and Munster. She said she could never have imagined from his letters that he would have spent nine weeks "abroad," and then have gone back to Dublin when the third part of July was already spent. Yet again he had suspended the Ulster journey, in order that he might go into the King's County, the result of which had



been further misery to the army, and greater difficulties in the way of carrying the war into Ulster. He had received reinforcements, and had promised to advance. Then came word that he could go only to the frontier, and that he had but twenty days' victuals. Essex and the Council had dragged her into fresh expense for one end, and had employed the money for another, to which she would never have assented. Their own proceedings had begotten their difficulties. "Surely we must conclude that none of the four quarters of the year will be in season for you and that Council to agree of Tyrone's prosecution, for which all our charge is intended." She required Essex to consider whether she had not great cause to think that his purpose was not to end the war. If this cause was continued, it was likely to spend her and her kingdom beyond all moderation, as the report of the rebels' success "in all parts" had blemished her honour, and encouraged others to no small presumption. Essex had often told her that his predecessors had no judgment to end the war, who advised that, until garrisons had been planted at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, there could be no hope of doing service upon the capital rebels. "We must therefore let you know, as it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of means; for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than ever any had, or ever shall have." She could not understand his having so small a force with him when he went to Ulster, unless he had left too great numbers of men in unnecessary garrisons. This she commanded him to reform, "especially since, by your continual report of the state of every province, you describe them all to be in worse conditions than ever they were before you put foot in that kingdom." As all hope was gone of any service that year upon Tyrone and O'Donnell, she commanded Essex and the Council to deliberate on the

state into which they had brought the kingdom, and to inform her how they considered the rest of the year should be employed. She concludes her letter by a severe censure on a despatch that had been sent to her, "We have seen a writing, in manner of a catalogue full of challenges that are impertinent, and of comparisons that are needless, such as hath not been before this time presented to a State, except it be done more with a hope to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings. Had it not been enough to send us the testimony of the Council, but that you must call so many of those that are of so slender judgment, and none of our Council, to such a form of subscription? Surely, howsoever you may have warranted them, we doubted not but to let them know what belongs to us, to you, and them." This evidently refers to "the opinion of the Lords and Colonels of the army, dissuading the journey northward" (pp. 126, 127).

It is certainly strange that, after the Queen's stern prohibition written on August 30, and the equally stern denunciation contained in this despatch of September 14, Essex should have ventured to abandon his post, and to return to his incensed Sovereign. The State Papers here calendared prove that, even from the time of his departure from London, his heart was not in the work. He was well aware of some of the difficulties that lay behind as well as before him. When he arrived in Ireland, the perils of his undertaking multiplied upon his vision. It was true that he had "had his asking," as Elizabeth phrased it, when he left England. But she had commanded him, when he arrived in Ireland, to consult those on the spot, and when they revealed to him fresh needs and fresh dangers, it was scant justice to reproach Essex for demanding further supplies. When operations commenced, Essex had not advanced against Tyrone, as Elizabeth had ordered him, but he had given the

reasons why he and his Irish advisers had decided to proceed against the southern rebels, and she had admitted that those reasons were valid. On the other hand, Essex had not conducted his campaign in the east and south in such a manner as to ensure peace there, and so clear the way for his expected operations in the north. He had cleft the rebellion in Leinster and Munster, but he had not crushed it. The rebels had out-manceuvred him. He had been unable to draw them to one decisive battle, and the fruitless issue of the campaign angered the Queen. The western province of Connaught was at the mercy of the rebels, after the overthrow at the Curlews, yet there was no incident in the marching and countermarching of Essex in Ireland so calculated to impress the army for good, as the death of the gallant Sir Conyers Clifford, whilst attempting to rally his men. The advance into Ulster, for campaign it cannot be called, had accomplished no useful ends. The subtilty and resoluteness of Tyrone had easily vanquished the half-heartedness and weariness of Essex. So the perplexed and baffled Lord Lieutenant disgraced himself by flight. Perhaps nothing shews the disordered condition of his thoughts better than the fact that, with such a record, and fleeing as he was against the express command of the Queen, he yet expected to return to Ireland with a fresh lease of her favour. Others, high-placed in Ireland, expected the same. They may have known Essex; they did not know Elizabeth.

On Monday, September 24, 1599, Essex departed from Ireland suddenly and secretly, leaving behind him a commission, whereby he constituted the Lord Chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carey, Lords Justices of the realm during his absence. Before starting, he obtained an advance of 1,000*l.*, besides 500*l.* of his pay, from Carey, who vowed (p. 243), that he knew nothing of his Lordship's intention to go away. The rebels "made two Irish terms of scorn against the Earl



“ of Essex ; one, that he never drew sword but to make  
“ knights ; the other, that he came like a hasty messenger,  
“ that went away before he had done his errand ” (p. 260).  
On the 28th of September, Essex reached the Court,  
just one month from the day on which he had left Dublin to  
attack Tyrone. The officers whom he brought over from  
Ireland were the Earl of Southampton, about whom he had  
quarrelled with Elizabeth ; Sir Henry Dockwra, whom he  
had appointed Governor of Connaught, subject to the  
approval of the Queen ; Sir Henry Davers, who had been  
severely wounded ; Captain Thomas Williams, Captain  
Thomas Lee ; and Sir William Constable. Ormonde was  
replaced in his old post of Lieutenant General of the army.  
Two days after the arrival of Essex in London, he wrote  
down an account of the manner of government he had  
left in Ireland. He had charged the Lords Justices and  
Ormonde to keep the truce strictly, but to stand on their  
guard in every quarter, and to see the forts and garrisons  
victualled for six months. These instructions were carried  
out to the best of their ability. Sir Warham Sentleger, one  
of those employed in the parleying with Tyrone, had been  
sent into Munster, the government of which had been  
temporarily assigned to the provincial Council. Sir William  
Warren had been dispatched to negotiate with Tyrone. The  
chief commander in Connaught was Sir Arthur Savage ; in  
Munster, Sir Henry Power ; in Ulster, Sir Samuel Bagenall ;  
and in Leinster, Sir Oliver Lambert.

The articles of cessation, signed by Tyrone, and the  
instructions to treat with him given by Essex, were brought  
to London by Wotton, the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, who  
accompanied his master on the latter's departure from  
Dublin. Essex declared, “ the conditions demanded by  
“ Tyrone I was fain to give my word that I would only  
“ verbally deliver, it being so required of him before he



“ would open his heart ; his fear being that they should be sent into Spain, as he saith the letter with which he trusted Sir John Norreys was ” (p. 160). At the beginning of October, a series of interrogatories was addressed by the Privy Council to Essex. He was then in the custody of Lord Keeper Egerton, and in such a bad state of health, that he prayed he might be attended by Dr. Mounford, the physician who had been with him in Ireland. The answers to these interrogatories are virtually given in the memoranda by Essex to be found on page 176. The main feature is the desire of Tyrone that the Queen would forgive him “ in her heart, as well as in parchment ” and by an open pardon,” and that Essex might be the person to declare the fact to him. Tyrone further argued that he must shew to the world some care for his confederates, or else he would grow odious to his own party, and they would “ cut his throat, and set up a more malicious and “ dangerous head.” He declined to hold himself tied, unless some agreement were come to with his confederates. If the Queen would not thus compound the troubles of Ireland, Essex offered her the choice of three courses ; either a prosecution in Ulster the next spring with 20,000 foot and 1,400 horse ; or a prosecution in the other three provinces with 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse, leaving garrisons on the Ulster frontier ; or the holding of the forts and towns with 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In another account of the state of Ireland, addressed to the Earl of Essex about this time, the force estimated to be requisite for a campaign in Ulster is put down at 17,000 foot and 1,000 horse (p. 166).

Essex had not answered the dilemma suggested to him by the Privy Council. If Her Majesty pardoned Tyrone, as desired, and kept her forces in Ireland, she would reap no fruit by the treaty. If she dissolved her forces, without good and safe surety from Tyrone, it would be easy for him, when he saw opportunity, to prejudice her estate there.

Sir William Warren, who had been commissioned to go to Tyrone, left Dublin on the 26th of September, and reached Armagh on the 28th. The following day he had a conference with the rebel leader at the Blackwater fort, but Tyrone would not agree to any renewal of the truce, until he had seen O'Donnell, who had been much offended that any truce had been made at all without his consent. This refusal on Tyrone's part was a striking commentary on the desire for pardon that he had so earnestly expressed to Essex a few days before. One statement made to Warren further bears out the duplicity of Tyrone. He declared with an oath that within two months there would be "the greatest alteration and the strangest" that Warren could imagine, or ever saw in his life; but, "what his meaning was thereby, neither did he declare the same to the said Sir William, nor could he understand it, more than that Tyrone did say that he hoped, before it were long, that he, the said Tyrone, would have a good share in England." This statement as to the "alteration," Tyrone reiterated several times. At the close of the conference, he arranged to meet Warren in ten days' time on the borders, near Dundalk. In a letter to Essex, he made out the appointment to be in twenty days' time (p. 176). A second reason that Tyrone gave for the delay was, that McWilliam was besieged in Connaught by Tibbott Ne Longe, and that O'Donnell was going to relieve him. He further promised to write to the O'Connors and O'Moores, enjoining them to keep the truce. Warren returned to Dublin on October 3.

The dramatic circumstances of the arrival of Essex at the Court, and his speedy arrest and committal to the house of the Lord Keeper Egerton, are well known. On October 6, Elizabeth wrote from Richmond to the Lords Justices and Council, and in her own vigorous style censured them all round for the pass to which things had come. She allowed

the appointments of the Lords Justices and Ormonde, and commanded them to observe the truce made in her name, though she pointed out that it was in reality but a truce for fourteen days, as it could be ended by a warning for that period. She said she had expostulated with Essex on his "long tergiversation in the northern action," but that he had laid the blame for that course at the door of the Council. This was unjust on the part of Essex, for, although the Council had advised the operations in Leinster, they were "utterly ignorant" (p. 249), as Sir Robert Cecil notes, of Essex's purpose to go into Munster. "We cannot hide," added Elizabeth, "that we are displeased that our kingdom hath been so ill ordered, as that we must accept of such proceedings, before the rebel had tasted somewhat of our power." She condemned the "abrupt departure" of her Lieutenant, as it would occasion sinister conjectures, and stated that she had sequestered him from her presence. Notwithstanding the gross provocation given by Tyrone, she allowed his desire for pardon, and was resolved to receive him to favour. As, however, his petitions consisted of many matters affecting her honour, she would give her final answer in a few days. Sir Geoffrey Fenton was recommended by her as an assistant in the negotiations with Tyrone. Elizabeth further charged the Lords Justices to forbear making any knights, or granting any leases, pardons, &c., and ordered them to keep her well advised of the course of events. None of the Council were to be licensed to depart into England for any private business. The restraint as to making knights was due to the great abuse by Essex of his power in that respect. In spite of a warning from Elizabeth, he had continued creating knights, and so she issued a proclamation (p. 218) nullifying the creation of thirty-eight of his nominees.

The delay that occurred before the second meeting of



Tyrone and Sir William Warren, and the fact that the truce was being observed by the former, had given the poor borderers of the Pale a breathing-time to get in their harvest and to sow their seed. In Leinster, however, the rebels were engaged in plundering as freely as if there were still open hostilities. Ormonde had "a reasonable good killing" of them, and victualled Philipstown without resistance. In Munster, an effort was being made for the relief of Castlemaine, which was in great danger of being lost. The corporations of the chief towns in the province favoured the rebels. The army was without money and clothes. The inhabitants hated the English government, and gave intelligence and other aid to its enemies. In Connaught, O'Donnell was master. Lord Justice Carey wrote to Cecil of the great sickness among the troops, and was begging for more money for extraordinary expenses. In hope of being afterwards indemnified, he was, as Treasurer, daily venturing to lay out great sums of money for the furtherance of the service, "for "miserable is that sparing which breedeth loss."

Essex was shewn the account of Warren's first journey to Tyrone, and admitted that the answer brought back was contradictory of his report to Her Majesty. But he thought that, if circumstances were weighed, the causes of alteration would appear. First, Tyrone declared he would have nothing to do with any minister of the Queen, except Essex. Secondly, he could not speak with Warren, save in the hearing of some emissary of Spain or Rome, and thus all show of conformity had to be avoided. Thirdly, he would give his followers no cause to suspect him of relenting, until he had obtained assurance of reconciliation to the Queen. Essex stated that he also relied on a faction of Tyrone's countrymen, who would plague him more than all the English armies. What grieved him was that his disgrace and ruin might hinder Her Majesty's service. He hoped his

penance had procured him absolution, and said that his pains and infirmities had made an old man of him in twelve days. Only Elizabeth was "*able agere in animum Essexii.*"

The second interview between Tyrone and Sir William Warren took place near Dundalk on October 16, 17, and 18. On the first of these days, the rain put a stop to parleying. On the 17th, Warren extracted a consent from Tyrone to a fortnight's continuation of the truce. He would not agree to any greater extension, until O'Donnell came to him. On the 18th, Tyrone was at first unwilling to prolong the truce further than the two weeks, and had the effrontery to give as his reason, that it was now winter time, and that the English army was weak, and that, he being the stronger and able to keep the field, now was "the time of his harvest, in which "he made no doubt but to get the whole spoil of the "country." He alleged further that he knew very well that Essex was tarrying in England only to procure a great army to come upon him on all sides during the next spring, and meantime, during the truce, to strengthen the army in Ireland. O'Donnell sent a messenger to tell Tyrone that he could not then come to him, but that whatsoever Tyrone agreed to at this parley, he for his part would observe. The extension of the truce for six weeks, from October 31, was then settled between Warren and Tyrone.

It was clear to all that the "Archtraitor" was simply waiting for a favourable opportunity to break into the Pale, and to stir up the disaffection in the various provinces to renewed activity. Warren declared that he perceived an intention in Tyrone to go shortly to the Shannon or thereabouts, to meet and confer with the Earl of Desmond and his confederates. If these were desirous of a peace, then Tyrone would see what conditions they stood to. The general opinion among the rebels, at first, was that Essex had gone away to obtain greater forces, and therefore they

considered that his sudden departure boded no good to them. But very soon they were half persuaded that he would return no more, and they became bolder in their demeanour. Carey wrote that most of the captains were absent in England, and prayed that they might forthwith be commanded to their respective charges. This request was quickly complied with by the Privy Council, yet, on November 17, many captains had not obeyed the order. Sir Charles Blount, the late Marshal of the army, was dead. It was decided that, as soon as Ormonde arrived in Dublin, Fenton and another should accompany his Lordship to Tyrone. Ormonde was delayed by the illness of his Countess, but promised to come in two or three days' time. This he did, and, on October 26, he wrote from Dublin to Tyrone, asking for a meeting near Dundalk, and desiring a speedy answer. Whilst waiting, Ormonde resolved to return to Kilkenny and the parts around, a decision which caused much anxiety to the Lords Justices, who dreaded an invasion of the Pale during his absence; so they wrote to the Privy Council, asking them to urge the Queen to command Ormonde's residence at Dublin. She complied with the request, in her letter of November 6. Two instances may be given to show how the truce was kept by the rebels. Although it had been agreed that men on both sides were to pass and re-pass throughout the country, the Earl of Desmond said he would resist any attempt to re-victual Castlemaine; and in Connaught the sons of Redmond Burke and others declared that they would stop the provisions going to the relief of the Boyle. Sir Arthur Savage also wrote from Athlone, "We are driven here to this extremity, that myself and those which are employed abroad for Her Majesty, can scarce find any messengers to carry our letters under 20s. or 10s., sometimes more, and to procure friars and unknown persons to convey the same, notwithstanding the cessation" (p. 208).



On October 30, Tyrone wrote from Dungannon to Ormonde, stating that he was sorry he could not then appoint a place to know Her Majesty's pleasure, because he was to take order for the safe passage of some Connaught soldiers, who were returning home from the Earl of Desmond, and whose way was being barred by the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickarde. This was most contrary, he said, to the articles of cessation. As he was "so often broken withal," he adds that, after fourteen days, "I will, for God and my "country, do the best I may against the enemies and tyrants "of the same." He doubted not that, if Essex were in Ireland, he would have reason and right done him, and told Ormonde significantly, "From henceforth, if you write to "me, I wish you to command your secretary to be more "discreet, and to use the word traitor as seldom as he may. "By chiding there is little gotten at my hands" (p. 209).

Before writing this letter, in which he complained so hypocritically about breaches of the truce, Tyrone had sent a priest to try and draw Donnell Spainagh from his recently-vowed allegiance to the Queen. The priest succeeded in his mission. Tyrone wrote to the Moores and Connors to keep the truce until he should hear from the Earl of Essex, but he charged them not to put away their hired men, nor to lose one of them, and, if they had to take relief from the subjects, it were no great matter, provided it were done openly, by snatches. They were also to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition.

Sir Robert Cecil had written to Lord Justice Carey on October 26, that Her Majesty expected that some wise person, well-informed of the state of affairs in Ireland, should be sent over to let her know how things were ordered since the change of government. He named Captain Francis Stafford as a *persona grata* for the purpose, and that officer was eventually sent into England. But it can scarcely have

been for his return to Ireland that the "Instructions" were prepared, of which we have an unsigned and undated draft on pages 215-217. The composition is clearly that of Elizabeth. She again expresses her displeasure at the manner of Essex's return, and also at his lack of discretion in not coming to some definite conclusion with Tyrone. She directs her envoy to bring her an account of the state of Ireland, especially of the condition of the army there, and of the forces of the rebels ; how Tyrone, O'Donnell, the titular Earl of Desmond, the Moores, Connors, and others, may be brought in ; or, if they will not be drawn, what forces will be requisite for their suppression. The Queen states emphatically, with regard to the government of Essex, "yet will we affirm this, that nothing went worse when "our kingdom was managed by others." With reference to the plea of Essex that she should receive Tyrone to mercy, she remarks that she had given the Lord Lieutenant ample authority both to prosecute and pardon. It seemed strange, therefore, that he had not made some final end with the rebels, but had rashly adventured to go to England with so many uncertainties, that she could not tell what to build upon. The Queen remarks scornfully on the truce that had been concluded, directs that Tyrone is to be assured that he shall be favourably listened to, if he repents, and ends her instructions with the words, "Our displeasure to our cousin "of Essex is grounded upon this, that he would leave things "so rawly, and bring over no certainty." In a commission directed to Ormonde, Elizabeth renews her assurances to Tyrone, but distinctly orders that, if the rebel leader does not show true remorse and loyalty, Ormonde is speedily to break off all manner of speech with him. Yet again, in a letter to the Lords Justices and Ormonde, she comments on the government and return of Essex, and justifies her conduct towards him. This was for reasons that have

appealed to monarchs in all time, "because this accident, so  
 " immediately succeeding his employment in so great a  
 " charge, draweth after it some circumstances, which cannot  
 " be severed from public considerations, nor well understood,  
 " if the same be left to the vent of flying rumours, which  
 " never carry any truth, but are reported and believed  
 " according to men's fancies that speak and hear them."  
 Another justification of the Queen may be found in a  
 vigorous speech by Sir Robert Cecil (pp. 221-224), in  
 which, among other matters of interest, he asserts positively  
 that, if Essex had not returned as he did, he thinks that,  
 within twenty days after, he would have had Her Majesty's  
 full leave to go over to England.

Elizabeth bitterly resented the partiality Tyrone had  
 expressed for Essex. The rebel leader stated that he would  
 not draw his sword against the Lord Lieutenant, but would  
 do that for him, which he would not do for any other.  
 Elizabeth wrote to Fenton, on November 5, that if "it shall  
 " be conceived that Tyrone would forbear to draw his  
 " sword against our Lieutenant rather than against us, we  
 " shall take ourself thereby much dishonoured, and neither  
 " value anything that shall proceed from him on such  
 " conditions, nor dispose our mind to be so gracious to him  
 " hereafter, as otherwise we might have been induced."  
 Tyrone, however, according to Warren, denied the speeches  
 attributed to him, and protested that he respected Elizabeth's  
 little finger more than all the subjects she had (p. 307).  
 According to a remarkable declaration made by David  
 Hetherington to Lord Buckhurst, the Leinster rebels said  
 of Essex, "He is ours, and we are his;" whilst the kern of  
 the Brenny called him their friend, and said that he should  
 be "King of Ireland" (pp. 376, 377). In case it might be  
 said that Essex had been severely dealt with by the Queen,  
 because he came over to persuade her to a course of mercy,



she told Fenton to inform Tyrone that her displeasure had grown by reason of Essex having bestowed offices and honours contrary to his instructions, by his having issued great sums of money contrary to her warrant, and by his having presumed to return to England against her absolute commandment. The offers of Tyrone she considered to be full of scandal to her realm, and of future peril to Ireland, since no other security was offered but her trust in "the constancy of the Traitor's conformity." But she could be content, for the good of her people, to pardon his past faults, and to expect better in the future, though she could not "expect pleasant fruit from thistles." It would be an indignity for her if all those who were formerly divided from Tyrone, until they united with him in rebellion against her, now worked their public good by him that wrought them into their treasons. So Tyrone and they must crave mercy separately. As to constraint in religion, she would leave that to God, who worked His will by fitter means than "violence, which did rather obdurate than reform."

If merciful courses proved to be in vain, and war had to take place, then the Queen gave it as her opinion that all methods were fruitless without the plantation of garrisons. Again she censured the Council, and Ormonde in particular, for counselling Essex to go into Leinster and Munster rather than against Tyrone. The flower of the army was tired and harassed, and it was accounted honour enough to bring it back again to Dublin; in some corners whole regiments were defeated; in many places divers disasters happened; and in all parts the best commanders fell. The traitor triumphed, and kept her army at play with "the overplus of his loose men," whom he wished to get rid of. No garrison could be planted at Lough Foyle, or in other parts of his country. Closing her retrospect of Essex's government, the Queen says, "He that shall read any of his letters, after he came

"last to Dublin, shall only see great words, what he meant  
"and wished to be done, but in the substance of his letters  
"nothing appeared but impossibility to do anything. But  
"this is but accidental, for we have heretofore sufficiently  
"handled this unpleasant subject" (p. 232). All parties  
concerned must have heartily agreed with that last clause.

Elizabeth had a good prospect now of making peace with Spain, and with that in sight, she resolved to settle a strong force at Lough Foyle, so as to deal finally with Tyrone, who would be destitute of his chief patron. Fenton was to expostulate with some of the rebels, for the Queen wished to save Ireland "from the curse of continual war," and so preferred to appear ignorant of some offences that had been committed. Ormonde was to try and ascertain the "last  
"and inward purposes" of the rebels. Cecil pointed to the confused state of Ireland, "after the greatest charge that  
"ever the realm of England was put unto." He saw that the Queen's heart was inclined to end the war by composition, if with honour she might. He declared that she cared for nothing that Tyrone held in comparison with his obedience. If the traitors were obstinate, she would fight, but he added, "for my own opinion, I think the worst peace  
"is better than the best war" (p. 234). He told Ormonde to discover with all speed what was Tyrone's meaning, and then the Queen would send him an absolute commission to make an end. Thus Tyrone could not say that he had any cause not to proceed to take his pardon of Her Majesty, "unless," as Cecil significantly wrote to the Lords Justices on November 6, "he mean to think nothing grace, without  
"he be made in this peace Head and Monarch of Ireland, as  
"he would by these offers pretend."

One charge brought against him by Tyrone, Cecil indignantly repelled. This was that Cecil had laid plots to murder Tyrone, and not to spare him even when he came

to parleys. "To answer so lewd a lie, I will not be sparing, whomsoever it concern, when I know none but rogues and varlets can or dare so inform him. No, I would he should know it, I hate as much any such base humour as any man that liveth in this kingdom." Cecil was equally indignant at Tyrone accusing the Queen of having sent Sir Henry Brouncker to betray the Earl, when he came to a parley under a safe-conduct. When once Tyrone was sure of the Queen's grace, Cecil believed he would see the day when he would shake him by the hand in England; but protested that, if Tyrone did not now take reasonable conditions, he would advise Her Majesty to spare no charge on earth to reduce him.

Many weeks had passed since Essex had left Ireland, when, on November 10, Tyrone wrote a letter to him directly, stating the wrongs he himself had suffered, and that in consequence he had given notice of terminating the truce. "I made my agreement," said Tyrone, "only with your Lordship, in whom I had my only confidence, who, as I am given to understand, is now restrained from your liberty, for what cause I know not; so I have nobody else to conclude withal what I intended with your Lordship; unless I should deal with the Lords Justices and Council, who have already deceived me oftentimes." Tyrone did not wait for the fourteen days to be up before taking a step which at once proved his protestations of loyalty to be utterly false, and precluded him from any chance of obtaining his pardon. This was the dispersal through many, if not all, parts of Ireland of a highly treasonable proclamation, a "villainous libel," as Lord Justice Carey called it. It is unfortunate that the copy of it sent by Carey to Cecil, in a letter dated November 13, is wanting. The way in which this copy was obtained was as follows. On November 4, Warren was sent a third time by the Lord Justice



and Council to Tyrone. One Thomas Barnewall accompanied Warren on the journey, also by direction of their Lordships. Whilst at Dungannon, on November 8, there were shewn to Barnewall some six or seven "writings," all signed by Tyrone, which Richard Owen, an intimate partisan of the rebel leader, said Tyrone purposed to have "cast abroad" in the streets of Dublin and Drogheda. Barnewall obtained a copy, ostensibly to give to Fitzsimmons, a priest in Dublin, and was urged by Tyrone to deliver it with all haste to that party, and to publish it to others. Barnewall, however, took it straight to the Council, who sent it on to the Privy Council. Cecil endorses the account given by Barnewall with the words, "The writing mentioned was the infamous libel, signed by O'Neill, which Mr. Attorney hath." In forwarding the document, the Council referred to the "monstrous matters" it contained, to the "malicious pride of the Archtraitor, and the venom of his stomach against" the Queen, and spoke of the libel "insinuating a horrible deprivation of Her Majesty from all obedience and allegiance of her subjects." After such a treasonable proclamation, to say nothing of Tyrone's insolent letter of October 30 to Ormonde, and Warren's opinion that there was "no hope of good" in the rebel leader, the Council stated that they thought it "dishonourable and fruitless" to parley further with Tyrone, until, at least, they had heard the Queen's further pleasure. The Bishop of Meath prepared an answer to the proclamation issued by Tyrone (pp. 303, 304); and, what was of more importance, the priest, Henry Fitzsimmons, to whom those who brought the proclamation into the Pale were directed by Tyrone, was captured early in December (pp. 323, 324). Tyrone declared he was not at all beholden to Fitzsimmons, but he showed great indignation at the priest's arrest, and demanded his instant release. The proclamation was, according to Sir William Warren,

framed by one Ascote, who also drew up the articles designated by Warren "an unreasonable rabble of Tyrone's demands" (p. 339).

When Essex left Ireland, he had appointed Sir William Warren Governor of Carrickfergus. Carey and Ormonde thought it would have been better if Sir Arthur Chichester had been continued in that post ; but that officer had been directed by Essex to repair to Dublin, and there take up the duties of Sergeant-Major General. Chichester, of course, obeyed, though he asked Cecil to send him back to his government. Chichester was not the only one of his family who had a special knowledge of Carrickfergus and of the country round about that town. In his new office, he got an insight into the state of the army, that he did not have before. One sentence may suffice. "The kingdom is great, " and Her Majesty's force of fourteen thousand men are " scarcely seen in it, but in this province of Leinster, where " the greatest number have their abiding ; and yet here can " hardly 4,000 be drawn together to the field (leaving the " garrisons weakly strengthened), to resist any incur- " sions whatsoever." It will be remembered that, when Essex marched against Tyrone, his force consisted of 3,800 men. Chichester argued that journeys were but consumptions of men, more hurtful to those making them than to the enemy. It was only by the plantation of garrisons that the rebels could be beaten.

About the middle of November, Ormonde was gathering his forces at Navan and Naas, and had summoned to his aid the musters (on which, however, little reliance could be placed), of the five shires in the Pale. When the appointed day arrived, these Palemen were not forthcoming. Ormonde had received intelligence, on November 17, that Tyrone was drawing to the borders, and later in the same day, that he had actually crossed into the Pale, and that O'Donnell had

entered Connaught, the object of the two confederates being to strike some sudden blow together. Yet, strange to say, it was proposed to draw ten companies from Connaught to defend the Pale. News also came that out of Munster the Earl of Desmond was to come to meet with Tyrone in some place about the Shannon side. The Council bemoaned "the extreme dangerous state of the kingdom, such as in the knowledge of us, that have served longest here, was never seen." They feared Ireland would "run daily to more universal desolation," if speedy measures were not taken to prevent it. Tyrone's proclamation, wherein he had published that his quarrel was "for religion and popular liberty," was calculated to make a deep impression on the country. The Council, therefore, begged for further supplies of men and money, and for "a nobleman to govern ; and he to be sent out of hand, to enter into charge, the better to stay disasters, which otherwise cannot but break out without remedy" (p. 252).

Ormonde might gather his forces, but he could not use them. There were no provisions fit for their relief. The Lords Justices styled the victuals, "such rotten and unserviceable stuff" (p. 265). Divers of the companies were half naked, and the winter was at hand. They were far weaker than Cecil had been informed. Many were Irish companies, which were not to be trusted. Ormonde himself strongly urged the sending over of a Governor, "if my Lord of Essex come not over again" (p. 256). Fenton, too, a little later on, heard rumours that Essex would return ; and prayed that, if so, he himself might be recalled from Ireland. Despite the late reference of the Council to Elizabeth, Ormonde purposed to parley with Tyrone, and craved the assistance of his old coadjutors, Sir Geoffrey Fenton and the Bishop of Meath. The latter, not being at Dublin, could not be suddenly sent for, but Fenton was permitted by the



Council to go, and, although suffering from severe illness, he at once started on his journey to the northern borders of the Pale. Ormonde was instructed by the Council to let none of the country gentlemen attend him at the parley, as their often going to the like had done much harm. Tyrone suggested a spot near Thomastown as the place of meeting. Sir Arthur Savage, who had come from Athlone to Dublin about his commission and pay, leaving Sir Gerald Harvey in command, was ordered back immediately to his charge in Connaught, and the Council took measures for effecting the victualling of Athlone. Lord Delvin had gone with his own company and other forces towards Tyrone, notwithstanding the prohibition by the Council of his holding a parley with the rebel leader. "We pray God," write the Council (p. 266), "it be for the best, but we, that are jealous of this "dangerous State, do fear the worst." Lord Delvin, however, shewed by his actions later on that he remained loyal in heart to Her Majesty. Again the Council begged for the speedy sending over of "a martial man, fit for the government of this distressed kingdom." "It is almost "incredible," write the English Privy Council about Ireland (p. 275), "to see the universal distraction" of Her Majesty's affairs.

The Queen was very pleased with the determination of the Lords Justices and Council to forbear any further parley with Tyrone, until they heard further from her. She required them, in reply, "to use her name to so odious a "traitor no more than to cast pearls before swine," and stated that she had commanded a nobleman to prepare himself within twenty days to go over and take charge of Ireland. Three months were to elapse before that nobleman set foot in the kingdom.

The articles intended "to be stood upon" by Tyrone were evidently framed to secure as wide a popularity as possible

for himself in Ireland. Even a man possessed of but a fraction of the rebel leader's ability must have seen that it was impossible to obtain them, and least of all from a sovereign with the spirit of Elizabeth. Here are some of the items. The "Church of Ireland" to be "wholly governed by the "Pope;" the Roman Catholic religion to be openly taught throughout the country; all churches and church lands to be restored to "the Catholic churchmen;" all Roman Catholic prisoners, priests and otherwise, to be set at liberty, and allowed to travel freely at home or abroad; no Englishmen to hold office in the Church of Ireland; all the principal civil offices to be filled by Irishmen; no Irishmen's heir under age to be a Royal ward; and no children, &c., to be taken as pledges for "the good abearing of their "parents." At the same time, one article runs, "That the Governor of Ireland be at least an Earl, and of the Privy Council of England, bearing the name of Viceroy." Another article, bearing on a controversy which has raged more or less since those days, requires "that there be erected an university upon the Crown rents of Ireland, wherein all sciences shall be taught according the manner of the Catholic Roman Church." Elizabeth shewed her intense indignation at these articles; Sir Robert Cecil scornfully endorsed them with the one word, "Ewtopia" (*sic*).

On the very day, November 30, on which the Privy Council conveyed the Queen's approval of staying parley with Tyrone, a meeting with that leader had taken place on the borders of Ferney. Fenton delivered the message formerly sent by Her Majesty, expressive of her sense of the Earl's manifold treasons, but yet not shutting out all hope of mercy. This was owing to the report Essex had given her of Tyrone's desire to become a good subject. The latter answered "rather formally and coldly," but promised to do his best to make good the protestations of Essex on his

behalf. Fenton also said that the Queen would shortly signify her final pleasure with respect to the articles put forward by Tyrone. The Earl of Ormonde, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir William Warren, were present at this interview. After it, Sir William Warren was sent to tell Tyrone some more of the contents of the Queen's letter to Fenton, and to urge the Earl to submission. Tyrone made some show of yielding, and promised to induce his confederates to seek Her Majesty's mercy. Fenton asked for a decision within fourteen days, and this was agreed to. On the second day of the meeting a further truce was concluded for a month. Divers advantages resulted from this arrangement. Victuals, munitions, and other provisions, could be forwarded to the various towns and forts; the bridges and passages upon the Boyne could be fortified and guarded, and the fords stopped; and the subjects on the borders could thresh their corn, and place it in safety. "But," wrote Fenton, "the best commodity by this cessation is, that we "have sent him and all his rakehells back again into Ulster." On this occasion Tyrone's bark had been worse than his bite. During his stay on the borders, he had made but one inroad into the Pale, burning a few petty thatched villages, and taking about eighty cows; this, too, after threatening to pierce into the heart of the five shires, and, passing over the hill of Tara, not to stay "till he had looked upon Dublin."

Ormonde, who returned to Dublin immediately after the parley, informed the Council thereof, and a letter was sent to the Privy Council "touching the disloyal and corrupt heart" of Tyrone, and how they held him "desperate, without hope "of recovery." The safety of the kingdom could not long subsist without present succours of men and money from England, "with a superior person to command the whole." Tyrone knew the weakness of Her Majesty's army, and the "despairful State" of Ireland was in a "languishing con-



"dition." Lord Justice Carey writes (p. 296), "it were a good deed that some good portions were offered to take away some of these principal archtraitors' heads. That course would make them all afraid and mistrustful even of those that are nearest about them."

In Munster, matters were going from bad to worse. The whole province had grown into such a hatred of the English government, that the troops there were nearly powerless, the reputed subjects joining with the open rebels against the soldiers. Chief Justice Saxey, who was always quarrelling with his colleagues on the Munster Council, might attribute this hatred to the lack of due administration of justice, but that was only one of its causes. Religion and family alliances were more potent factors, as the papers in this volume show. Tyrone fostered the rebellion with all his energy, sending forces into the province, and promising high honours to the chief leaders therein. The merchants of the port towns found it a lucrative trade to smuggle over arms and ammunition from England, although the penalties incurred thereby were considerable. The rebels, having blinded the authorities with the colour of the truce, remained with their whole forces near Cork, living on the country, and committing spoil, as if hostilities were still in progress.

The sums of money expended by Elizabeth on Ireland had been enormous. "Her Majesty's treasure," write the Privy Council, "melteth like wax before the sun;" and they add, "if there be not foresight used, and order observed, great expenses and disorderly accounts will impoverish the richest monarchs in Christendom." They point out what large amounts ought to be remaining in the Treasurer's hands, if the money granted had been duly laid out, and the authorised deductions made. Further, numerous petitioners, officers and others, went from Ireland to the English Court, and there clamoured for divers moneys alleged to be due to

them. The victuals for the army were in large measure corrupt ; the clothes for the soldiers were not, in quantity at least, according to contract, and were delivered after the appointed seasons. There were gross abuses in the musters. The officers were too often absent in England, and, even when in Ireland, squandered much of their own and of their men's pay, the money rarely reaching the hands of the rank and file. The consequences were seen in lack of discipline, spoliation, sickness, and desertion. In January, 1600, the Captains in Dublin, when ordered by the Council to join their companies, refused to do so (p. 424). The only bright spot in the affairs of the army in Ireland was the greater attention paid to the sick and wounded men, particularly in the planning of hospitals for their reception. Several papers in this volume refer to these buildings, and it is to be noted that Essex set a good example in the care he took of his suffering troops. John Baxter, who had been employed many years in the Queen's service in Ireland, said that, if the wars were to be continued there, another course would have to be held for the sick men than that to which they were accustomed. He wrote of "the poor English, which  
" are half dead before they come there, for the very name of  
" Ireland do break their hearts, it is now so grown to  
" misery."

How different the state of the army might have been, and how complete an account of the campaigning in Ireland we might have had, if a suggestion contained in a paper by Lord Buckhurst (pp. 377, 378) had been adopted and enforced :—  
" That every Captain do make a journal of all the actions of  
" himself and his band, whether it be done upon his own  
" discretion, or by direction from his superior ; and that he do  
" monthly send the same journal to the chief of that province ;  
" and the chief in like sort to send one duplicate thereof to the  
" Deputy, and one other to the Lords of the Council here ;

“whereby Her Majesty may have a monthly account from  
“every such chief of every province how every particular  
“captain hath been employed, and what service he and his  
“band hath done Her Majesty in respect of his pay.” The  
Lord High Treasurer’s paper contains other valuable suggestions tending to the welfare of the army, especially in view of the operations to be conducted by Lord Mountjoy.

The first mention of the name of the new Lord Deputy occurs in a letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Justice Carey, written from Richmond on December 11. Sir Robert declares that Lord Mountjoy will be found “very compatible  
“in all Her Majesty’s service” (p. 314). Essex lay still in disgrace, and was “very dangerously sick of the flux.” It had not been decided what army should accompany Mountjoy to Ireland, but the Queen had made up her mind on one point, viz., to plant a garrison at Lough Foyle. Much material for an expedition to that place had been prepared some time before, but had been lying unused, owing to Sir Henry Bagenall’s defeat at Armagh. This material was now called for, but no one seemed to know what had become of it; a gross instance of the corruption that was eating all vitality out of the administration of the army in Ireland. Fenton sent news of a great gathering of Tyrone and his confederates in the Dillons’ country in Westmeath, ostensibly to consider their grievances, and to see what offers they would make to the Queen, but, really, Fenton thought, to draw the Pale to them, by force or device, and so drive Her Majesty to stand to the port towns. No answer had come from Tyrone since the late parley, and twelve of the fourteen days had elapsed. In Ulster the truce was being kept, but in Leinster and the Pale the rebels were acting as if no cessation were agreed upon, and in Connaught O’Donnell was ranging about with over 3,000 men. Sir Arthur Savage was attacked whilst conveying some money and munition to



Athlone, and on that occasion Captain Francis Shane was taken prisoner. Fenton again pressed the hurrying over of the Lord Deputy, whose coming, if possible, before the next meeting with Tyrone, would be enough to break the neck of all the rebel conclusions. "The ruined estate of this kingdom, declining daily from ill to worse, will not suffer an honest man to use silence." "What reckoning," adds Fenton, "is to be looked for of this realm, that hath no head to stir abroad to guide it, and the army, which is, or ought to be, the assurance of the whole, destitute of experienced men to command. And, lastly, the soldiers for the most part undisciplined, and out of use how to obey, or to be held in order."

In Munster the priests had drawn most of the rebels to believe that Elizabeth intended not only to conquer them, "but also utterly to extirp and root out all" the Irish. The Queen wrote an indignant letter about "the blind guiding of those devilish hypocrites," and declared that all the rebels who submitted should receive equal love and favour with the English. In the province there re-appeared the figure of Florence McCarthy, who had been many years confined in the Tower of London, but had at length obtained his release, and brought with him letters of recommendation from the English Court. It was hoped he might do the Queen acceptable service, and he was well received by Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power. Those officers made an attempt to relieve Castle Logh, which was being defended by McCarthy's wife against the rebels. The weakness of the English force, and the inclemency of the weather, rendered the attempt futile. After the loss of Castlemaine, when Desmond came with his forces to Drishane in Muskerry, McCarthy was empowered by the Munster Commissioners to parley with the rebels. These received him joyfully, "only," writes McCarthy, "they disliked that

“ night mine English attire, but much more my piercing  
“ speeches in Her Majesty’s behalf, and against their foolish,  
“ senseless, damned action, to the undoing of themselves,  
“ and all men else near them ” (p. 319). Very soon he  
himself was to take the course of action he described in those  
terms. McCarthy stayed the one night with the rebels, but  
could get no concessions from them. There is a graphic  
touch in his letter about the Irish encampment. “ After  
“ their supper of beef and water, which is all the meals they  
“ make in a day, they had not for their twelve hundred men  
“ but two beds ; the one for the Bishop and another divine  
“ of great account among them—his name is Dermot—and  
“ the other for Desmond, where he would needs have me to  
“ lie also, whereby one of Her Majesty’s and another of Tir-  
“ Owen’s lay together that night.” The rebels wasted  
Carberry, and, on their return from his father’s country,  
McCarthy went to them again, hoping to bring about an  
encounter between them and the English forces, “ but all the  
“ wit in the world could not persuade them to be one hour out  
“ of their bogs and woods.” As soon, therefore, as the rebels  
had departed, McCarthy took the advice of Sir Warham  
Senteleger and Sir Henry Power, and prepared to go into his  
country, to recover it. He had about five or six hundred  
hired Connaught men, but was without the weapons for  
furnishing his own followers. Sir Warham and Sir Henry  
wrote in his behalf to Sir Robert Cecil, and McCarthy prayed  
for pikes and culivers for 300 men. His wife’s base brother  
had taken the title of McCarthy, and the people accordingly  
followed him. Florence McCarthy prayed that, if the  
weapons could not be sent him, the title might be recognised  
as his. About the 1st of January, 1600, he joined the rebels,  
going into Desmond with some 500 men, and there, on a  
parley hill, receiving from O’Sullivan More a rod ; and thus,  
after Irish custom, became McCarthy More. He also swore

allegiance to the Earl of Desmond, and both received the sacrament together. McCarthy was consequently summoned to Cork, but did not appear (p. 477).

In Connaught, the command of the forces had been given by Elizabeth to the Earl of Clanrickarde and his son Lord Dunkellin. Fenton hoped the alteration would be only provisional, until a firmer rule was settled in Connaught. "For otherwise," he wrote to Cecil, "if it should continue long a broken and divided government, and under the administration of the two Irish Earls, it is to be feared that, by time, it might grow wild and Irish, and so be chargeful to the Crown to make it English again. And (under your Honour's favour), in this latter age of the world, it is not safe for Her Majesty to raise up Irish Governors, and establish them over countries that have been, and may be again, ruled by English laws and justice" (p. 412). But whatever change was made in the government of Connaught, Fenton specially wished that the castle and bridge of Athlone, which formed the key of the province, might remain in the hands of an Englishman.

Sir William Warren gives a graphic account of the difficulties that attended his parleyings with Tyrone. He writes to Cecil, "I assure your Honour that I never went to Tyrone but I was forced to bribe his friars, and Jesuits, and his traitors, to further my business, which for my life I never durst make the State acquainted withal; for, if it had been once known, they would have laid a plot to cut me off, either going [to] or coming from Tyrone. For I protest to God I never went to him, but I was in danger to lose my life before my return" (p. 339). The insolence of the rebels was unbounded. Within a mile of Maynooth lay 300 Geraldines and Delahides, who, notwithstanding the truce, were taking up beeves daily from the subjects, and saying that they would give Tyrone's bill for payment.



Warren told this to the Lords Justices, and offered to cut off all the 300 in a single night, but their Lordships vouchsafed him no reply. Again, there were some deserters from the English ranks committing like depredations in the Pale, and Warren asked the Lord Chancellor for permission to kill them, but this was refused. No wonder Sir William fretted under such spiritless Governors.

When Mountjoy was appointed Lord Deputy, there were, nominally at least, 14,000 men in the army in Ireland. If from these were deducted the numbers for necessary garrison duty, those inefficient by reason of sickness or wounds, and those who had deserted, there were not more than about three thousand available for service in the field. The levies ordered to be sent with Mountjoy amounted to 5,000 men, of whom 3,000 were destined for Lough Foyle. The method of campaign was to be both offensive and defensive. The main work was to "infest" Tyrone and O'Donnell in their own countries, for all the other rebel leaders, when attacked, received supplies from them. The garrisons to be planted, besides that at Lough Foyle, were those of Ballyshannon, Carrickfergus, and Castle Toome. We are told in a memorial that from neither Tyrone nor O'Donnell had one cow ever yet been taken; and the suppression of the two "capital traitors" would mean the conquest of the whole of Ireland. Nearly a million of money had been spent by successive Lords Deputy in making "journeys" into the north of the country, but the result, though momentarily visible, was immediately lost, like the path of a ship on the ocean. The weak garrisons at Armagh and the Blackwater had occasioned endless expense, and had served as much purpose "as he that should endeavour to catch the wind in a net." It was urged that the best plan was to follow the example of Edward I. in the subjugation of Wales, by building strong castles near the retreats of the rebels, and closing in upon

them until they surrendered or were destroyed. "For we see, by manifold experience, what madness it is for a Deputy or General to lead royal forces against naked rogues in woods and bogs, whom hounds can scarce follow, and much less men. Their ordinary food is a kind of grass. Neither clothes nor houses, generally, do they care for. With this their savage life are they able to wear out any army that seeketh to conquer them. It is no more possible to defeat them at once, than to destroy so many wolves and foxes; the which may be effected by tract of time and means convenient, but not to be attempted by plain force in the open field, they having dens, coverts, and labyrinths inextricable, for their succours" (p. 363).

At the close of 1599, the strength of the rebels in Ireland is given as 23,000 foot and 1,550 horse, distributed as follows:—Leinster, 4,000 foot and 200 horse; Ulster 9,000 foot and 800 horse: Munster, 6,000 foot and 300 horse; and Connaught, 4,000 foot and 250 horse. The paper by Lord Buckhurst, above referred to, shows how carefully preparations were made for a vigorous course of action against the rebels in all parts, and especially at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. Towards the end of the paper, there is a notable recommendation (No. 40), "That as soon as the Lord Mountjoy is settled in Ireland, and the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon planted, and the forces in Munster established, that then there be first a proclamation, shewing therein the crafty treason of Tyrone, who, under colour of religion and liberty, seeks to make himself King of Ireland; and therewith to declare that for no cause subjects ought to rebel, &c. (*sic*). And after this, a proscription of Tyrone, offering 2,000*l.* for his head, and pardon of life, lands, and goods beside, [to him] that did perform it." Other papers, as those on pages 391-395, evince the activity displayed for ensuring the suppression

of the rebellion throughout Ireland. The "Archtraitor," on his part, was making great preparations, and the Council considered that the attack on the Pale would be delivered by him about the 12th of January. They lamented the absence of many of the Commanders and Captains in England, and prayed that these might be ordered back immediately to their charges. The companies were weak, and the greater proportion of them consisted of Irish, who lay under a suspicion of treachery. Money was wanting. Carey had borrowed up to the hilt, and could get no more. Yet there had been spent on the army in Ireland, from 1 March to 31 December, 1599, no less a sum than 171,883*l.* 0*s.* 6½*d.* (p. 448). Carey was feeling distracted, and told Cecil, "I find the perils and hazards such, that I "protest unto your honour that I never had quiet night's "rest, sithence I first came into this cursed land" (p. 466). The accounts of the companies could not be settled, as Birkinshawe had not been returned from England to check the musters. Corrupt victuals were still being issued to the soldiers. Every department of the administration was in a muddle. Amid all the grumbling and lamenting, there was only one clear note sounded by all the authorities in Ireland, "Send over a martial Lord Deputy with the utmost speed." Mountjoy was to restore everything.

Sir Geoffrey Fenton was anxious that Lord Mountjoy should receive a special charge to prosecute the rebels in Leinster first. It was the course adopted by Essex, and had turned out disastrously for him, although he was victorious. Fenton, however, considered that the campaign in the province would not be a long one, and that it was important "to regain a country of so large and settled revenues to Her "Majesty, and the most ancient part of her crown in this "realm." He thought success in Leinster would in the main draw in Munster and Connaught, and thus cut off



Ulster's principal supports. To prevent Tyrone going to the help of Leinster, Fenton advised the sending of a strong garrison to Lough Foyle simultaneously with the advance into that province. The garrison was to be "as an iron hook " in the nostrils " of Tyrone, " to hold him hard and entangle " him at home," whilst Leinster and Munster were being recovered. According to intelligences received by Fenton, Tyrone left Dungannon on January 15, and reached the Blackwater that night. The next day he arrived within two miles of Armagh, and there lay two nights. On the 18th, he was at a town near the borders of Monaghan. From the 19th to the 21st, he was to be at Moneyvane, whence he purposed to go and meet McMahon. On the 22nd or 23rd, Tyrone had an appointment with the men of the Brenny at Cavan, and thence he was to go south to meet his confederates of Leinster and Munster. His force was small enough, according to report; only 2,500 foot and some 200 horse. But he had left a goodly number of men behind him. His brother McCormack, Art Maguire, Sir Arthur O'Neill, O'Cahan, Tirlogh McHenry, and Con McCollo, were to guard each his own country. Brian McArt and James McSorley were to look after the garrison of Carrickfergus, and Tyrone's brother Cormack, Magennis, and O'Hanlon, were to camp near Newry with some 600 men. Tirlogh McHenry and Con McCollo were appointed to watch the garrison of Dundalk. Tyrone said he would be away for two months; his chief followers reckoned his probable stay at a month. The King of Scotland had sent him a cordial letter by a serving-man, but durst not despatch any Scottish noble to Tyrone, through fear of the English Council. Tyrone sent two messengers to Desmond in Munster, and gave out that he himself would not stir until they returned.

The Lord Justice Loftus was as anxious as Fenton for the suppression of the Leinster rebels, who, he averred, offered

daily to the State more disgrace than all the rest. He advocated the employment of Scots against the rebels, since "these beggarly Scots being greedy of prey, whereof they shall have store in these mountains, will serve to good use to break the ice to our men in those dangerous straits." Mountjoy was to be warned not to make any cessations, which had been, wrote Loftus, "the only cut-throat of this kingdom; for Her Majesty may make this sure account (such is the desperate pass things are now brought to), that, without great killing, this State will not be resettled, all parts being so possessed by the rebel, as there is no more left whole, but so much as is betwixt Dublin and Drogheda, which is but twenty miles in length, and eight or ten miles broad at the most, and that same miserably wasted and impoverished by those who are sent to defend it" (p. 411). Such was the Ireland Mountjoy was sent to recover for the Queen.

On January 24, Ormonde wrote to Cecil, "I am exceeding glad to understand from you, that Her Majesty is now resolved to make these insolent and malicious traitors know and feel her power and force, without which there can be no hope had of their conformities; and am no less comforted to hear that my Lord Mountjoy is so near upon his speedy dispatch hither." Captain Thornton was ordered to go in the *Popinjay* to Chester, to be in readiness to embark the new Lord Deputy. The same vessel had carried Essex over to Ireland.

Tyrone, as usual, was the first in the field. On the 25th of January he went through the Annaly, or county Longford, to Magawle's country in Westmeath, and there encamped within four miles of Athlone. The Lords Justices and Council thought it very strange that no resistance was offered to check the Earl's progress, there being so many places on the way suited for that purpose. On the 26th,

Tyrone entered the country of Sir Theobald Dillon, who had sent a spirited letter refusing to join him (p. 420), and wreaked his revenge by utterly devastating his enemy's lands. Returning to his encampment the same day, he removed on the 28th to Durrow, Sir Edward Herbert's house in King's County. Thence he purposed to go into Kilkenny, and afterwards to meet Desmond at the Holy Cross near Cashel. Ormonde, with such troops as he could muster (and he had drained the Pale of the best in it), resolved to follow Tyrone, and prevent the meeting with Desmond. Meantime, the Marshal had ravaged Queen's County, and taken away much provision, which had been collected for the relief of Tyrone and his men. The chief result, however, of this success was, that Onie McRory forsook his country, and went to the Ranelaghs. Ormonde expressed the opinion that the speediest way to end the war was by fire and sword, the means he had used to terminate the war with the previous Earl of Desmond. The Lords Justices and Council wished Ormonde success in his "great action, which," they add, "is the greatest and most dangerous that hath happened in the knowledge of us, that have served longest here. For it was never heard that any of the O'Neills out of their deserts of Ulster, and with an army of Ulstermen only, did pierce so far into Leinster" (p. 457). Yet Fenton had good reason for his lament to Cecil, "What hope is there of the reduction of this kingdom, when Her Majesty, paying an army of 14,000 foot, cannot have a fourth part thereof drawn to a head to defend the heart, which is but the fourth part of the kingdom; while the sworn enemy findeth way to march (as it were) through the bowels of it, and to use an insolent liberty to take or leave, as he listeth?" (p. 459). Tyrone was, after his own fashion, supporting the appeal that the coming Lord Deputy should direct his forces first of



all against Leinster, and was lingering in that province, so that Ulster should remain unmenaced.

The instructions to Lord Mountjoy will be found on pages 440-447. They were drawn up mainly on the lines of those given to Essex in March, 1599. One passage will suffice to show what Elizabeth thought of the state to which Ireland had been reduced, and upon whom she threw the blame. After referring to the provision she had made for the preservation of the country, she says, "So, whosoever is not of a weak or corrupt judgment must as clearly see that the dishonour, the expense, and the peril thereof hath been absolutely derived from their errors, to whom we have committed the former care and charge of that government. Of which sort of errors because the greatest are freshest in memory, and the perilous state to which the kingdom is brought so notoriously known to yourself, and any that knoweth less than you do, as it cannot be excused ; we are now persuaded that, if we should have employed at this time a man of never so common and vulgar a judgment, it would be hard for him to fall into many errors, if he do but observe how much others have failed, that have of late years been our Governors." The Queen intimated that she had resolved to maintain an army of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, that she had resolved to plant garrisons in the heart of the countries of the capital rebels, and, with regard to Tyrone, that she had commanded Mountjoy, "even for the saving of our honour," not to grant cessations, but "to use all means possible to cut him off as a reprobate to God, and leave him to the force of our sword." Still, if Tyrone persistently and absolutely submitted himself, he was not to be shut out from mercy. Full details on this and other matters will be found in the instructions. The representations from the Council as to Connaught had borne fruit. Lord Dunkellin was to command the forces in that province, until some

Governor of English blood was settled there, and Mountjoy was to give a commission accordingly, reserving the command of the garrisons in Galway and Athlone. Sir Henry Dockwra was to be Governor of Lough Foyle. The Earl of Ormonde, if he so desired, was to have his old post of Lieutenant-General of the army, under Mountjoy.

The new Lord Deputy did not need to arrive in Ireland to find out that the army promised him was too small for the purpose for which it was intended. Ormonde and Fenton had both written to him, and Mountjoy himself wrote to Cecil from Daintree, on February 10, telling him that the numbers were too few, that he had "now presently to enter "into the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, "two actions of exceeding difficulty," and that Tyrone was already afoot, "and master of the field in person, as far as "Munster." Mountjoy asked for only one or two thousand more men, and said that he could easily get that number of Irishmen, "of whom there will be as great or greater use "made than of sundry as are sent over." Five days later, writing from Chester of some fifty Carnarvonshire soldiers, who had been mustered there, he says they are "insufficient " (the most of them being taken out of prison, or are boys)." These men were actually embarked for Ireland the next day, as no substitutes could be found. Of other English levies, Mountjoy stated that the very counties through which they passed exclaimed at their "insufficiency," and that the Commissioners of Musters held them unlikely to do any service in the wars. The Lord Deputy was afraid that the rest of the men to be levied in February would "suit with "the former, both in the disability of the men, and in their "slackness of repair." The army of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, promised to Mountjoy, was to be distributed as follows :—In Ulster, 5,100 foot and 450 horse ; in Connaught, 1,350 foot and 100 horse ; in Leinster, 1,868 foot and 200

horse ; and in Munster, 3,000 foot and 250 horse. The remainder of the horse and foot were to attend the Lord Deputy.

Fenton was of opinion that in this year [1600] Spain would show herself in the quarrel of Ireland more than ever before. Tyrone was daily subduing one portion or another of the country, and this would quicken Spain "to apprehend "the opportunity, and prosecute a total alteration," if she found no greater resistance of English forces than before. News reached Fenton that Tyrone had lately sent two messengers to the King of Spain to state that now the Earl "had all Ireland under him, except the corporate towns," and that he begged artillery, powder, and men from the King to win these towns, "and so to put the whole kingdom into "the King of Spain's hands." Tyrone intended, on his return home, to attempt the English Pale, "which he maketh "but a handful to get, in respect of the rest that he hath "gotten." The Byrnes, Kavanaghs, and Moores were to help him, and the O'Connors in King's County were promised a division of the county among their septs, according as they recovered the same from the English. Ormonde had got to Kilkenny, and thus Tyrone, on his return, would be between Ormonde's forces and those of the Pale. "If," wrote one of Fenton's intelligencers, "he go back untouched, as he came "up untouched, I say it is the hardest destiny that ever "came to Ireland."

On February 16, Mountjoy wrote from Chester that he was shipping all his company, and was himself ready to depart. Daily, the need for his presence in Ireland was becoming more pressing. Sir Arthur Chichester, the Sergeant Major General, whom Ormonde had left in command in the Pale, found, on taking an exact view of the horse and foot under his charge, that he did not possess more than 800 foot and 160 horse fit to take the field, and this too after placing



only slender garrisons in the frontier towns. Out of the above numbers, Ormonde had sent for 500 foot and 100 horse. On the north of the Pale, there lay, with strong forces, Cormack, Tyrone's brother, the O'Reillys, the McMahons, and other fighting men of Ulster. On the south, lay the Moores and Connors, the Byrnes and the Tooles. On the west, O'Donnell and O'Rourke were ready to break into Westmeath, or, passing south, to invade Clanrickarde and Thomond, and thus second Tyrone in his return from Munster. In that province, Tyrone had effected a junction with Desmond, though not at the Holy Cross, where Ormonde managed to arrive first. Lord Barry's lands were burned by the rebels as mercilessly as had been those of Sir Theobald Dillon. The Council of Ireland compared Tyrone to a sponge, so effectually was he sucking up the Irish in Leinster and Munster. "For our parts," writes the Council, "we are at the end of our strength. We have no other hope than in God and Her Majesty, for the preservation of this falling kingdom, which, to our great grief we speak it, was never in so great a hazard of overrunning as it is now" (p. 488).

On Sunday, the 24th February, 1600, Lord Mountjoy embarked at Beaumaris on the *Popinjay*, accompanied by Sir George Carew, the President of Munster, Sir Henry Davers, and some twenty others. On the 26th, they arrived at the Head of Howth. The next day, Mountjoy went to Dublin, and, on the 28th, he received the sword. The succeeding volumes of this Calendar will deal with his memorable administration in Ireland.

In accordance with the fifth instruction to editors of calendars, given by the Master of the Rolls, by which it is directed that "striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, "manners, &c., are to be noticed," the following examples may be cited, in addition to those already quoted in this

preface :—" *Jacta est alea* " [p. 10] ; " fetch his light " (take his instructions) [p. 11] ; " chieferies " [p. 15] ; " set up their rests " [p. 18] ; " voluntaries " (volunteers) [p. 28] ; " estimatively " [p. 33] ; " worked the means " [p. 34] ; " of good anyma " [p. 34] ; " contain " (restrain) [p. 36] ; " next " (nearest) [p. 39] ; " plashed " (fortified) [p. 40, &c.] ; " on heaps " (in crowds) [p. 47] ; " a compounded peace " (a composition) [p. 49] ; " McRustelyns, that is to say, Robin Hoods " [p. 52] ; " went about the bush " [p. 53] ; " stand upon his dependence " [p. 55] ; " generaltie " (chief command) [p. 56] ; " proper " (fine looking) [p. 67] ; " experimented " (experienced) [p. 70] ; " cliuchar " [p. 73] ; " hold good correspondency " (co-operate heartily) [p. 74] ; " centernells " (sentinels) [p. 83] ; " lay him by the heels " [p. 84] ; " value " (volley) [p. 89] ; " play this stock " (part) [p. 91] ; " cooplers " [p. 97] ; " ristie " (rancid) [p. 97] ; " a fetch " (ruse) [p. 104] ; " some condign (worthy) reward " [p. 110] ; " five thousand pounds thick " [p. 110] ; " particulars " (private interests) [p. 115] ; " lend me charities " [p. 124] ; " incommodate " [p. 127] ; " conceived abilities " [p. 128] ; " freieted " (frightened) [p. 133] ; " therehence " [p. 134] ; " scoope " (escaped) [p. 134] ; " go down the hill " (lessen) [p. 148] ; " dilatories " (delays) [p. 173] ; " natures " (kinds) [p. 183] ; " nusseld " (nurtured) [p. 192] ; " like to continue in declination " [p. 197] ; " breed a hurly-burly " [p. 201] ; " abandoned " (abandoned) [p. 201] ; " the old proverb of, *de presentibus gaudet ecclesia* " [p. 203] ; " contrarious " (contrary) [p. 220] ; " missed of him " [p. 227] ; " drive him to the wall " [p. 235] ; " make him weary of the ground he treads on " [p. 238] ; " the English proverb, offered service stinks " [p. 245, *see also* p. 325, " that proverb, service offereth stinks " ] ; " *in mora posset esse periculum* " [p. 245] ; " inward with " (intimate

with) [p. 253]; "everich" (each) [p. 257]; "had all the  
 "milk" (honours) [p. 258]; "will be in very ill taking"  
 (in danger of being taken) [p. 272]; "to lay in the way  
 "of" (to obstruct) [p. 278]; "cawtelous" (crafty)  
 [p. 290]; "fine" (end, or close) [p. 303]; "cantonize"  
 [p. 308]; "exigent" (emergency) [p. 310]; "moiled"  
 (laboured) [p. 313]; "give some taste what is the remain"  
 [p. 314]; "convented" (brought together) [p. 315];  
 "run with the stream" [p. 316]; "a sight of" (lot of)  
 [p. 318]; "buonies" (bonnaughts) [p. 319]; "upon  
 "their noses" (close to them) [p. 333]; "if he be an  
 "Irishman, he will have an Irish trick" [p. 334]; "a  
 "long standard there" (one who has stayed long there)  
 [p. 334]; "crompsters" (boats with crooked prows)  
 [p. 342]; "to give impediment of the" [p. 345];  
 "expellation" [p. 352]; "a general ill" (bad report)  
 [p. 353]; "running still this wild goose chase" [p. 363];  
 "manage" (management) [p. 363]; "regiment" (rule)  
 [p. 363]; "they care not to be ever travelling" (do not  
 mind continual travelling) [p. 368]; "disanimated" (dis-  
 couraged) [p. 369]; "this underclarking course" [p. 371];  
 "put it to the jump" [p. 374]; "weting" (knowing)  
 [p. 383]; "set up a deadly rest" (make a dead set)  
 (p. 387); "exhibition" (remuneration) [p. 387]; "perused  
 " (surveyed) the place" [p. 395]; "at a great afterdeal"  
 [p. 398]; "laid bolts upon him colourably" (put him in  
 prison under a pretext) [p. 398]; "to bett (watch) the  
 "hole" [p. 399]; "progressions" [p. 401]; "here-hence"  
 [p. 402]; "turn their copy" (go over to the other side)  
 [p. 403]; "difficulter" [p. 403]; "braw" [p. 408];  
 "attendant" (attentive) [p. 412]; "wharfining over"  
 (conveying over) [p. 422]; "tall" (gallant) [p. 429];  
 "powerable" (strong enough) [p. 429]; "onwards his  
 "way" [p. 431]; "brablings" (babblings) [p. 432];



“his worthy (deserved) disgrace” [p. 450]; “many is minds” (the minds of many) [p. 461]; “sufficienter” [p. 461]; “worser” [p. 462]; “ned” (needed) [p. 462]; “ambuscadoed” [p. 468]; “to drown time by seeking of byways” [p. 469]; “scabbage soldiers” [p. 470]; “have a fling at” [p. 473]; “mammering” (bewilderment) [p. 476]; “better cheap” (cheaper) [p. 484]; “assertened” (certified) [p. 489]; “perclosing” (closing) [p. 491]; “to lash out treasure” [p. 495].

Attention may be called to the following papers:—The plans recommended by Captains Willis and Carlile for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland (pp. 327-331); the declarations of John Baxter about Sligo (pp. 331-337); the advices with regard to the state of Ireland by Captain John Baynard and Barnaby Rye (pp. 347-356); the letters of Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel; the disputes between the Earl of Ormonde and Captain Thomas Lee, and those between Sir Ralph Lane and Ralph Birkinshawe; the confessions of Bernard O'Donnell, the priest; the alleged bribery of the Lord Justice Loftus by Tyrone (pp. 406, 413, 414); Sir Francis Rush's account of the fight at Maryborough fort (pp. 398-400); the interview with Father Archer, who “thought fit that the Earl of Tyrone should be chief over all the kingdom” (p. 502); and the grandiloquently loyal appeal of the Mayor and citizens of Limerick to the Queen (p. 419). It is curious, also, to read that the Lord Justice Loftus once wrote to Sir Robert Cecil (p. 409), “that province of Ulster is of all the rest most pernicious to our nation, as well in respect of the climate, as for want of towns and habitation, other than is in a barbarous and hateful wilderness.”

ERNEST G. ATKINSON.

*December, 1898.*



## CORRIGENDA.

- Page XV, line 4** For *Blackpool* read *Blackford*.  
 .. **3, line 4.** For *Lonsnorceor* read *Lousnorceor*.  
 .. **9, margin.** For *Moston* read *Mostyn*.  
 .. **9, line 39.** For *Moston* read *Mostyn*.  
 .. **18, line 8.** For *persecution* read *prosecution*.  
 .. **53, line 21.** For *O'Carrall* read *O'Carroll*.  
 .. **114, second line from bottom.** For *withall* read *withal*.  
 .. **127, line 24.** For *Deuy* read *Drury*.  
 .. **142, margin.** For *Armagh* read *Ardaugh*.  
 .. **142, fifth line from bottom.** For *Armagh* read *Ardaugh*.  
 .. **148, line 37.** After 12,000, insert (*sic*).  
 .. **261, line 9.** For *Plunket* read *Preston*.  
 .. **281, line 29.** For *ears* read *years*.  
 .. **311, fourth line from bottom.** For *cessed* read *caused*.  
 .. **493, third line from bottom.** For *case* read *ease*.





# IRELAND.

ELIZABETH.

VOL. CCV. 1599. April—October.

1599.

April 1.  
Bromley.

1. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "I perceive by a letter of Sir Conyers Clifford's, by a message from Sir H. Dackwray [Dockwra] delivered me by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, and by Sir Calisthenes' own report, how ill Her Majesty's army is cared for in Ireland, and how miserable I am like to find it." Prays them to hear Sir Calisthenes. Will study to cherish the army, and bring it to some strength again, rather than put it to those travails, by which it would be utterly overthrown. As Sir Calisthenes has "both done good service, and been undone in his body and state," prays their Lordships to favour him.—Bromley, 1599, April 1. *Endorsed*, Received at Greenwich the 6th. of the same. *Signed*. p. 1.

April 1.  
Bromley.

2. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "As your Lordships, by my other letter, sent by Sir Calisthenes Brooke, shall see how weak Her Majesty's army is like to be at my coming into Ireland, so, by that kind of governing and directing a matter of that weight, you may judge of the strength of Her Majesty's Council there, and how it will be supplied by any that goes with me, the audit is quickly made. I did only move Her Majesty for her service to have given me one strong assistant, but it is not her will. What my body and mind will suffice to, I will by God's grace discharge with industry and faith. But neither can a rheumatick body promise itself that health in a moist, rotten country, nor a sad mind vigour and quietness in a discomfortable voyage. But I sit down and cease my suit, now I know Her Majesty's resolute pleasure. Only I must desire to be freed from all imputation, if the body of the army prove unwieldy, that is so ill furnished, or so unfurnished, of joints; or of any main in the service, when I am sent out maimed beforehand. I have returned Sir Christopher Blount, whom I hoped to have carried over; for I shall have no such necessary use of his hand, as, being barred the use of his head, I would carry him to his own disadvantage, and the disgrace of the place he should serve in. Hereof I thought it fit to advertise your Lordships, that you might rather pity me, than expect extraordinary successes from me."—Bromley, "this Sunday morning, the first of April." *Endorsed*, 1599. Received at Richmond the second of the same. *Signed*. p. 1.

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April 2.  
Richmond.

3. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Have imparted his letters to Her Majesty. Are desirous with all expedition to advertise him of her answer. Can say nothing of the report of Sir Calisthenes Brooke, as he is not yet arrived. Her Majesty (notwithstanding their "replies whatsoever") has commanded them to let him know that she mislikes his sending Sir Christopher Blount away, seeing Essex finds so great lack of one in his room. Of Blount's sufficiency, as marshal of the army, Her Majesty did, and doth, very well allow. She had already told Essex how much she thought Blount to blame, to forget her favour in thinking him worthy of that place, in such a time and in such an army, because he has not also the place of a Councillor of State. Wish Essex all honourable success.—The Court at Richmond, 1599, April 2. *Signed by the Lord Chamberlain, Lord North, and Sir Robert Cecil, "no other Councillors being in Court at this present." Entry Book, No. 204, p. 141. Copy. p. 1.*

April 2.  
Chester.

4. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Though no "great accidents" have happened worth the writing, must let him know that Her Majesty's treasure is safely come to Chester, and will be put on board the pinnaces to-morrow. The soldiers are all gone for Ireland. Essex came to Chester on Sunday, April 1,\* and is hastening his further passage all he can. His Lordship longs to be at Dublin, to set some good order both as regards the soldiers and the rest of the business, "which will ask time." He is forced to leave some of his horse behind, until he can send shipping for them.—Chester, 1599, April 2. *Holograph. p. 1.*

April 2.

5. Draft of a warrant from the Queen to the Earl of Essex, authorising him to cause letters patent to be made, granting to Sir Henry Warren the castle and lands of Ballybritton, and other lands in King's County; the said letters patent to replace those passed in the fifth year of her reign, making the said grant, but which have been lost "in these troublesome times."—*Endorsed, 1599, April 2. p. 1.*

April 3.

6. A prayer for the good success of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland.—*Endorsed, 1599, April 3. Draft. p. 1.*

April 3.

7. Printed copy of the preceding.—1599 [April 3]. *p. 1.*

April 3.

8. Copies of letters from the Earl of Tyrone to his son, Con O'Neill:—

(a.) Con has taken an unwise and indiscreet course with the Archbishop of Cashel, through the counsel of light, unskilful people. The Church alone can lay hands on him. Is assured of the Archbishop's friendship. Con is to set the Archbishop at large without delay, and to let him have his houses and manors without spoil. He is also to set Richard Power at liberty. Blames Con for not sending news oftener. He ought to write weekly. Has not seen the greyhound sent by him. Asks for it to be sent

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\* Essex did not arrive in Chester till April 4.



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speedily; also for Con's reply to this letter. "Upon pain of my ever displeasure, send me no request for the Archbishop and all his pledges, but that they shall be enlarged."—"Lonsnorcow" [*in the other copy it is "Loughsworcane"*], 1599, March 29.

- (b.) Has received his letters concerning the Archbishop of Cashel. Has also sent the Archbishop's letter, complaining of Con. The Archbishop is to be enlarged without delay; also Richard Power, the Archbishop's sons, and all others that were apprehended in his company. Con is to deliver the house of Ballymakyn to the Archbishop, who can choose where he will go. [*No place or date given.*]
- (c.) Indenture of covenants between Con O'Neill and the Archbishop of Cashel. The latter to be enlarged, and the towns of Ballymakyn and Aulyn to be delivered to him. Con to receive 200*l.* and two silver cups. [*A marginal note says:—"This condition was but to make the world think that a ransom was paid, but there was no such matter."*]"—The 13th of April, according the Church; the third of April, according the English, 1599." *A note says that both the Archbishop and Con O'Neill signed this indenture. pp. 2.*

April 3. 9. Another copy of the preceding.—*Endorsed, April, '99. pp. 2.*

April 4. 10. Certificate by John Jolles of the provisions sent over to Ireland on the 27th of March and the 3rd of April, respectively, being various quantities of biscuit, meal, butter, cheese, and lings. The names of the ships conveying the same, and their masters, are also given.—1599, April 4. *Copy. pp. 1½.*

April 4. 11. Justice James Goold to the Earl of Essex, or, in his absence, Limerick. Sir Robert Cecil. Two thousand men are too few to finish the revolt in Munster. The Lord President is in the field with all his force, viz., 2,000 foot, and the horse lately come out of England—his Irish horse are "not to be accounted of." Although Lord Barry, Cormack McDermody, Lord Roche's son and heir, McCarthy Reogh, and others, be with him, yet they do not yield him 100 horse and foot. "Their several country forces be against Her Majesty in the field, though themselves be with the State." Howbeit, the Lord President is come out, and is this day at the traitor Lord Roche's castle, twelve miles from Cork. Is afraid he will not be able to effect what he intended, "so many are the numbers of the traitors about him." Every day they flock thither from all parts of the province against him. Even if he can travel safely up and down, he will be able to do little good "with one company. The world will end afore one battle of two thousand men can end these wars in Munster by force." Cannot tell what the Lord President chiefly intends to do, for the ways are so kept, that he can neither go to his Lordship, nor hear from him, except by reports of others. The traitors are within a quarter of a mile of him, three to his one; so

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they will keep his company together at the least, and he will not be able to prey much for the victualling of his regiment. The Lord bring him and all his company out of this danger. Thus 2,000 men will but put Her Majesty to continual charge, and do small service. It may be conjectured that when any great companies are sent into the north, the strangers retained in Munster by the traitors (about 2,700 in number) will be drawn thence; and then the traitors of the province shall be left to their own force. The strangers are not from Ulster, but from Connaught and Leinster. As long as they have the entertainment they do, they have no reason for leaving the province. But, supposing they should all return to their own countries (which the poverty of Munster will sooner force than any command of the Archtraitor Tyrone), yet 2,000 will not be sufficient to suppress the rebellion. It is expedient that many garrisons be planted, and every garrison must be so strong, that they may be able to annoy the ordinary forces within two miles round about them. These garrisons must be manned out of the 2,000; and the remainder will not be able to do any good. So, if no greater forces are sent to the province, Her Majesty must either compound this unnatural rebellion, and have no assurance of subjection, or else be at the continual charge of 2,000 foot and 200 horse, and look for no end or ease thereof.

"We hear every day that your Lordship is expected at Dublin by every easterly wind. And it is generally wished and prayed for daily by all good subjects, not doubting, if your Honour come, your armies shall be such, as your famous victory in mighty Spain shall not be subject to receive blemish in miserable Ireland." Forces are expected to come out of Spain to these traitors, and for this purpose they sent two several solicitors to the King. Would write more, if he durst be tedious.—Limerick, 1599, April 4. *Erroneously endorsed*, 4 February, 1599. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

April 5.  
Hilbree.

12. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. Their Lordships' letter about the Queen's mislike of his sending back Sir Christopher Blount. "First, for mine own excuse, I did find a lack, and so shall, if, going to manage a difficult war, and to govern an undisciplined dissolute army, and to consult with a Council to whom Her Majesty imputeth the loss almost of a kingdom, I have not one able assistant, I do not say to execute my directions (for that I shall find many able for), but to consult with, what is to be directed; to debate and dispute the doubtful and knotty questions, how the war is to be managed, and to command where I am not, and lastly, to keep all things in order, whiles I repose myself, which all men must of necessity do. In all which (under correction) he [Sir C. Blount] can be no strong assistant to me, being excluded from Council. For how can I have power to confer privately with him, or to relate to him what passeth in Council, when all the day (though I allow myself never so little time to eat and sleep) will be too short to hear the multitude of those that will come for direction, and so satisfy them as the service will require? Or, had I time, what will it avail me to hear him speak privately, when, if he concur with the rest, his opinion is needless; if he dissent, it is bootless? For I must rather trust a sworn Councillor of Her Majesty's than any



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other that wanteth both that grace and her favour also. As for his ability to command, chiefly with that respect of the army which is due to a Marshal, there is no hope of it. For, first, the whole army will take notice that he wanteth that grace which all his predecessors have had. And next, those which are now Councillors, and yet, in the army, are to be commanded by the Marshal, will not so subject themselves to his commandments as they ought to do. For these reasons, I thought to have taken upon me both offices, whiles I could have lasted; though I moved him, by whose hand I received Her Majesty's denial of my humble motion, to solicit Her Majesty and your Lordships that my successor might quickly be sent after me. For he that shall do two such offices, and discharge them as he ought, should not value his life at many months' purchase."

These were the reasons that moved him to return Sir Christopher Blount, who had no knowledge of Her Majesty's will to have him go. For, as the Queen may remember, Essex protested to her that he was not only unable to carry Blount on his [Essex's] own credit, but was tied by his word not to urge Blount to go. The want of shipping at Chester, and his resolution to take the first opportunity to pass over, made him entreat Blount to lie three or four days at Chester after him, to see the troops orderly governed, whilst they stayed, and speedily sent after him. But after the receipt of their Lordships' letter, Essex sent for Blount, and imparted it to him. Upon sight thereof, the latter resolved to go, though utterly unprovided for such a journey, and protested that had Essex sooner signified to him "the least inkling of Her Majesty's pleasure," he would sooner have offered himself.

"But, my Lords, it must be all our devout prayers to God, and our humble suit to Her Majesty, that she will be as well served by her vassals as obeyed; and that, when she grants not the ability, she will not expect nor exact great performance. For myself, if things succeed ill in my charge, I am like to be a martyr for her. But, as your Lordships have many times heard me say, it had been far better for her service to have sent a man favoured by her, who should not have had these crosses and discouragements, which I shall ever suffer. Of your Lordships I do entreat that you will forget my person, and the circumstances of it; but remember that I am Her Majesty's minister in the greatest cause that ever she had; that though to keep myself from scorn and misery, it shall be in mine own power, yet to enable me to reduce that rebellious kingdom of Ireland to obedience, lies in Her Majesty; for, if I have not inward comfort, and outward demonstration of Her Majesty's favour, I am defeated in England."—Hilbree, April 5. *Endorsed*, 1599. Received at Greenwich the 8th. *Signed*. pp. 2½.

[April 5.] 13. "A journal of Sir Thomas Norreys, his last journey in Munster, set down by William Jones, Commissary of Musters;" from March 27 to April 4, both inclusive.

March from Cork to Mallow. Capture of Castle of Carrigleam-leary. Sight of enemy, 3,000 strong at least. Camp lodged half a mile from them. Skirmishing. The enemy has "all the country his friend." Provisions sent for from Cork. Further skirmishing. Gallant charge of the horse against the enemy. "Some pike"



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between Lord Roche and James [Earl of] Desmond, and change of enemy's camp. Further attack on them by 500 foot, under Captain Jennings, "our soldiers being over greedy to fight, and taxing the Captain greatly for their restraint." Losses. Return of force to Cork, the enemy skirmishing by the way. Another charge of the horse. *Endorsed*, Received 4 May, at Greenwich. *pp.* 3.

April 6.

The  
Popinjay,  
off  
Hilbree.

14. The Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received his letter, and with it many copies of Her Majesty's proclamation. These he will publish as soon as he comes on the other side. Hoped this morning he would quickly have been there, for the wind was at south-south-east, but before the tide served, the wind came full in their teeth, and so continues. The weather is like to be foul, yet he will lie aboard awhile to see if he may get a passage. Has appointed Babington the merchant to receive the 600*l.* of the counties and the city for the levying of the 200 men. Prays Sir Robert to direct its payment accordingly. Thanks Lord Cobham for his forwardness to supply the sum that Kent is to contribute. If it comes within any short time, Babington will be satisfied.

"As for Sir Christopher Blount's ill success, or rather mine for him, I fear it will be suitable to all my speed, when I sue or move for anything. I sued to Her Majesty to grant it out of favour, but I spake a language that was not understood, or to a goddess not at leisure to hear prayers. I since, not for my sake, but for her service sake, desired to have it granted, but I see, let me plead in any form, it is in vain. I must save myself by protestation that it is not Tyrone and the Irish rebellion that amazeth me, but to see myself sent on such an errand, at such a time, with so little comfort or ability from the Court of England to effect that I go about. But *video, taceo.*"—"From aboard the Popinjay, thwart of Hilbree," April 6. *Endorsed*, 1599. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

April 6.

Greenwich.

15. The Privy Council to [George] Beverley, Comptroller of the Victuals in Ireland. He says that 7,000 foot are victualled from the magazine at Dublin, and that what he has in store will not last for more than ten days, asking that some of the treasure last arrived may be stayed for victualling the army. Relate the provisions sent for the months February to June, and where they have been distributed according to the directions of Essex. Consider there ought to be enough, unless some provisions have been detained by contrary winds. Concerning the supply of salt for the troops in Ireland.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 6. *Entry Book*, No. 204, *fos.* 141 b.-143. *Copy.* *pp.* 3½.

April 6.

Greenwich.

16. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Send copies of Beverley's letter to them, and of theirs to him. Have diligently perused the certificates from Dublin concerning the treasure and victuals sent there. Fear Essex will find great loss grown to Her Majesty therein, "for lack of good dealings in inferior ministers." Their comfort in thinking how Essex will rectify these "inconveniences," and many others. Wish him all honourable and happy success.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 6, *Entry Book*, No. 204, *fo.* 143. *Copy.* *p.* ¼.

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[April 6.  
Greenwich.]

17. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Have received by Charles Huett, Sir Henry Wallop's servant, two other books besides those they caused him to deliver to Essex. The one is of Her Majesty's charge for a whole year, ended at Michaelmas last; the other of Her Majesty's estimated charge from Michaelmas to the first of March last. The great debt to the army amounts to 22,700*l*. Find many great charges in the books, which might either not have been paid at all, or qualified with smaller sums; such as, old debts not any way warrantable paid out of treasure appointed for growing charges, and extraordinary payments by concordatums. Think Essex will be of the same opinion, if he sees the duplicates of the books. Towards the answering of the above debt, there has since been sent to Ireland 7,000*l*. of the remain of the Privy Seal of November last, and 4,433*l*. in victuals unissued. These two sums will answer half of the debt. "Imperfections and uncertainties" of the two books now sent. Inform Essex that he may have them remedied and reformed. Above all things they find it very strange that, on the victualling from Michaelmas, 1597, to the first of March last, costing 34,158*l*., there seems to have been lost by Her Majesty 14,100*l*. Send a copy of the certificate of this, that the dealings of the victuallers may be examined. Will send him, in their next, certificates of all arms and munition sent from England for the time aforesaid, and of the imprests made to the Captains. Have noted some things of less moment in the books, but will not trouble his Lordship with them now, knowing he will be careful to reform them, and many others, at his coming into Ireland, "where of long time (as your Lordship knoweth) Her Majesty's service hath been defrauded by the bad carriage of inferior persons, unskilful and corrupt"—[The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 6.] *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 143-144. Copy. pp. 2.*

April 7.  
Athlone.

18. Sir Richard Lovell to the Earl of Essex. O'Donnell has laid aside his intended journey to Clanrickarde, upon the report of the forces going to Lough Foyle. On the 4th instant, Lord Dunkellin went suddenly upon some service over the Shannon. Whither, or what he has done, is not yet spoken of. Tibbott Dillon's company is with him, and, perhaps, part of the garrison of Galway. Dares not affirm the report made that O'Rourke and his brother Teig, who married O'Donnell's sister, are up against each other, for Teig has made a faction in the country. Dermond O'Connor, who married O'Connor Don's daughter, was preyed of all his cows by O'Rourke, and came to the Kellys to desire their aid against him. Fighting is reported in Maguire's country, about the title in controversy between Maguire's brother and another. Hears that Shane McManus Oge O'Donnell either does, or will, stir against O'Donnell at the coming of the forces to Lough Foyle. The Malaughlins are very quiet, and desire to conform themselves. This will soon be effected upon Essex's coming. Wrote in his last letters touching the inconvenience of allowing forty of his company to the wards. As he has received no answer yet from Essex, earnestly beseeches him to alter what is a matter of great injury to one company, but an easy



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burden if it be equally borne by all the companies of Connaught, as it has been heretofore. Would rather be a targeteer in Essex's company, than want forty men at his colours. Wishes all honour may attend his Lordship.—Athlone, April 7. *Endorsed*, 1599. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

April 7.  
Lough  
Ruoghane.

19. The Earl of Tyrone to [Edward Gybbon] the White Knight. Received his letters on the 5th of April. Thanks him much for his service. Will maintain every lord and gentleman that went forth in "this action of the nobility of Munster for their consciences and inheritance." Reposes in none of them (except the Earl of Desmond) more than in the White Knight; therefore will give him all the assistance he can. "And such other as have remained as heretics and schismatics, believing the stinging and inconstant words and speeches of Englishmen, not moved by their consciences or belief, shall not (with God's will) obtain victory or good success in this action. And if we the Catholics shall be the stronger (as we think we shall be), their children and alliances shall not succeed them in possessing of their lands or livings." Had already purposed, before the White Knight wrote, to repair westward "about certain occasions, as also to defend the good people of Munster, and withal to compel such as remained within, either with their consent or against their consent, to enter into war." Has put in at his own charges 3,000 or 4,000 able men, besides those of the lords and gentlemen belonging to his party, to accomplish that journey "in the name of God." Notwithstanding that the Earl of Essex, with a number of the Queen's forces, is now coming into Ireland, "we do expect that the Englishmen in England shall be so troubled and molested this summer, and in such sort, as this island of Ireland shall be at our direction and counsel (as Irishmen), and, admitting those arms and forces do come, we undertake (with God's will) to defend so much as we have in our hands of this land of Ireland against them. And for so much as they have, or such as take their part, we will spoil and mar all out of the cities and port-towns; wishing you to be of good comfort, and to understand that we will end the good enterprise you have taken in hand. And if there happen not some great mischance or trouble unto us, or something else more than we see as yet, we will be with you about May next, with God's help." Is making his best provision and uttermost haste to perform that journey. Has sent his attorney to the White Knight with news. Promises him the men he sought for, or a stronger company. Is ready to send him such men and munition as he is able. "And we understand that your land and country is shot at, betwixt all the towns and garrisons in those parts, and that you are yourself the best warrant and strongest gap for war of all those that are westward (the Earl of Desmond's honour excepted), and that we are most willing (with God's will) to be your most assured, in consideration thereof, above a number of others." Has boats and shipping in Scotland, to bring store of powder and lead, and, when they arrive in May next, will not forget him.—Lough Ruoghane, 1599, April 17 [7-17.] *Copy. pp. 2½.*



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April 8.  
Moston.

20. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. Acknowledges divers letters from their Lordships, received "by the running post." Hopes the Justices and Council in Ireland will take care to make the army live till he comes; "for, if that army, which hath been raised with such charge both to Her Majesty and to her kingdom, should now be almost broken, before it be drawn to service, I know not how they that have the charge of the State there could answer it." Will use all possible means to cherish Her Majesty's army, and to husband her purse, knowing that he is to be a nurse to the one, and a steward of the other. If the provisions appointed to be in Ireland have arrived, hopes there will not grow any present want. "But I fear that the victuallers do give another account in England in paper than they deliver in Ireland in specie: I mean rather for the time of sending than the quantity; which groweth by lack of overlooking what is amiss and punishing of defaults once found." Mr. Darell would not deceive, but many of those he trusts in are faulty. Instance of Stallenge. Necessity of extreme severity in these matters of victualling. Will shew it on the other side; "for there is not a more dangerous enemy than famine; and I would as soon execute him that should let in famine, or conspire with it against this army, as with (*sic*) him that should practice with Tyrone." Prays that Mr. Darell may be sent to confer with him, which will save Essex troubling their Lordships with so many letters. Mr. Darell is very ready to come, and cannot come too soon. Will carefully examine into the accounts of the treasure sent over; "lest the army complain without cause that they have not had that which hath been sent over for their use; or the Treasurer excuse himself that he hath not that which indeed he hath in his hands." Prays their Lordships to remember how much is already due; how miserable the army is; how uncertain the winds are; and "how hard it will be to keep the army in any strength in that wretched country," though all that Her Majesty allows be duly sent over. Begs therefore that, in the supplies of treasure and victual, anticipation may be used rather than delay.

[*Postscript in Essex's hand.*] "I had not been here now, but that contrariety of winds, and extreme foggy and misty weather, hath arrested us. But if it do not overblow, our masters and pilots have promised to ride it out alongst (*sic*) the coast, and I will see they shall not loiter.—Mostian [Moston] this 8 of April." *Endorsed*, 1599. *Signed.* pp. 2.

April 11.  
Beaumaris.

21. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "My last was written from Moston over against Hilbree, in which place I rested all Easter-day; not that I would not have thought it a Sabbath day's work to have plied towards Ireland, but that the wind was so contrary, and the mists so great, that all the pilots of Christendom could not tell how to carry a ship out of the river. On Monday, I, seeing the wind still hang contrary, agreed with the captains of Her Majesty's pinnaces, that they should (if it did not overblow) tide up to Beaumaris, and that myself would meet them there. To which resolution I was forced, because we were so pestered aboard, that lying still at sea, with a contrary wind and wet weather, would have

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cast us all down. At Aberconway I was by sunset, when the wind came fair, so that I feared lest the ships would have been before me; and, in regard thereof, took post horses, and came over the mountains, the worst way and in the extremest wet that I have endured. I arrived in this town in the dead of the night; but the ships came not in till this morning, at ten of the clock. All this day the wind continues at north and to the westward; with which wind we cannot seize Dublin. I will to-morrow morning at full sea ply towards Ireland, if the weather will permit, for by two despatches which I have received I find it more than time I were there. The one of them shews the misery of the army, which is to be sustained, for this week only, with all the means they have or can think on. The other [shews] the drawing of the troops into idle, miserable journeys, whereby I shall find them weak and unserviceable when I come. The soldiers there already fall sick, and, if they be not fully supplied of all things necessary, Her Majesty must make account that all these great preparations will vanish into smoke, and the charge thereof be utterly lost."

The victuallers to be charged to perform their bargains. Mr. Darell to be sent over to Essex. Need for the punctual arrival of the treasure. The 2,000 men promised every three months, to keep up the strength of the army in Ireland. Fears they will be required very soon. Craves pardon for his style of writing. "It is natural to my office to have cause to speak this language. I had a natural antipathy against this service, because I foresaw these necessities, and knew how displeasing they would be, not only to me, the pro-pounder, but much more to Her Majesty, the hearer of them. But *jacta est alea*: I have the best warrant that ever man had; and I go in the best cause. Compassion I myself shall not greatly need; for, whatsoever the success may be, yet I shall be sure of a fair destiny. Only Her Majesty and your Lordships must, and will, I doubt not, pity Ireland, and pity the army under my charge, lest, if you suffer your men in an out-ravelin to be lost, you be hardly afterwards able to defend the rampier." Again craves pardon for "this free kind of style," which duty and zeal have drawn from him. *Endorsed*, 1599, April 11. From Beaumaris. Received at Greenwich the 13th. *Signed*. pp. 2.

April 12.  
Greenwich.

22. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. His letter of the 5th of April, concerning Sir Christopher Blount, was read at length to her Majesty. She adheres, notwithstanding, to her first resolution, but takes in good part Blount's dutiful proceeding in going over. Cannot write more on that matter at present. Hope Essex will find, upon his arrival in Ireland, a better provision of victuals than he has represented to him in the letters of certain ill-informed persons. Victuals have often been supplied from England "within two days after the dates" of the letters asking for them. Acknowledge that the prejudice to Her Majesty's service has "principally grown for lack of provisional supplies to prevent future difficulties, happening daily by cross accidents." Severity to be shewn towards offending victuallers. Have "noted strange proceedings" in the victualling in Ireland. Find great use of Mr. Darell, but will send him to Essex. Pray that his stay with his Lordship may not



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be longer than necessary. Send copies [*wanting*] of letters just received from the Earl of Ormonde, not knowing whether he has written to Essex. Send also copies [*wanting*] of two letters from "the pretended Earl of Desmond" to the King of Spain. These letters were to have been carried by one Roche, whom Ormonde took, and whose examinations he has sent to the Privy Council. Wish Essex quickly freed from the power of the wind, and desire his happy success.—Greenwich, 1599, April 12. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 144-145. Copy. pp. 2.*

April 14.  
Greenwich.

23. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Send copy [*wanting*] of letter from Sir Thomas Norreys. As for his particular wants, approve of the order taken by Essex. The payments of Norreys's entertainment, and that of his retinue. Prohibition of the same by Sir Henry Wallop. Essex to settle the matter after his arrival at Dublin. Are informed the Treasurer is not the best affected towards Sir Thomas Norreys, "in respect of some private unkindnesses between them." Error of Beverley in not acquainting the Commissary in Munster at what rates the soldier should receive the victuals. Will write to Beverley to give Essex "more orderly reckonings and accounts" than it seems he has done. As his Lordship may still be detained by contrary winds, will write to the Commissary in Munster at what rate the victual is appointed to be uttered. Will also write to Sir Thomas Norreys that Essex is on his way, and that he must "fetch his light" from his Lordship and acquaint him with his lacks at all times. Enclose letter from Norreys to Essex [*wanting*]. Her Majesty has read his Lordship's letter from Beaumaris. "By the judgment we can make here of the weather, the winds are apt to hang in a contrary corner." Will take care to see Essex supplied according to all the resolutions agreed on before his departure. Her Majesty's interest in the expedition. Her "own letter also you shall receive here included, which is the cause that makes us hasten away this despatch, because we see she could be glad you should hear from herself."—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 14. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 145-146. Copy. pp. 2.*

April 16.  
Greenwich.

24. The Privy Council to the Earl of Ormonde. The good judgment and success with which he has proceeded in Leinster and elsewhere. Her Majesty has written to him under her own hand. Enclose the letter [*wanting*]. She well accepts his service. "Concerning the wants whereof you speak in the army, we, that are most acquainted with all provisions sent from hence for use in that kingdom, can only say this, that the faults are notorious wheresoever they light; for which as we cannot but be sorry, so is it an exceeding comfort to us, on the contrary, that Her Majesty hath now so united all authority in the person of one Commander, whose worth and power will rectify divers great enormities, which have bred perilous consequents (*sic*) in Her Majesty's affairs."—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 16. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 146-146 b. Copy. p. 1.*

April 16. 25. The Privy Council to Sir Thomas Norreys. Have received [*Greenwich.*] his letters. Do not doubt but that, when his wants are better sup-



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plied, Her Majesty will reap some good fruit from that which is expended. As for the difference between the Treasurer and him, have written peremptorily to the former to see Norreys satisfied from the money sent over in specie. Understand the Commissary in Munster has had no order as to the rate at which he should issue victual to the soldier, which is a very gross oversight on the part of the Comptroller of Victuals, and is of great prejudice to Her Majesty. Are now letting the Commissary know the rate of issue. The direction of all things is now transferred to the Earl of Essex, who, they hope, has arrived in Ireland by this time. Have sent Norreys's letter to his Lordship, recommending the payments desired. Norreys is to address himself to Essex, but they will be glad to hear how he proceeds in his Province.—[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, April 16. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 146 b-147. Copy. p. 1.*

April 16. 26. The Privy Council to the Commissary of Victuals in the [Greenwich.] Province of Munster. Are informed that he has had no instructions as to the proportion of victuals to be allowed to the soldiers, and the rates of issue. Send him a note of the same. Have also written to the Treasurer's deputy in Munster. The Commissary is to report monthly to that officer.

"The allowance of victuals for every soldier serving in the Realm of Ireland, *per diem*, viz.: biscuit, *per diem*, 1 lb. a man; loaf bread, 1 lb. a man; butter, half a pound a man, for three days in the week; cheese, one whole pound the man, for three days in the week; one day in the week, either beef two pounds, or eight herrings, or one Holland ling to four men, or one Newland fish of the larger sort, or one and a half Newland fish the man *per diem*. The soldier allows the Queen's Majesty 4½d. *per diem*."—[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, April 16. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 147-147 b. Copy. p. 1.*

April 16. 27. The Privy Council to the Treasurer's deputy in the Province [Greenwich.] of Munster. Sending him the information contained in the preceding letter.—[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, April 16. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 147 b. Copy. p. 1.*

April 16. 28. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 13 of this Dublin. present, we came before Dublin. The next day we landed, and our ships came over the bar in good safety, thanks be to the Almighty God, for we had both a rough and dangerous passage as hath been seen at this time of the year. And when we thought ourselves most clear from danger, we were like (had not God holpen us the better) fallen into utter ruin. For my Lord being gone on shore, and we endeavouring to recover over the bar for our better safety, the Admiral and Vice-Admiral (which were the *Popinjay* and the *Charell*), wherein all the Queen's treasure was, having all their sails up and full, were like to stem each other, and with much ado and by God's goodness escaped, but missed each other very narrowly. If they had hit, we had all sunk into the sea.

"The same day we landed, Sir Henry Wallop, Her Majesty's late Treasurer, died at eight of the clock at night: of whose death I am

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exceeding sorrowful, because of my accounts. My Lord Lieutenant hath taken a very good order for the safe keeping of his reckonings and accounts, to be perused and considered of, lest corruption of servants should breed any mischief.

"My Lord requires of the Council, and of those that have had the former government, to be truly informed under their hands, in what state the kingdom is now at the entrance of his government. The 15 of this present his Lordship received the sword; and, as he saith, after he hath settled some things here according to his Lordship's instructions, he purposeth to set forward in Her Majesty's services. My Lord of Ormonde came to Dublin the 14 of this present. Here is nothing more worth the writing."—Dublin, 1599, April 16. *Endorsed*, Received at Greenwich, the 24th. *Holograph*. p. 1.

April [16]. 29. Copy of order by the Earl of Essex and the Council, that the books and reckonings of the late Sir Henry Wallop be sequestered into the hands of Sir Robert Gardener and Sir Geoffrey Fenton; that James Ware, Her Majesty's Auditor-General for the Wars, have the view of the same; and that the chief clerks of the said Sir Henry Wallop have access to the same, with the allowance of Sir Robert Gardener and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to consider thereof with the said James Ware.—*Endorsed*, 1599, April [16]. p. 1.

April 17. 30. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. His exceeding care, travail, and wisdom, in the performance of his service in Ireland. Will further the execution of the same as far as belongeth unto them, so that not one man living shall be able to cast one spot of just imputation upon them, if due advertisement of divers lacks be sent unto them. "The main points and pillars that must uphold this service, at least for anything to be provided for by us, are these five: men, munition, apparel, lendings, and victuals."

Greenwich.

His army of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse to be reinforced at every three months' end by 2,000 men. Send note of the counties from which they have determined to levy the first 2,000, and to have them in readiness. Think that in respect of "very many distressed English put from their habitation, both in Munster and other places," as also of the number of voluntaries now following his Lordship, he might easily and speedily supply the same, thus saving much charge. As for munition, the entire quantity set down by his Lordship has been thoroughly provided, and they hear it is now safely arrived in Ireland. The ample supply of apparel made. Have settled with the merchants. The three months' lendings for the army carried over with Essex. Part of the army supported in Ireland with the former treasure, and part in England before the passage over to Ireland. The Treasurer's deputy in Munster states that he has money in his hands to last until the end of April. Until Sir Henry Wallop's accounts are sent in perfected, Her Majesty cannot send over any certain portion of treasure to discharge the debt due to the soldier. Have no thought to scant Essex in anything, but his Lordship knows well that there is no superfluity in England. As to victuals, have already furnished for March, April, May, and June, and have taken order for the speedy providing of



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one month's victual more, for July next, which they intend for the magazine at Dublin, where they conceive the greatest lack to be. Will procure as many voluntary victuallers as they can, besides those to be recommended by Essex, to undertake the transport of victual into Ireland. Have written letters (whereof they send copies) [see Nos. 33-36] to the Treasurer, Master of the Ordnance, Muster-master, Deliverer of the Apparel, and Comptroller of the Victuals, to the end that, by continual correspondence with them, they might keep up a knowledge of the true state of all things pertinent to the service, and thereupon devise and apply the remedies required. Hope they have given full satisfaction to Essex. May fail perhaps to satisfy all men, "which only God can do," but their desires to further this service shall never be found faint or defective, however power and means may sometimes fail them. Pray Essex to certify speedily how many men he can obtain in Ireland for the filling up of the bands. Trust that the armour and the weapons of the soldiers, who are wanting through sickness, death, or otherwise, have been kept by the Captains, wherewith those now to be levied may be furnished, at least for the greatest part, and the rest from the store Essex had with him from England. Thus the charge of the counties may be eased, as the quantity of armour already sent from England has been very great. Wish Essex "all happy and prosperous success."—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 17. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 148-152. Copy. pp. 8½.*

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31. "An estimate of the estate of Ireland, as it standeth at this present, distracted and broken with these rebellions in the several Provinces thereof, together with the several forces of the rebels in their particular territories, and likewise what castles and holds are kept for Her Majesty in every Province and particular country. This collection was debated and agreed upon in Council, and signed by the Council then present, and so delivered to the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex, &c., Lord Lieutenant and Governor-General of this realm of Ireland. Dated 17th April, 1599."

The numbers of the rebel forces are given as follows:—In Leinster, 3,230; in Ulster, 8,922; in Munster, 4,555; and in Connaught, 3,290. *Copy. pp. 10½.*

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32. Florence McCarthy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am very sorry that I was driven to trouble your Honour so often, considering your own desire to help me, neither do I now trouble your Honour with intent to stay or sue any more, for I will away presently, as your Honour shall think good, with anything that your Honour can obtain for me. At my last being with your Honour, I told you how doubtful I was of my wife's resignation, for she is so froward and foolish, as she will straight think that it is a device of mine to make away her inheritance, as I did mine own in all my troubles past, which if she had consented to do (as I protest I am sure she will not), I cannot imaginé how to bring her, and I know my Lord will not stay at Dublin until she come, neither can a fine be levied but there; whereunto Sir Robert Gardener, and those of the Council that are learned (unto whom the Earl of Essex will put it over), will look so



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narrowly, as I am sure I shall not get a patent, if there be any mention of a fine, or anything of my wife's." An order in general terms to Essex will not do. It is necessary to specify that all the Earl [of Clancarty's] rents and chieferies may be reserved for Her Highness, except such as are due out of the lands of Desmond granted to the writer. From these he must pay about 120*l.* a year.—1599, April 20. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

April 24. 33. The Privy Council to Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in [Greenwich.] Ireland. "Although Her Majesty hath committed the absolute government of the kingdom of Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant," they require Carey to hold correspondency with them from time to time, that they may lack no knowledge of those particulars on which they must ground the making of provisions. Require him to send them, every two months, a brief estimate of Her Majesty's charge for the officers of the army, the 1,300 horse distributed into 26 bands, the 16,000 foot divided into 160 companies, and the extraordinary payments within that period; also, for the warders, pensioners, and almsmen paid within that time. Further, they require his receipt of all treasure received from England; or of monies for rents, revenues, and casual profits in Ireland; also, of debts and arrearages due to Her Majesty in Ireland; or from the Victualler for sale of victual; or from the Master of the Ordnance for sale of powder, &c., to voluntary soldiers, whereof no defalcation can be made; or of monies received from the Marshal for sale of Her Majesty's part of preys and booty taken from the enemy; or of loans made for the service; or of monies retained for defalcations on the various bands. Further, they require an account of all issues and payments made by Carey; and, lastly, of all treasure remaining in his hands.—[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, April 24. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 152, 153. Copy. pp. 2½.*

April 24. 34. The Privy Council to [Sir George Bouchier], Master of the [Greenwich.] Ordnance in Ireland. *Similar letter to the preceding*, requiring him to send them, every two months, a brief estimate of "the whole mass of artillery, shot, powder, arms, and munition," in his charge, beginning from the day Essex landed in Ireland.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, April 24. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 153, 153 b. Copy. p. 1.*

April 24. 35. The Privy Council to [Sir Ralph Lane], the Mustermaster [Greenwich.] in Ireland. *Similar letter to the preceding*, requiring him to send them, every two months, a perfect certificate of the musters of all the forces, and of the checks raised on them. Further, they require certificates of "the day and time of the arrival" of all the several bands sent from England of late, and also from time to time of such as shall be sent therefrom.—[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, April 24. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 153 b-154. Copy. p. 1.*

April 24. 36. The Privy Council to [George Beverley], Comptroller of [Greenwich.] the Victuals in Ireland. *Similar letter to the preceding*, requiring him to send them, every two months, a perfect certificate of the receipt and issue of victuals sent from England; also, of those

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brought by any voluntary victuallers from any part whatsoever, by which the soldiers have been, or may be, victualled; also, of what victual may be obtained for ready money from any part of Ireland. The provisions for the months from March to June already sent by them. Glad of the arrival of victuals to supply the magazine at Dublin. Censure Sir Henry Wallop for refusing to supply the soldiers now allotted to that magazine with any part of their lendings, only, as it seems to their Lordships, to reserve to himself power and means thereby to pay at his pleasure former debts due before the first of March last. Consequent probable exhaustion of the Dublin magazine "even in a moment of time," whereas it should have lasted until the end of June next. As Essex, also, has been informed of this matter, doubt not but he will carefully and considerably look to the redress thereof. The supply of salt for the forces in Ireland. Bordeaux allows 99 bushels to a way, and England but 40. The sum allowed for salt under the Privy Seal of 27 February, 1598[9.]. Warn him not to take up any money for salt, or anything else, beyond the sum for which there is warrant. Have written to the Mayor of Chester to forbear any further buying of salt, and not to transport any more of that already bought, until further orders. Beverley's error in omitting to inform the Commissary of Victuals in Munster of the rates at which the victuals should be issued. He is to inform all the Commissaries of the said rates. Care to be taken of the bags in which the salt and biscuit are sent. Over and above all the provisions, there was a ship, laden with corn at Hamburg, sent to Dublin.—[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, April 24. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 154-158. Copy. pp. 84.*

April 24. 37. Order by the Earl of Essex to John Browne, deputy of Sir Henry Wallop, to take and examine the accounts of Captain Thomas Lee.—1599, April 24. *Copy. p. 1.*

April 28. 38. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council.  
Dublin. "By the last despatch, sent by Sir Thomas Gerrott, I, the Lieutenant, did advertise your Lordships, both of the time of my arriving in this realm, and the taking of the sword, and also of our first proceedings in Council, to consider of the present estate of the kingdom, and what was the strength of the rebels in every province and particular country, an estimate whereof, being gathered and signed by us, we did also send to your Lordships together with that despatch. Since, we have had frequent consultations, in what sort Her Majesty's army might be best employed against these overgrown rebellions, wherein, upon a proposition made by me, the Lieutenant, to have the archtraitor Tyrone presently set upon in Ulster, and many difficulties and impediments thoroughly debated, to forbear that expedition for a time, it was at last resolved that, albeit these monstrous treasons took their first root there, and from thence have poisoned all the other provinces of the realm, and therefore requisite to have a main blow stricken at this root, the sooner to shake and sway all the branches, that are grown out of it; yet, for the difficulties or rather impossibilities occurring in the deliber-



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ation of this point, we of the Council, having delivered our reasons and observations, and weighing the inconveniences and dangers that might ensue, if the Lieutenant's proposition should be presently performed, did advise his Lordship that it was more expedient for Her Majesty's service that the invasion of Ulster should be for a time respite, and a present prosecution put on foot in Leinster, being the heart of the whole kingdom.

"The impossibilities alleged against this purpose to draw the army presently into Ulster were reduced to these heads, namely, that there is no grass nor forage to be had there for horses, neither will be, till the summer be further advanced; that it was thought very impossible and dangerous to lead so great a part of the army into so remote a province of the realm, without a great proportion of beeves to be carried on foot, for the sustentation of the soldiers, which in no sort could be levied, for that all the Irish countries, both in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, where the State was wont to be furnished with beeves for such purposes, are all in effect revolted, and the residue of the inhabited parts, both of the Pale and elsewhere, so impoverished through the long spoils of the traitors, as there is no succour of beeves to be raised that way; and yet, if any were to be had, they are at this season of the year so lean and poor, as they are neither able to be driven, nor meet to be eaten; that here are no means to carry overland any competent provisions of dry victuals, by reason the country is not able to yield half so many carriage-horses as is requisite for the necessary use of the army, though ready money should be paid for them; and touching garrans, which the country is bound by their tenures to answer to the general hosting, it is not possible to raise them before the time of the hosting, and yet then they will hardly be able to supply half their numbers, such is the decay of the country in every place. And for the proportion of carriage-horses levied in England, they are not as yet arrived, by reason of the contrariety of the wind. So as upon these impossibilities, with many other difficulties which could not be helpen but by a better commodity of the time, it was thought good, by an universal consent in Council, to forbear for a while the invasion of Ulster, and in the meantime to prosecute the rebels of Leinster, to see if those inner parts of the kingdom might be freed, thereby to have a clearer passage into Ulster, and so to make a thorough attempt upon the archtraitor Tyrone in his own country; which will hardly be done before the midst of June, or the beginning of July next, when the opportunity will serve best, both to strike at their cows and destroy their corn.

"Touching the prosecution intended in Leinster, I, the Lieutenant, being now in hand to sort and lay the companies in places meet to answer that service, and to give correspondence one to another, having likewise placed garrisons upon the north border, to impeach Tyrone's incursions, I do mean in person, having a small troop of horse and foot to attend me, to pass into the province, and visit the special parts thereof, and in that course to be at hand to direct and order the several troops that are laid to follow the prosecution, and afterwards, if I can, to draw up to Waterford,



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where I have appointed the President of Munster to meet me, for cause of conference touching the service within his charge; the list of all which forces, together with some companies appointed for Connaught, to reinforce that regiment, and others assigned to Knockfergus, under the charge of Sir Arthur Chichester, whom I have appointed to be Governor there, and of the two Clandeboyces, and other parts adjacent, I do now send herewith to your Lordships [*wanting, but see No. 41.*] Moreover, this persecution of Leinster is thought most requisite to be first dealt withal, as a part of the kingdom where Her Majesty had both profit and obedience, until, by the revolt of the Irishry, she was evicted from the greater part thereof.

"I, the Lieutenant, have, with the advice of the rest, caused sundry of the proclamations, which I brought out of England, to be published in the corporate towns of the Pale, and have sent some of them into Munster and Connaught; but what impressions they may work with the rebels cannot as yet be discovered; and, though we wish that they might incline their hearts to a feeling of their faults, as Her Majesty in her princely mercy seemed to intend it, yet hitherto we find in them all rather tokens of obduration than of submission; for that, since the entering of me, the Lieutenant, into charge, not one capital traitor hath sought or made shew of conformity, but do all stand aloof, being confident as it seemeth in their barbarous revolt, which we gather doth proceed of some inward hopes they have of the succours of Spain, and expectation of help out of Scotland, either overt or underhand; and to that end we are advertised that they draw all their whole strength to two heads, namely, Tyrone, with all the septs of the O'Neills, the McMahons, and all his other complices in those parts of Ulster, to make himself as strong as he can there, having for that purpose made a gathering of 6,000 or 7,000 men, horse and foot; and on the other side, O'Donnell, with the forces of Tyrconnell, James McSorley (as is advertised), Maguire, O'Rourke, and the supposed McWilliam, is to set upon Connaught, and entangle Her Majesty in that province. Upon which two armies, as they have a meaning to compound their principal strength, and to set up their rests, so against them we must of necessity employ two forces, consisting of strength to encounter them in their several limits. In which respects, it may please your Lordships to haste away with all speed, all supplies of men, victuals, and money, agreed upon there, and rather to add to the proportion than to diminish it, if with the conveniency of Her Majesty's affairs it may be done; and particularly, to speed away the 2,000 men for supplies, assigned to be sent hither by the first of June next, and that your Lordships would be a mean to Her Majesty to have those supplies increased, if it may be, the occasions here (as your Lordships see) rising greater than was considered there, at the time of the laying down of the proportion; and particularly, we pray your Lordships that further number of 200 carriage-horses at the least may be added to the proportion laid down there, afore the coming away of me, the Lieutenant; and all to be so dispatched, as they may be here by the first of June; otherwise it cannot be but this great service will be much hindered for want of those helps,

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the country here being unable to furnish carriage-horses for this present journey of Leinster, and far more unable to supply the greater expedition of Ulster.

“Furthermore, as we have laboured here since the last despatch to reduce the army to 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, according to the project set down there; and for that purpose, a proportion of treasure to serve for three months, from the first of March till the 23rd of May, was brought by me, the Treasurer, hither, at my coming (as your Lordships know), and likewise a proportion of victuals for 10,000 men, besides the other month’s victuals for February sent before; so, considering the good estate and success of the whole service resteth upon these provisions of money and victuals, to be sent and supplied in due time, so as there may be a store of both aforehand, it may please your Lordships to give strait order for the answering of them, according to the conditions agreed upon between such of your Lordships as were Commissioners and me, the Lieutenant; which was (*sic*), that there should be, ever[y] three months, victuals and treasure advanced for the service of this kingdom, and sent hither aforehand, which we do now the rather urge, for that two of the three months are already expired, and yet we hear of no supply of money or victuals. And specially, we pray your Lordships that the provisions of victuals for 10,000 men, formerly recited, may be increased to a proportion of 13,000 or 14,000 men, so as this great service may be supported by the due means assigned for it; which otherwise cannot but fail, to Her Majesty’s dishonour, and a dangerous hazarding of the kingdom, the preventing whereof we leave to your Lordships’ honourable considerations, still putting your Lordships in mind, that these means failing from thence, there is no way to supply them here, though it stood upon the loss of the kingdom.

“Lastly, we earnestly desire your Lordships again, to be careful to send away the 2,000 men for supplies, with a further increase, if it may be, together with victuals and all other preparations for them, so as they may be here by the first of June, at the furthest; till whose coming we shall not be able to address such forces as were meet to settle at Lough Foyle, nor otherwise to answer the service of Ulster so thoroughly as we would, and will be expected; and withal that your Lordships will give order to be sent hither at that time some competent shipping, to transport thither 4,000 foot and 100 horse, with their victuals, munition, and all other necessities, where we understand Tyrone laboureth to give some impediment to their landing; which ships also may give help for portage of victuals from place to place to the several magazines. And so, having sent your Lordships herewith (*wanting*) such advertisements as came last out of Munster, being the first that have been sent hither since the entering of me, the Lieutenant, into charge, we humbly commit your Lordships to God’s divine protection.”

[*Postscript.*] “The army being found to consist of 19,000 men, as they stood in list at the coming of me, the Lieutenant, though not above 16,000 in number, and being now reduced to 16,000 foot, wherein sundry Captains are cashiered, and their companies turned over to supply other bands, there doth grow by these alterations,



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to the Captains discharged and their officers, certain sums of money for their pay until their discharge, which sums we are driven to satisfy to them by way of concordatum, otherwise those Captains and officers, being put out of entertainment, would be left to great discontentment, and would breed a general discouragement, if their pay should not be made good to them. A matter which we make bold to acquaint your Lordships withal, to the end your Lordships may see upon what urgent reasons we are driven to make these payments by concordatum."—Dublin, 1599, April 28. *Endorsed, Received 6 [changed from 4] May at Greenwich. With marginal notes by Sir Robert Cecil. Signed. pp. 4.*

April 28. 39. Duplicate of the preceding.—Dublin, 1599, April 28. *Copy.*  
Dublin. *pp. 5.*

April 28. 40. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council.  
Dublin. That Sir Christopher Blount, having been appointed Marshal of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, may be admitted to the Council, as all others his predecessors have been. The prejudice that may grow, if this be not done.—Dublin, 1599, April 28. *Endorsed, Received 4 May at Greenwich. Signed. pp. 2.*

April 28. 41. The Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil. "What the state of  
Dublin. this country is, and how the time hath been spent since my coming, you shall perceive by the despatch which this bearer carries. If there be fault found that the list is not sent, I must excuse myself with impossibility to make it; for though I got over myself and such as could be shipped at Chester and Liverpool with the last easterly wind, yet want of shipping keeps most of my people and 3[00] or 400 of our horses from us. And I found all things so in confusion as it hath been an extreme toil to bring things to that pass at which they are. The list of foot is made, and I have displeased multitudes, but I have done that which was for Her Majesty's honour and service. If I deceive not myself, I shall try how good fighters these proud talking rebels are within ten days; I mean, all the rebels of Leinster, and those which Tyrone sent with his base son out of Ulster; and then when I have given some directions for Munster, and settled Leinster in some reasonable state, I will into Ulster, if you supply me out of England according to the agreements, which you know was (*sic*), to have three months' victual and treasure still beforehand; for with a less proportion we cannot go thither.

"I have received letters from Sir Thomas Norreys by the Provost Marshal of Munster, since my despatch to My Lords was made up. But there is nothing in them of moment. I have also received a letter from Mountgarrett, who, finding himself an unwieldy coward, would fain come in, and let this [*sic*,? his] dependants loose to assist the rebels. I have appointed him to come unto me, and will impose upon him such conditions as he shall be ill able to play the dangerous rebel hereafter. He is with my Lord of Ormonde at Kilkenny, but hath written without my Lord's privity, and all his excuse is, accusing my Lord of extreme courses against him. But



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of those things I will write by my next, from the places where I shall be able to write what is done, and not what shall be. I pray you acquaint Her Majesty and my Lords with this much, and haste the dispatch back again of this bearer."—*Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, "28 April, '99. L. Lieutenant to me from Dublin, by Mr. Wiseman." *Also*, Received 4 May at Greenwich. *Holograph pp. 2½.*

April 29.  
Dublin.

42. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "By my former despatch sent by Sir Thomas Gerard, I yielded Her Majesty and your Lordships an account of my first arrival into (*sic*) this Island, of my receiving the sword, of my demand made to Her Majesty's Council here concerning the state of this kingdom, and thereupon of such advertisements as I received from them in that behalf, signed by the principal Governors, as well of the State as of the army, and by the rest of Her Majesty's Council residing here. Whereby Her Majesty and your Lordships may clearly see how great and almost desperate the indisposition of Ireland is, and consequently how long and difficult the cure thereof is likely to prove. Sithence which time, by the repair of sundry to me from all parts of this kingdom, I have found fit instruments to discover the plots and designs of the greatest rebels. By whom I have learned that, within few hours after my landing, the posts were with Tyrone; which caused him to call a council of his chief confederates, and with them to debate what course they were presently to take, and whereon finally to resolve. Their conclusion was that by a new bond they should again tie themselves one to another; that messengers should be despatched into every quarter of this kingdom, to assure their dependants of this their resolution, and of their constant purpose to pursue it; and withal to require them in like manner to link themselves each to other by fresh oaths; and all to acknowledge and swear a dependence from the Archtraitor as from their Chief; and lastly that they should make two heads; the one in Ulster, near Armagh and the Blackwater, where Tyrone in person is to command, assisted by all the septs of the O'Neills, McMahon, Magennis, O'Quin, O'Hanlon, O'Dogherty, and the rest of the leaders in those parts, their forces amounting by estimation to six thousand, horse and foot; the other head in Connaught, about the Curlews, where O'Donnell is to direct in chief, having the assistance of Maguire, James McSorley, O'Rourke, McWilliam, and all the power of the rebels generally in the countries of Tyrconnell, Fermanagh, the Route, and of the whole province of Connaught, being reckoned about four thousand, horse and foot. And now, these points being digested, their Council is dissolved, and Tyrone and O'Donnell already on their journey to the appointed places; men of special trust being also sent into Leinster for the confirming of their complices, who lately assembled themselves before an idol in Ormonde, called the Holy Cross, where again they solemnly sware not to abandon nor forsake one another. To assure the truth of these intelligences (besides sundry letters from the commanders of the garrisons in the north) there have been with me two gentlemen,

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very good subjects, who have divers of their kindred that converse daily with Tyrone. O'Connor Sligo also came unto me from Connaught, who confidently affirms that O'Donnell is already come to Ballymore, his castle, being but six miles from the Curlews; where he purposeth to impeach the Governor of Connaught his passage to Sligo or Ballyshannon. Besides these advertisements, which I received touching their obstinacy and pride, their very proceedings make manifest demonstration that they have not so much as the least thought of submitting themselves, or seeking Her Majesty's gracious pardon. For neither directly nor indirectly have they ever sent unto me, nor made themselves any way to that purpose; but contrarily, they breathe out everywhere words full of insolency, promising themselves strength and means to withstand whatsoever forces either Her Majesty now doth, or the State of England hereafter shall be able to, arm against them. And now, as your Lordships have by the premisses understood the ability and means of these rebels, so I hold it my bounden duty, by your Lordships' means, to acquaint Her Majesty with the humours and affections of the rest of the people.

"To our religion, first, they are generally enemies, being themselves professed, obstinate, superstitious papists, which now they do the more boldly and the more publicly avow, by reason of the necessity they conceive Her Majesty hath to make a party of them to assist her in this war; and a party she cannot have but of Catholics, and those which now will be known and acknowledged of that religion. And I could heartily wish they dissented from us in conscience, and for conscience alone; but it is too true, and I have too soon found it, that even in matters of state and allegiance they hold principles directly opposite to ours. For, whereas we acknowledge (as in deed we ought) that the goodness of our Sovereign's government should make us desire the greatness of her power; they, on the other side, hold, and so ever will, that it stands not for the good of the Irish nation to have an English Sovereign over great, or her authority over absolute. To prove this, I must allege that, even of those who serve Her Majesty, there is scarcely one that doth service upon public duty, but only as he is led by private respects. The same man who will draw a draught, or be a faithful guide against one rebel, will be a spy or an intelligencer for another; and he that will readily draw blood of one sept, will not serve against another; and he that will bring an hundred horse, or two or three hundred foot into the field, to revenge a private injury, or upon some private quarrel, will protest, yea and proclaim, himself utterly unable to bring six men or horse into the field for Her Majesty's service. Whereunto I may add, as arising hereof, the mutual correspondencies and strict leagues betwixt those who are out in rebellion, and such as pretend to be well affected subjects; a matter so ordinary and so well known, that I have not yet heard of any near bordering active rebel, which hath not had a person of quality for his solicitor; neither find I almost a man of quality on this side, who hath not a rebel for his client. But the greatest and clearest proof of all others is this, that they do not only suffer their children,



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kinsfolks, and followers (whom by means they might draw in) to continue in action of rebellion, but in what quarter soever they find things inclining to quietness, thither they secretly address a rabble of idle and unnecessary men, who, *tangum ungues in ulcere*, shall continually keep that part from healing. Now, My Lords, if the Council here have truly delivered the power of the rebels, against whom I am to fight, and myself have sufficiently declared the disposition of the people from whom I am to expect assistance, Her Majesty and your Lordships will soon perceive what a kind of task I have in hand. I know it may be answered that matters thus standing, Her Majesty must wholly trust to her own strength; and to that end she hath supplied me, her minister, with such forces as the kingdom of England hath been seldom used to maintain. I confess Her Majesty's charge is great and exceeding heavy; and I would to God that any travail, hazard, or suffering of mine might either end it or ease it. Nevertheless, when I compare the plaster with the wound, I may boldly say it doth no more than cover it; and, under correction, I think there is more need of defensatives to be further applied for the strengthening of the parts adjoining, and staying the defluxion of humours, than that anything should be scanted or cut off of that which is already applied. To speak more plainly and particularly, our numbers are inferior to those which come against us, but our cause is better, our order and discipline stronger; our courage likewise, I doubt not, shall be greater, which howsoever to this people it seem a paradox, yet to me it is a principle. Notwithstanding, admit we do as well as men can do, yet certainly all of us shall have our hands full. Wherefore I infer that first, our supplies of men, of victual, of treasure, [and] of other necessities, must rather prevent than come after the times appointed: next, that as we are like to be encountered with as many difficulties as man can meet with, so must we crave to be countenanced with as many circumstances of favour as the service requires. More of this argument with comeliness I cannot write, nor less with duty. All other matters I refer to that general letter, which goes from myself and the Council here."

[*Postscript in Essex's hand*]:—"Your Lordships see how freely and unreservedly I write. I know you are all sworn to keep Her Majesty's counsels, and you will judge how unfit an instrument I should be for Her Majesty here, if my free censure were known on this side."—Dublin, [1599], April 29. *Signed. pp. 2½.*

April 29.  
[? London.]

43. Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. His many troubles by reason of his father's accounts remaining undetermined at the time of his death. Throws himself wholly on Sir Robert's protection. Cannot devise how to show any testimony of his thankfulness, being a little discouraged by Sir Robert having lately rejected a small token of his father's zeal. Understands that his father's lands and goods are to be seized, as though he were greatly in Her Majesty's debt. This will be very disgraceful to one who served faithfully, and who was for long a suitor for his revocation. For every parcel of treasure sent into Ireland before Michaelmas, 1597, when the lendings began, his father usually sent a certificate to Burghley of



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the particular issue thereof. For the money sent to Ireland since that date, Charles Huet, his father's agent, who came lately from Ireland, delivered to Sir Robert a perfect book of its issue, vouching the warrants whereby it was expended. His father's books and warrants remain in Ireland, and it will ask some time to go thither and bring them over again. Desires all process may be stayed till his return. If any doubt be conceived of his father's estate, desires that a Commission may be sent into the country for appraising of all his father's goods. This done, prays that he may retain them in his custody, putting in sufficient security to answer any arrear found upon determination of the accounts. Will proceed with all celerity to make these ready for the view of the Commissioners. To that end, begs for Her Majesty's warrant for bringing over all his father's books and papers. Will then repair with all expedition to Ireland. Some there have attempted to keep those books and papers from his father's servants. It would be a great discouragement to the rest of Her Majesty's well-deserving servants to see his father's goods and lands seized, and his books restrained, before his account was examined.—[? London], 1599, April 29. *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

April 30.  
Dublin.

44. Sir Warham Sentleger to Sir Robert Cecil. What has been dealt in since Essex's arrival, Sir Robert will understand by the several despatches from his Lordship and the Council. It is fallen out as Sir Warham thought in England, for the impossibilities of going into the north presently are greater than one can imagine. Doubts not but the other proceedings for dealing with Leinster, Connaught, and Munster, will bring forth very good effects, yet Essex is much discontented that he may not begin in Ulster. Sees no great offers of any relenting by the principal traitors; only Lord Roche has sent to Essex, desiring protection. Viscount Mountgarrett and James FitzPiers will likely desire the same, for those three have their land in such places that they must soon be banished. Besides, Roche and Mountgarrett "are both old and unwieldy men, and have good store of good land." Hopes, therefore, that Essex will not hearken to them but upon their very good deserts, whereby he may be assured of them hereafter. The remain of the money due to Sir Warham. Finds no fit time yet to move Essex touching the checks, both because his Lordship is exceedingly troubled, and because the companies are full, so no money will yet arise by them. Has not received any entertainment, either for himself or his men, from the last of September to the first of March, nor has he received any victuals; thus 500*l.* are due to him, "which hard measure hath not been offered to any in this kingdom, but only to myself." Craves payment out of the money which should be delivered back to Sir Henry Wallop.—Dublin, 1599, April 30. *Holograph.* pp. 1½.

[April.]

45. Note of the munition "sent to Dublin at the Lord Lieutenant's coming into Ireland, anno 1599." *One Sheet.*

[April.]

46. Note of castles taken in Munster, of castles quitted and burned by the enemy before Essex came near them, and of the garrisons placed in divers towns of Munster.—[1599, April.] p. 1.

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[April.]

47. Petition of Florence McCarthy [to Sir Robert Cecil], beseeching him to be a mean that Her Majesty may consider the number of armed rebels that have taken possession of his country, through his long stay in England; that all his means are consumed in twelve years' imprisonment and suits, whereby he is unable to erect, arm, or furnish his people, or to horse any of them, without Her Majesty's help, his brother, cousins, and people being killed, taken, and spoiled of their goods, for want of weapon and furniture. The recovery of his country, which is "the strength, back, and fastness of the rebels of Munster," is the most necessary work for Her Majesty's service there, "besides that himself hath lived here this half year without exhibition, which brought him greatly indebted" (*sic*). Desires that some mention may be made in Her Majesty's letters to the Lord Lieutenant of three quarters of those lands that stand in the county of Cork, and of the duties or provision due to his father-in-law within his country, signifying that his Lordship may, if he think good, grant the same, and that where McCarthy has sued for a charge, the Lord Lieutenant may grant that which he thinks fit.—[1599, April.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

April.

48. [Sir Robert Cecil] to the Earl of Essex. His Lordship shall receive by the hands of Florence McCarthy a letter, whereby Her Majesty authorises the granting to him of such lands of the Earl of Clancarty, his father-in-law, and with such reservations, as were thought convenient at the conference that was held on this cause by Sir Robert, Essex, the Master of the Rolls, and the Solicitor-General. Since then the President of Munster has written in general terms, wishing rather the stay of McCarthy in England than his being sent to Munster; alleging, however, no particular cause, save that his brother and others are out. Her Majesty, notwithstanding, finding the country so far out as it is already, and the lands which McCarthy claimed possessed by rebels, has a gracious disposition to commit some trust to this man, who has long endured want, and who offers to assist her service with all the means he and his friends can make. She has therefore been pleased, according to the former opinion of Essex, to give McCarthy an estate in the lands aforesaid. Nevertheless, Her Majesty has commanded them in private to say thus much to Essex; that if he shall, now that he is arrived in Ireland, understand by further conference with the Council, or with any other, that the grant may be likely to be dangerous to her service, then she is pleased that his Lordship do proceed to pass to McCarthy either more or less of those things limited in Her Majesty's letter. And where Essex shall likewise receive McCarthy's petition, from which it appears to Her Majesty that his Lordship meant to make some use of his service, she has dispatched him, and leaves him in all things to be used by Essex, and to receive that benefit from her letter, which he in his wisdom shall think good. *Endorsed*, 1599, April. *Draft, with alterations in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.* pp. 11.

[April.]

49. "Notes touching the furtherance of Her Majesty's service in Ireland." The interest which Tyrone assures himself he has in the



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King of Scots, whereof there is some proof. Tyrone will never be a faithful subject, unless he yield one of his sons as pledge for his loyalty. His wings must be taken from him before he can be hurt. This may easily be done, in the Brenny, McMahon's country, the Clandeboys, and the Route, which are his chiefest helps. The army which now remains in the Pale, and does no service, should be laid upon those borders, where it may do great service, and ease the Pale. The McMahons offered to have a garrison placed at Monaghan among them. When [any of] the enemy come in and submit, hoping to be defended by Her Majesty's forces, little regard is had of them, and they are left to the spoil of the enemy, when they are ready to relieve the garrison with victuals. It is easy to banish James McSorley, if McQuilyne be maintained, who is a good subject, and Lord of the Route, which James now keeps by force. The manner of issuing the Queen's victuals, and the benefit the Victualler gets, which is unreasonable, and may be saved. The last speeches Tyrone had "with me." The profit that the placing of a Governor at Carrickfergus will yield both to the Queen and her subjects, if he be of any sufficiency and experience, and enabled to serve. *Endorsed*, 1599, [April]. *p. 1.*

May 4.  
Dublin.

50. Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. Received on the 2nd instant, their Lordships' letters of the 24th April, wherein they require him to certify his receipts, issues, and what remains of the treasure. His receipts have been in all, 50,601*l.* 18*s.* "My receipts of this kingdom due for the half year ended at our Lady day last past, are yet very small, not above threescore pounds. They have accustomed not to pay in all their rents but in Trinity term, which I suppose in these troublesome times will not be great. The perquisites and casualties of this kingdom are very small, as matters are now handled, which I forbear in particular to write of, until I be better informed, but well I am assured it is not well." The composition money for Leinster is 2,100*l.* per annum, but the Queen is said to be indebted yet more to the country for the [dieting of the] soldiers. "Touching Her Majesty's part of the booties and preys taken from the enemy, there is not yet any expedition made against the enemy. My Lord is now going on a journey; God prosper him therein." The payments to the army. Sir Henry Wallop did not by a great deal satisfy its pay, until Essex's coming to the kingdom. His Lordship and the Council gave Carey order to repay 1,300*l.*, which had been borrowed of the Mayor of Dublin and others in Sir Henry Wallop's time, since the first of March, to supply some part of the necessary pay of the army. Has sent 8,000*l.* to Waterford, to pay the soldiers there, and is now sending some portion to Connaught, Kilkenny, Carrickfergus, and Newry. A further portion he must send with Essex, now in his journey. Cannot yet tell what treasure remains, but thinks that after May 23 it will be a small portion, seeing that out of what he has received (the revenue of Ireland being yet so little), the old officers, pensioners, and others contained in the old establishment, and Her Majesty's Officers of Justice and their ministers of the Courts (amounting to 20,000*l.* per annum) must be paid. Whatever remains, shall be expended in



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Her Majesty's service, according to the establishment and instructions he received. Prays for their Lordships' favour, until the army be thoroughly settled, and then he will keep better correspondence with them than he can possibly do now. If they presently gave order for a new supply of money for two months, because the passages by sea are uncertain, it would breed great contentment and furtherance to the service. Otherwise, if the soldiers, for want of their weekly lendings, should be again cessed on the country, it will breed much murmuring.—Dublin, 1599, May 4. *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

May 7.  
Dublin.

51. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I most humbly thank your Honour for your advice given me in your last letter of the first of the last month, which I received but yesterday. And as it bringeth no small grief to me to be hardly thought of for my former inwardness with Sir John Norreys, having had a joint employment with him in Her Majesty's service, as your Honour knoweth, so I humbly leave to your Honour to think, how much it doth further grieve me, that my faithful dealing and concurring with him, in some weighty affairs committed to his trust and mine, should be a ground to a nobleman of so great honour and virtue as is my Lord Lieutenant, either to suspect me, or hold his Lordship's favour from me, being a servitor to Her Majesty, that have carried myself always free from faction, and void of particular inwardness with any man, other than such as was meet for me to use in the true discharge of Her Highness' service committed to me. This, I hope, will bear me out against all hard constructions, and in the end acquit me in his Lordship's opinion, howsoever it may have been carried heretofore to my hindrance by some contrary insinuations. And, according your Honour's advice, I will follow his Lordship with all fidelity and duty, both toward his Lordship in particular, and for Her Majesty's service, and will humbly lay myself down to be measured and weighed by him, as he shall find me to proceed honestly in both; although I am not ignorant how hard it may be for me to clear a suspicion so long continued, if his Lordship out of his own honourable mind do it not. Wherein I have reason to hope well, for that hitherto I have found nothing but honourable and good usage in his Lordship, with a mind rather affected to countenance faithful servitors in their callings than to discourage them by his disfavour. And for my part, if I should not follow his Lordship with a true heart, now that he is come to the government here, I should contradict myself, having still wished that God would put into Her Majesty's heart to send him hither, as a nobleman best qualified to go through with the recovery of this kingdom; and to that end I have been bold, as your Honour knoweth, to write my advice thither, so far as was meet for one of my sort."—Dublin, 1599, May 7. *Signed. Endorsed, Received by Mr. Darrell the 18th at Greenwich. p. 1.*

May 8.

52. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Have received his two despatches, sent since his arrival, by Sir Thomas Gerrard and Essex's servant, Mr. Wiseman. Are glad at his safe passage over. Acknowledge the "exact and orderly certificates" of the strength of the rebels; also, his further "collections" of the general de-

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fection of Ireland. Although its reduction cannot be otherwise effected than by putting the axe to the root of the tree, yet they very well approve the opinions of the Council, shewing Essex the difficulties for any present action in the north, until the time of the year affords better commodity for the army, when it is there, and has been accommodated with all necessities. Her Majesty allows his distribution of the forces, and also his resolve for the present to pass into Leinster. Her great difficulty in providing for the army he took with him. "To go further, we cannot without warrant, and warrant we can neither procure, neither, to tell your Lordship plainly, do find it yet convenient to urge Her Majesty, for any thing we yet discover." Doubt not to have satisfied Essex in some particular points by their last despatch, which had not come to his hands when he wrote.

Understand that he found the army 19,000 in list, and that he has reduced it to 16,000, whereby it seems he wants no men. Now he requires 2,000 more to be sent over with expedition. Consider that his meaning is, not to put the Queen to any further charge, but to make the demand provisionally, because he suspects delays. Now the supplies were appointed for every three months' end. This time will not be expired until three months after the 28th of April, when Essex will have 16,000 men in full. If the 2,000 are sent sooner, Her Majesty's charges will be increased, and she is unwilling to pass beyond them. Cannot send the men, until they hear whether Essex cannot supply some part, either with voluntaries, or with such of the English as have been expelled from their habitations by the rebels. Have written to his Lordship what they heard thereof by divers from Munster; and are loath to put England at this time to any sudden trouble, of which they may ease it, seeing its necessary causes are burdensome enough. As to the request for shipping to transport 4,000 foot and 100 horse to Lough Foyle, think his Lordship cannot be so unprovided with barks in Ireland, as to be driven to fetch all shipping from England for such a service. If shipping were sent sooner than it were used, which must depend upon his Lordship proceeding to settle a plantation at Lough Foyle, it were so much charge cast away, after they entered into wages. Great sums have been spent in the transporting of the army Essex carried with him, especially the horses. Thus if his Lordship found some proportion of shipping in Ireland, they might then provide the rest from England. Until, therefore, they can hear from him of his success in Leinster, and of further cause that the 2,000 men should be in any extraordinary haste drawn to the seaside, or how he intends to provide about the matter of Lough Foyle (the forces for which must come out of his 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse), they can take no other order than they have already certified. Expect his answer for their better knowledge.

For the money, they give present order for such a sum as was agreed on; and for the victual, will move Her Majesty to send him enough for 2,000 men more at least; although, considering the liberty given to all men to transport victual to Ireland, they would have thought, if Essex had had money, that this new augmentation might have been forborne. Their trust in his knowledge of that



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which is fit to be done. Ask for particulars of places, &c., to which these "increases" must be sent. Think Mr. Darrell might bring the instructions to them.

"For the matter of carriage horses, we must be plain with your Lordship, that Her Majesty as yet will not be content to be put to any new charge for that (*sic*); which we conceive to be the rather because these new demands do come so suddenly upon your arrival, and before your Lordship could with any possibility advertise of any service done on the traitors; but for this particular, if it be so necessary, and cannot there be otherwise supplied, we will then move Her Majesty that they may be provided, and the charge borne by the checks.

"For your other letter to us, signed only by yourself, we must needs confess that you have made a very judicial observation of all the particulars therein contained, for which as we are sorry to find that you have so good cause to observe it, so would we be as sorry that, by any of our defaults, the same should be made known to any, but to Her Majesty and ourselves. And therefore we have so used it, as it is not subject to the eye or ear of any here, that are not sworn to be secret of this and all things that may so much concern Her Majesty's service."

With regard to Sir Christopher Blount, Her Majesty has read the letters of Essex and of the Council, but has not taken the desired resolution; "so as we conceived it rather to be a thing fixed in Her Majesty's mind, because she had denied it to yourself, than that she doth not very well approve the gentleman's sufficiency to do her service." [*Postscript.*] Since the writing of this letter, Her Majesty has appointed that Sir Christopher Blount be present in Council, when any causes are debated, in which he is to be employed, as is the case with many gentlemen and persons of good quality in England on like occasions. *Copy, certified by W. Waad. Endorsed, 1599, May 8. pp. 4½.*

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53. Another copy of the preceding.—1599, May 8. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 158 b.-160. pp. 4.*

May. 9.  
Dublin.

54. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council. "As, by our former letters, sent by Henry Tracy, your Lordships might perceive that your Lordships' of the 17th of April to me, the Lieutenant, was imparted to all Her Majesty's Council here present at that time, and that we thought ourselves bound to answer one point without delay, though the other parts required further time and many conferences; so now, our number being increased by the arrival of three of us, who then subscribed not, and those three having since been made acquainted with what came from your Lordships, and what hath been already returned, we have all thought good to tender to your Lordships this our humble answer to the whole and several parts of your Lordships' letter. And first, as your Lordships do very truly set forth, and we do very humbly acknowledge, Her Majesty's chargeable, magnificent, and royal preparations, and transportations of men, munition, apparel, money, and victuals, for the recovery of this distressed kingdom; for the



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expediting whereof your Lordships also do profess and express your own careful, painful, and faithful endeavours; so we humbly crave leave to protest, before God and His angels, that, to our knowledge, we have misspent neither time nor means, but have studied and striven to take the shortest way to the happiest issue, and have asked that with private grief which we cannot want without public calamity. And therefore we hope Her Majesty and your Lordships will acquit us, and excuse our miserable destiny to be employed at such a time, and in such a country, where a prosecution can neither be deferred without dishonour and loss, nor undertaken without hazard and charge, nor perfected without time and difficulty.

“But to leave all preface, and to handle the same points, and in the same order to which your Lordships do lead us. First, for men, it is true that Her Majesty granted the full number of foot for the making up of the list of 16,000, that I, the Lieutenant, demanded, so that, though at my first coming I found many sick and unserviceable, and withal here that Sir Arthur Savage’s regiment in Connaught begins to fall down, yet I complain not of present want; but, as now our going to service will diminish our numbers, and the purposed journey to the north requires that we should go in strength, so must we assure your Lordships that, against the midst of June, it will be necessary to have a reinforcement. But here your Lordships move a question whether they might not be supplied, either with such voluntaries as I, the Lieutenant, brought over, or [with] such Englishmen as were, in Munster and other places, driven from their dwellings by the incursions of the rebels. By neither of which we can look for any help; for the voluntaries are either some few men of quality, that serve on horseback, and will never supply the places of ordinary men; or else, such of our attendants, as cannot be anywhere enrolled. And as for these cowardly forsakers of their dwellings, and losers of their strong castles, in Munster and Leinster, without striking a blow, if we had them all, we are of opinion that as many arms were lost as were put into their hands, and as many countries lost as they should be set to guard. But they are fled, and not here; and therefore no supply [is] to be thought on for Her Majesty’s army, unless it come out of England. And those also that do come are to bring arms, for here in service the arms decay faster than the men, and the store that was brought over is already so much diminished, that to any new levy it will afford but little help.

“The second point is munition, which your Lordships say, and we acknowledge, was as largely supplied as was desired; and of the principal natures, as powder, match, and lead, we hope we shall have no want this good while; but of swords there was such a general want, that those which were brought over were almost all issued; and, except your Lordships do command the like proportion of 3,000 to be sent again, we fear we shall find the disadvantage of such a want, the rebels being only to be beaten by that weapon, to which they do so willingly come. Also, if it would please your Lordships to move Her Majesty to send over 3 [00] or 400 of the long targets made by Captain Hayes, I, the Lieutenant, do assure your Lordships that in the passing of woods and passes, which in this country will

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be our *champs de bataille*, they would be of great use and advantage, and save many men's lives; for they, being seconded by a few shot, would force any passage, and make it good, and defend and cover the shot that should attend upon them. If it please your Lordships to commit the care of providing and sending them to Mr. Treasurer of the Navy, he knows both the Captain and the arms, and will see them sent away."

As for apparel, although the new levies had new clothes, and a proportion was sent for the old companies, yet the best of them are no better provided than need requires, and the clothes which they have will be so fully worn by the time they receive their summer suits, that the supply will not come too soon. The quantity mentioned by their Lordships, viz., 12,000 suits, besides the new supplies, is as requisite as the season of sending it. Necessity for the sending of more treasure, to pay as well those that direct as those that are to be directed. The issuing of the last treasure that was sent began from the first of March, and supplies should come according to that computation. The confusion in which all things were till the army was reduced to order, caused an extraordinary charge to Her Majesty; so the yearly allowance of 5,000*l.* set down in the establishment for extraordinaries is too small, and, unless it be enlarged, the service will receive infinite maims. Will make no particular demand, till they have seen what the charge will be by the end of this Leinster journey, which Essex will begin to-morrow. Thank their Lordships for sending the proportion of victuals agreed on, and also for directing Mr. Darrell to them. Have fully informed him. The victuals must be for at least 12,000 men, most of whom must dwell in Ulster, "where nothing is to be had but cows, and the prey of them will not countervail the hunting for them." All the other quarters, where the war is to be made, are so spoiled, that they will yield little relief. Ask for biscuit, butter, cheese, and some beef, "but little or no fish, for it neither keepeth well, nor pleaseth the soldier, who by such victual hath so much to provoke his thirst, and no provision to quench it." The places to which the victuals should be sent are, Carlingford and Carrickfergus on the one side, and Galway and Limerick on the other; the staple at Carlingford to serve for Armagh and the Blackwater, at Carrickfergus for Lough Foyle, at Limerick for Munster and Connaught, and at Galway for Ballyshannon. The proportions to be sent to these staples. Have discussed the rates at which the victuals shall be issued, and have decided that it shall not be "under 4*d.* a day, which, coming to 2*s.* 4*d.* in the week, leave the soldier 8*d.* a week to buy him drink, and pay for necessaries, which we are all of opinion is the barest allowance that he can live upon."

Have taken an order (of which they crave their Lordships' allowance), "to avoid an extraordinary charge to Her Majesty, and yet to provide for necessary men, that is, for the preachers of the army, and for engineers, gunners, carpenters, smiths, wheelers, and such like ministers of the ordnance as have no allowance set down in the list, for which we allow two p<sup>y</sup>s out of every foot company; so as Her Majesty is not further charged, but the army, in considera-



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tion of their souls' instruction, and the service advancement, shall be lessened in number of heads. And as both religion and reason doth (*sic*) teach all men that such entertainments are necessary, so I, the Lieutenant, do undertake they shall be given to those that shall well deserve their wages."—Dublin, 1599, May 9. *Signed. Endorsed*, By Mr. Darrell, 18 of May, '99. *Under this endorsement, Sir Robert Cecil has written*:—"When we had written our letter of the 16th of May, this was not come, for you see we received it not till the 18th of May." *pp.* 3.

May. 9.  
Dublin.

55. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. His inability to tell how much treasure he had issued, and what remained in his hands. Sir Robert will do very well to send away two months' pay more; for if there be want of money, many inconveniences will grow thereby. Either the soldiers must be cessed on the country, or else feed on the Queen's victuals, which ought to be preserved until Essex's journey into the north. At his Lordship's coming, the companies both of horse and foot were out of order, and so confused, that Essex had much ado to reduce them according to the proportion set down in the list. It is now done. Hopes that not only that, but other matters, will be reduced to a better and more direct course than heretofore. Has acquainted Lord Buckhurst with "the confused order" he sees in the receipt of Her Majesty's revenues. Fears the 5,000*l.* will not suffice to pay the concordatums that are granted, as by the note enclosed Sir Robert may perceive.

"This day his Lordship began his journey with 3,000 foot and 300 horse. He passeth through Leinster and some part of Munster. In this journey the Lord Lieutenant of the army doth meet his Lordship. Sir Conyers Clifford is appointed to be in Connaught with 3,000 foot and some horse. His Lordship is in a good assured hope that he will within this month assure these three provinces. And I assure myself his Lordship will be fought with, ere he pass this journey, for they are strong and resolved to fight, except there be false brethren among themselves, and that each doth suspect [the] other. He hath appointed Sir Arthur Chichester with 500 foot and a few horse to lie at Carrickfergus. Sir Edward Herbert is appointed with six companies to lie at Offally. Sir Warham Sentleger is to lie at Monastercum with 350 foot; Sir Henry Power, in the absence of my Lord, to command in the county of Kilkenny, with six companies of foot; Sir Henry Harrington and Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, with seven companies, in the Byrnes' country; Sir Samuel Bagenall at the Newry, with eight companies; my Lord Audley at Kells, with eight companies; Sir John Shelton at Ardee, with 350; my Lord Crumwell at Dundalk, with four companies." There are some horse appointed to each of these places. One company is left at Dublin. Essex has made two knights; Sir Thomas Mostyn, at his first coming, and Sir Thomas Tasborough, at his starting on this journey.—Dublin, 1599, May 9. *Signed. Endorsed*, Received by Mr. Darrell at Greenwich, the 18th. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses*,

55. 1. "An abstract of such extraordinary concordatums as be passed sithence the 13th of April, 1599, by the Lord Lieutenant and



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*Council.” Among the entries are the following :—**“For the carriage of two packets to the Court, the one 27 Aprilis, the other 4 Maii, 1599 .....20l.**To the Surveyor of the Works, for repairs to be done at the Castle of Dublin.....30l. 10s.”**Unsigned. pp. 3.*May. 9.  
Dublin.

56. Sir George Bouchier to the Privy Council. Received their Lordships' letters of the 24th April on the 3rd instant. Their desire for a certificate from him every two months of the expense and stores of munition. Will do his best to send the same, or signify the impediments, if any shall happen. But, if their Lordships refer to the mass of artillery and munition, which arrived in Ireland about the 20th of March last, to attend the Lord Lieutenant, and of which six ships came to the haven of Dublin, he had authority, neither from their Lordships, nor from the Lords Justices, to receive it; nor had the masters of the ships any direction to land it, before the arrival of the Lord Lieutenant. It is not all unladen yet, so cannot make any certificate. As to the munition that went to other places, as Galway, Cork, and Carlingford, there is nothing thereof as yet disposed, nor has Essex given any direction concerning it. Does not know who is to have charge thereof.—Dublin, 1599, May 9. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

May 10.  
Dublin.

57. George Beverley to the Privy Council. Has received their letters of April 24, and will carefully observe their instructions. Mr. Marmaduke Darrell, being in Ireland, has been made fully acquainted with the state of the victualling. The difficulty of communication with the magazines in the several provinces; hence cannot but “estimatively” deliver the issues and remains of the victuals in them. The rates of the soldiers' victual. Encloses a paper (*wanting*), shewing them for the last twenty years. The rate is fully as much as the soldiers' wages will bear. The Commissary at Galway stands in need of salt, to be in part used for the keeping of the store of fish there, and has advertised the arrival of a bark laden therewith. Has written to him to make some provision, if the price of the salt is not too high. The cost of transport will thus be saved. The provision of salt made by the Mayor of Chester, and that which is provided in Dublin by himself, will be all contained within the eighty ways appointed by their Lordships.—Dublin, 1599, May 10. *Signed. p. 1.*

May 12.  
Galway.

58. Valentine Blake to Sir Conyers Clifford. It has pleased God to deliver him from the most cruel Spaniards. Arrived at Galway on the 10th instant in a French ship, having departed from the south of Spain on April 21. Gives Sir Conyers such news as he could learn.

The agents of the Irishry, Hugh Boy O'Davitt and Edmund Brymmechan, came to the Court of Spain in October last. Their request was for men, money, and munition. “They had all the best words that could be, which is but their ordinary compliments, and some dispatch of munition, and that was all. And yet, when the

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King went to Valencia to meet his Queen, they followed him, and there they were at Blake's departing. The Adelantado Major of Castille, chief of the King's armies by sea and land, came to St. Mary port fifteen days before Blake's arrival there, understanding of the latter's being there, bound for Ireland, and sent for him. During his great troubles, Blake "worked the means," so that Hugh O'Davitt spoke very favourably in his behalf to the said Adelantado, who had great conference with Blake about the Irishry and his determinations.

"First, he told me he would write with me to them, and two days after he told me it were dangerous to write, lest it should come to the enemies' hands at sea, and that best it was to inform me of it by word of mouth, whereby I might advertise those godly and virtuous Catholics of my country." He told his Excellency all should be performed. The latter's word was, that O'Neill and O'Donnell should be "of good anyma," and keep up all the stirs and annoyance they could. His Excellency, kneeling on one knee and with tears in his eyes, protested before his Saviour that, within three months, he would be in London or else die. His only stay was the bringing his galleys, three score in number, "to a head." He had likewise some thirty very good ships "stayed and well fitted and daily making ready" in the river of Seville. The best ships that come out of France thither are stayed, and the French merchants affirm it is done with the consent of their King. The Spanish King, with his Queen, will be in Madrid by the end of May. "All the treasure came safe, which was eleven millions, but only the Captain [the Commander's ship] is missed, and had in her three millions." The plague continues still in Lisbon, and in other parts of Portugal. —Galway, 1599, May 12. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

May 13.

59. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. "Although this letter cometh to your Lordship from us by whose hands you find it to be signed, nevertheless the same is derived and taken from Her Majesty's express direction and commandment, who hath been pleased to deliver her mind to be signified unto your Lordship by us to this effect. That whereas your Lordship, before your departure, here made request unto Her Majesty, that the Earl of Rutland might have her gracious leave to go with your Lordship into Ireland, and the said Earl himself did likewise often times make his humble suit to Her Majesty for the same; whereunto in her wisdom it seemed inconvenient for many and important considerations to assent, and therefore did absolutely refuse to grant him leave expressly commanding him not to go: Forasmuch as she hath taken notice that the said Earl is passed over thither, and that he is now remaining with your Lordship: As Her Majesty taketh it for a great offence and contempt on his part, that he would adventure to go thither, knowing Her Majesty's will and pleasure to the contrary, so Her Majesty is pleased to conceive some dislike, and to think that your Lordship hath done amiss, in that you did either suffer the said Earl to come thither, or that you did not, upon his first arrival, take present order for his return. Her Majesty's pleasure therefore is, that your Lordship shall forthwith, upon the receipt of this our letter,



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send back the said Earl of Rutland into England. Which commandment of Her Majesty being by us thus signified, there remaineth no more to be written, but that we wish your Lordship all honour and happiness.”—1599, May 13. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 160-160 b. Copy. p. 1.*

May 14.

60. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. The Queen desires that he forbear to dispose of any of those things that belonged to the Earl of Kildare (of whom no news is heard), until he has advertised the state of such things as Kildare had, with Essex's opinion thereof, and shall thereupon receive signification of Her Majesty's pleasure.—1599, May 14. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 160 b. Copy. p. ½.*

May 16.  
Greenwich.

61. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Find from his hasty despatch by Mr. Tracy, that he is not satisfied with their letters of April 17, sent by Mr. Darrell. Doubt not that, upon further examination of them, he will see that they have no intention to shorten anything that ought to be performed by them. Yet, to prevent any perturbation of his mind, which ought to be held in all comfort and confidence, since he has so important an affair in hand, have thought good to reiterate how far they have proceeded, and do actually proceed, in expediting all provisions, accorded before Essex's going. Payments made in England to a great portion of the army that arrived in Ireland after March. Lendings supplied to the forces in Munster for March and a good part of April. The great quantity of Her Majesty's victual consumed by the forces about Dublin. For these reasons considered that there would be left at the close of May, a good part of the three months' treasure taken over by Essex. As for calling his Lordship's warrant in question, this was only with reference to payments due before the first of March, and left unpaid by Sir Henry Wallop. Concluded that such sums were to be paid as arrears by some other Privy Seal, to be procured upon particular certificate from the deputies of Sir Henry Wallop. Since their letters of the 17th of April, and before the departure of Mr. Wiseman, they had given order for the telling out of two months' lendings more for the whole army, which is all that Sir George Carey himself desires. “Whereof, we doubt not, when you shall be advertised, but you will find that we do, as becomes us in duty to Her Majesty, correspond in all things to the uttermost of our endeavours, as those that do wish you all honourable and happy success, and know how much it importeth that you may be seasonably provided for, to the intent some extraordinary service may be performed by these extraordinary charges, whereat Her Majesty is, and hath been, to send such a person, with such an army, of whose success all Europe is in expectation.”—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, May 16. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 161-162. Copy. pp. 2½.*

May 16.

[Greenwich.]

62. The Privy Council to Sir Thomas Norreys. A complaint has been preferred to them by John Jolles, merchant of London, to whom the charge of victualling a great part of Her Majesty's army in Ireland is committed, of divers intolerable violences and injuries,



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offered both by the Captains and other officers of bands serving in that province, to such servants and inferior factors, as are necessarily employed by him; also, that the officers deny their bills for the receipt of the victuals. Cannot but take knowledge thereof, as a matter tending very much to the prejudice of Her Majesty's service. Know not how to write to Essex in that behalf, as his Lordship is now far off. Require Sir Thomas to take such speedy order for a due reformation, that they may hear no more of the matter; otherwise they will impute some neglect to him, and the offenders shall be made to know that the Privy Council is too sensible to endure it. —[The Court at Greenwich], 1599, May 16. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 162. Copy. p. 1.*

May 20.  
Kilkenny.

63. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "By this journal which herewith I send, Her Majesty and your Lordships may judge how, since my coming from Dublin, I have spent my time. All that I hope for is, that I shall approve myself to be no loiterer, but that I put myself to as much as I can any way suffice unto; and when God sends me greater ability, Her Majesty may promise herself greater service. All that I can comment upon this plain narration which I send is, that this war is like to exercise both our faculties that do manage it, and Her Majesty's patience that must maintain it. For this people against whom we fight hath able bodies, good use of the arms they carry, boldness enough to attempt, and quickness in apprehending any advantage they see offered them. Whereas our new and common sort of men have neither bodies, spirits, nor practice of arms, like the others. The advantage we have is more horse, which will command all champaigns; in our order, which these savages have not; and in the extraordinary courage and spirit of our men of quality. But, to meet with these our helps, the rebels fight in woods and bogs, where horse are utterly unserviceable; they use the advantage of lightness and swiftness in going off, when they find our order too strong for them to encounter; and, as for the last advantage, I protest to your Lordships it doth as much trouble me as help me. For my remembering how unequal a wager it is to adventure the lives of noblemen and gentlemen against rogues and naked beggars, makes me take more care to contain our best men than to use their courages against the rebels. And, had I not in the last day's fight tethered them, and assigned them, not only their places, but their very limits of going on, doubtless many of them would have been too far engaged. For I assure your Lordships, greater forwardness and contempt of danger could not be showed by any man, than was by the Lords and other principal men of quality in the army; which proves them to be such a treasure to Her Majesty as I must husband with all the care and industry I have.

"I have here met with the President of Munster, who, in conference with myself, with my Lord of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council here, hath persuaded us for a few days to look into his government, where the rebels are strong and proud, and where some places of good importance are newly fortified, which, if they were gotten, would greatly both weaken them, and advance Her Majesty's

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service. And himself professeth his own inability to attempt them, as having too strong a force to make head against him (*sic*), besides the strength of the places themselves. By this journey I hope to change the affairs in Munster and Leinster, that against my return to Dublin, finding means sent out of England for my northern journey, I may, with more strength and less distraction of mind, follow that main service. And so, hoping that Her Majesty and your Lordships will allow of my poor endeavours, which shall ever *præstare innocentiam si non meritum*, I rest humbly at your good Lordships' commandment."—Kilkenny, May 20. *Signed. Endorsed*, 1599. By Sir Francis Darcy. Received at Greenwich, primo Junii. p. 1. *Encloses*,

63. 1. "*Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's journey into Leinster*," from May 9 to May 18, 1599.

"On Wednesday, being the 9th of May, the Lord Lieutenant set forth from Dublin, accompanied with 160 English horse drawn out of several troops by squadrons, because the drawing out of whole troops would have weakened the companies before the northern journey; whereas now they continue in their strength, such light horse only being taken out of every troop as might best live upon grass, and endure the travail. By the way he was met with three companies of Irish horse, which in all exceeded not the number of one hundred. He lodged that night at the Naas, whither, as to the general rendezvous, all the foot companies repaired the day before; and with them the Marshal, the Sergeant-Major, and the Quartermaster-General; who also, according to the Lord Lieutenant's directions, had advanced the vanguard two or three miles towards Athy. The reason of the Lord Lieutenant's stay at Dublin, after the army began to march, was want of carriages for the victuals and munitions. For, being resolved not only to furnish the army with those provisions, but also to leave good store of either kind at the fort of Maryborough, he was forced to send them at twice; so that his stay at Dublin did expedite all things, and his remove to the Naas, before the second carriages were gone, had been to small purpose. The tenth of this month he gave the rendezvous in a fair plain betwixt the town and the bridge of Killkullen, five miles from the Naas; leaving at the Naas two companies of foot to guard the one half of the victual and munition for the which he wanted carriage. And there the army (which consisted well near of 3,000 foot and 300 horse), being viewed, was sent to the villages round about Killkullen. The next day, being the 11th, the rendezvous was given the army to be at Killrush by 9 of the clock in the morning; whence it marched till it came to a ford half a mile short of a moor; which ford was plashed, but so slenderly, that a way was quickly made. But the vanguard of the horse being past, and the Quartermaster and Scoutmaster advancing somewhat before to view a fit place to encamp in, short of Athy, some hundred of the rebels shewed themselves by a wood's side; where they entertained a light skirmish with such of our horse as attended the Quartermaster, whiles they were viewing the ground about Tallacoury, in which place that night we encamped. In our march we discovered the Earl of Ormonde, with his camp lodged in the way betwixt Carlow and Athy, about two miles from Tallacoury. His Lordship came forward with



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the horsemen, to speak with the Lord Lieutenant, and after their conference returned to his quarter. But the next morning he came with his whole troops, which consisted of 700 foot, and well near 200 Irish horse. His Lordship brought also with him the Viscount Mountgarrett and the Lord Cahir, who both, upon their knees, submitted themselves to Her Majesty's Lieutenant, and humbly craved Her Majesty's mercy, confessing their faults, and protesting they came voluntarily and simply, without conditions, to put themselves into Her Majesty's hands. Which the Lord Lieutenant having heard, his Lordship observing those forms which might best fit his commission and their present estate, laid before them the greatness of their fault, and the necessity of taking better hold of them than heretofore had been, considering they were so easily and 'causesly' [? causelessly] apt to start out; and thereupon he committed them to the Provost Marshal, in whose charge they yet remain. This being done early in the morning, the army straightway marched, and the vanguard possessed the houses on that side of Athy, which is to the southward of the Barrow; the battle taking a passage a mile beneath, with a purpose to attempt the castle on both sides. But, as the ford was passed, James Fitz Piers delivered up both the castle and himself into Her Majesty's hands. The Lord Lieutenant presently put it into a ward, made up the bridge, which was broken down in two several places, and committed James Fitz Piers to the Provost, to accompany Mountgarrett and Cahir. That night the munitions with the victuals, and the rearguard of the army, were lodged in the Abbey of Athy and the houses adjoining to it; the greatest part of the army being passed over, and encamping on the other side of the river; in which quarter the army continued the 13th and 14th, that in the meantime the victual and munition left behind at the Naas might by convoy be brought to Athy, which accordingly was done; and the 14th day at night there was delivered to the whole army which went along with the Lord Lieutenant, victual for four days, which every man was to carry on his back. The like proportion also was made to 350 men, who were sent from the camp to Carlow, and for 750 others, who, under the conduct of Sir Edward Herbert, were despatched into Offally; the rest (one hundred and fifty garrans being loaded with victual for the provision of the fort of Maryborough) was all left at Athy, where, and at Woodstock, which is another castle held by James Fitz Piers, standing on the same river, and within a musket shot of Athy, were left one hundred men in ward. The 15th, the army marched towards Stradbally, holding on their course through the passage of Blackford, a place of difficulty, where the rebels have ever used to fight Her Majesty's forces; but now, notwithstanding they had entrenched it, and shewed themselves upon it, yet, seeing the order of our march, they rather chose to lose the labour of all their fortifications than to hazard a fight in that place. The 16th, the Lord Lieutenant, after a short march, directed the army to Ballyknockan, two miles wide of the fort of Maryborough, towards the mountains of Sleaghnegree, going himself with the convoy of victuals, attended on with 200 horse and 500 foot, which he carried to place in the fort. By the way he sent 50 of those horse and 300 foot to a castle of Terence O'Dempsey, chief of that



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name, where remained two or three prisoners, taken by the said Terence. Himself was commanded to go along with those troops, and to bring the prisoners, who were famous rebels." [marginal note:—"The Lord Lieutenant was offered 2,000*l.* sterling to have given them their lives"] "(one of them, called Captain Nugent, reckoned to be one of Tyrone's best Captains). [They] were delivered to Sir Francis Rush, Commander of the fort, to be executed, and their heads set on the gate. This direction being given, and the fort supplied with victual, with munition, and an increase of five hundred men for the garrison, the Lord Lieutenant proceeded to meet the army at Ballyknockan; where, the rebels shewing themselves in great multitudes both the same night and the next morning, question was made whether the army should go the next way towards Roseconnell, which was through a pass called Cashel, or march about by the mountain, to avoid the disadvantage of the pass. The resolution was, that the rebel should rather be sought than shunned, and that it was necessary to teach the world that Her Majesty's army could and would in all places make way for itself. Whereupon, first, the pass was viewed, being some quarter of a mile long, wooded on both sides, having on the one side an (*sic*) high hill, on the other a main bog; and at a ford at the furthest end of it, an entrenchment. The direction for the giving on was in this manner. First, one hundred men were sent to enter the mouth of the pass, the first ranks being musqueteers, and after every three ranks of musqueteers two ranks of short weapons. With these were sent axes, pickaxes, spades, and shovels; and two bodies of three or four hundred foot a piece were sent to second those. On either side of the pass were placed divers wings of shot and short weapons to flank the passage. At the mouth of the pass, and at the entrenchment, there was no resistance, so that the trench was soon thrown down, and the passage made open. But, by the drawing nearer of the rebels on either side, it was conceived, as in deed it fell out, that their purpose was to give on when our carriages were in passing, and the pass so choked that our men could hardly fight in order. Whereupon, first, the wings which were on both sides were commanded to stand fast, and new wings provided out of every part of the army to second these. The vanguard of the foot being, besides the wings, divided into two bodies, the first was commanded to make a guard about the ford and in the strait of the pass, and the other to stand in battle in the midst of it, in a place of some breadth, leaving the highway free for passage; and the vanguard of the horse was commanded to pass through, to command the champaign beyond the pass. This being done, the carriages were appointed to march, which the rebels seeing, gave on upon both sides, and so continued a kind of fight all the while they were passing, which was some two hours. At last, when both our carriages and battle were passed, they charged our rearguard, and on the bog side and in the rear they came up to the sword with our wings. But every place was made good against them, and they glad to trust to their lightness and swiftness. In this fight there were two only of note slain, Captain Ralph Boswell, a voluntary, and one Gardiner, a lieutenant to Sir H. Dockwra. There were also but two of note hurt, Captain Folliott, and a gentleman serving in the Lord Lieutenant's

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company, who had been lieutenant of a company before. And three of these four were justly punished for their disorderly and disobedient going in beyond the place assigned them, and upon infinite disadvantage. Of common soldiers were slain three or four, and some six or seven hurt. But the rebels' loss was far greater; and, to add to this forenoon's good success, in the evening the Quartermaster, going before to make the quarter at Roseconnell, finds some threescore of the rebels, himself being accompanied only with eight horse, and the rest of the troop assigned him being somewhat behind. He first retired, and afterwards turning again, he charged them, and put them to a retreat, which being chiefly pursued by Captain Thomas Williams and one Ed. Bushell, a gentleman that serves the Lord Lieutenant, their leader, called Donnell Knagger (sent by Tyrone with some shot to Mountgarrett), was slain, with six of his men. On our side no hurt was received, saving that Mr. Bushell was run through the body with a pike, of which wound he is yet likely (God be thanked) to escape. The next day, being the 18th, the army dislodged from Roseconnell, and marched directly to the pass of Ballyragget, which was plashed and intrenched in divers places, and a place of far more difficulty and danger than that other of Cashel. But there was no resistance; only some few ragged companions offered a light skirmish in the rearguard at the farthest end of the pass. The passing of our army so quietly through this pass of so great advantage to the enemy seemed very strange to all men; but [to] those that examined the causes thereof, two reasons offered themselves. The one, that they were bitten with their losses the day before, and had some of their best men hurt, whom they neither could carry with them nor would abandon. The other, the strength of the garrison left at Maryborough, which, whiles they were occupied in impeaching the army's passage, might, without interruption, seize on the prey of the rebels, it then lying not far from their fort. From this pass we marched to the castle of Ballyragget, the Viscount Mountgarrett's chief house; where, as soon as the Lord Lieutenant had viewed the strength of the place and fitness of the seat for making the war, it being in a strait, and a bulwark to defend the incursions into the county of Kilkenny, and besides a key unto Leix on the one side as Athy is on the other, he placed there a sufficient Captain, with a garrison of one hundred foot. Then he directed the Marshal with the army to a village three miles off in the way towards Clonmell, himself with a hundred horse going with the Earl of Ormonde to Kilkenny. Whither, as soon as he came, he sent to Waterford for the President of Munster, for a supply likewise of munition which he had directed thither from Dublin, and, lastly, for all the bread and biscuit which might there be gotten. Moreover, he dispatched warrants to the Sheriffs of the counties of Kilkenny, Carlow, Tipperary, and Waterford, and to the Lord of Upper Ossory, to bring in beeves to the army for money, and at Clonmell he meets the army again. pp. 3½.

May 21.  
Waterford.

64. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last by one Edny, nothing worthy of note has happened. Was lately commanded by Essex to attend him at Kilkenny, whence he is now re-



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turned, with direction to draw such troops of horse and foot as are under him into the county of Limerick, where Essex purposes to be presently. By his Lordship's order, seven companies of the 2,000 foot lately sent for the service of Munster are cashiered. Hopes, at Essex's departure, to be supplied with others in their stead, for the strength and pride of the traitors is as yet nothing diminished. Commends his duty and service to Sir Robert by the bearer, Sir Francis Darcy.—Waterford, 1599, May 21. *Endorsed*, Received June the first. *Signed*. p. 1.

May 24.  
Clonmell.

65. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "After the writing of my other letters, the same day that I ended them, here arrived my servant H. Tracy with your Lordships' of the 14th [*sic*; error for 16th] of this present; to the which I would have made present answer, but that some indisposition seized on me, and continued with me (by reason of the extremity of the weather, and my two nights' ill lodging) till I came to this town. Hither I came yesternight, and continue here all this day, both for the refreshing of the troops after their foul marches, and because I expected the coming of some victual, artillery, and munition, together with eight companies, which I have sent for from Waterford. Now, for answer to your Lordships' letters, I do humbly pray your Lordships to believe, that as I did ever conceive reverently of your Lordships' affections to further this great service, so I take great comfort in your Lordships' assurance of Her Majesty's sending us timely and liberal supplies; for without them, all my industry, care, and hazard will be fruitless; and with them, by God's mercy and Her Majesty's gracious favour, I shall either yield Her Majesty a good account of my charge, or pay my ill success with the price of my life. The two months' [treasure for lendings], which your Lordships wrote of, will come very seasonably, if it be in Dublin before my return; for so it will set me forward into the north; whereas, if it should be longer in coming, I cannot go without it; and, if I stay, I shall lose that season of the year which is fittest for these services. Your Lordships' straight commandment to Mr. Treasurer's ministers to hasten, will prevent both these inconveniences. Of the state of the treasure and victual, I presume your Lordships have ere this received some certificates from Mr. Treasurer and from Beverley, the Comptroller of the victuals. At my coming back to Dublin, I will see the certificates shall be exact; for I will examine them by my ledger book, where all my warrants are entered. But, till then, I must humbly crave your Lordships' pardon. For, besides my continual toil in directing these troops, and seeking means for the army, where I have small store of carriages to transport from place to place a staple of provisions, and the daily directions which I send to several parts of the kingdom, I am maimed by the falling sick of some of my people, and have only one hand in use, besides mine own, in all businesses whatsoever. But I will as faithfully and carefully husband Her Majesty's store here as possibly I can. For proof whereof, I protest before God, I issue of mine own poor means an hundred pounds at a time, for the winning and enabling of fit instruments for Her Majesty's service here; without which course I find it impossible to effect any great matter in this kingdom."



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"News I can send your Lordships none, but that the pretended Earl of Desmond and all the force of the rebels of Munster are come within three miles of me, and vow and swear to fight. I hear they are some 4,000 men, though they give themselves out to be of greater numbers. I have with me nearly 2,000 foot, and at least 200 serviceable horse; and Sir H. Norreys will reinforce me this night with a thousand foot more. So that to-morrow, if they make good the ford where they are, it shall be tried whether we be better at forcing of a passage or they at defending it. They have consulted how to keep the Castle of Cahir against me, notwithstanding that Cahir himself is in my hands. But I assure myself they dare not dispute it, since they know I have the cannon here. Yet is it accounted the strongest place in Ireland; and Cahir's wife and his brethren have been consulting with Desmond and the White Knight how to defend it; and the news of my putting garrison into Ballyragget and all the strong places which are yielded to Her Majesty, doth so trouble them that they will do what they dare. Your Lordships will pardon this hasty confused manner of writing, it being incident to one that hath many interruptions and distracted thoughts."

Sends them herewith (*wanting*) such intelligences as he received from Sir Robert Mansfeldt and Sir Conyers Clifford; leaving it wholly to their Lordships to judge of the truth thereof; "myself being not willing to apprehend either more or less touching these or the like occurrences than your Lordships shall think fit, assuring myself that your Lordships daily receive more perfect and particular intelligences than any that arrive in these parts."—Clonmell, May 24. *Endorsed*, 1599. By Francis Darcy. Received at Greenwich primo Junii. *Sir Robert Cecil has added the following endorsement*:—"His Lordship had now received our letter of the 14th, which was to revoke the Earl of Rutland, and another of the 16th of May, which was the main despatch." *Signed*. pp. 2.

May 24.  
Clonmell.

66. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanking Sir Robert for his honourable and friendly dealing with the Queen on his behalf. Has attended Essex since his entering into Leix, and means not to leave him till his return from the west. The bearer, Sir Francis Darcy, has shewn himself of good courage against the traitors. Recommends that he be restored to Her Majesty's good grace, and be allowed to attend in his place.—Clonmell, 1599, May 24. *Endorsed*. Received June the first. *Signed*. p. ½.

May 26.  
Dublin.

67. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Is somewhat slow in writing, as no great matters of importance have yet happened. Essex, in his journey, passed the bridge of Athy and the Blackford; and, though the rebels vaunted much, yet they durst not offer him any fight at either of those passages. When his Lordship had put a garrison into Maryborough, where he made the Governor there, Sir Francis Rush, a knight, and was going towards Kilkenny, some of the rebels skirmished with some of the army. The former, being soon driven out of the wood, fled into a bog. Captain Bosworth and Gardener, lieutenant to Sir Henry Dockwra, following them very

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rashly into the bog (and one of them being heavy laden with his armour stuck fast in the bog), were slain before they could be seconded or rescued. Thinks Essex will go to Limerick, and so return by Waterford and through the county of Wexford, and then prepare himself for his journey into the north. Is persuaded that the want of carriage horses will be a great hindrance thereto, for, the country being spoiled, they will hardly be had. Only James Fitz-Piers, Lord Mountgarrett, and Lord Cahir are come in as yet; and they remain in the custody of the Provost Marshal. Essex has put garrisons into all their castles. His Lordship admits none, except they simply submit themselves.

"Our money is almost done, and the three months fully expired. I humbly beseech your Honour, let there be a new supply with that speed that may be."—Dublin, 1599, May 26. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

May 28.  
Dublin.

68. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The next day after the writing of my last letters, these were sent hither out of the North, which in most points I think to be true. These rebels only study how they may prolong the wars, thereby to weary the army, and weary Her Majesty in the charge. There are returned already from the companies that lie abroad in garrison, above 300, some sick, and some unserviceable. Such as are sick are relieved and provided for; and such as, upon the view and certificate of the Mustermaster, are found lame in their limbs and unserviceable, are by passport sent back into England. And most of those that are sick, thanks be to God, do begin to recover, which shall forthwith, as they recover their strengths, be sent back to their Captains, and be more serviceable than heretofore. And herein his Lordship, before his departure, did very honourably; for out of his own purse he gave money very largely to provide bedding and sheets for the sick; and appointed one of his own chaplains and a surgeon to visit them, and to see the money divided for their weekly relief."—Dublin, 1599, May 28. *Holograph. p. 1. Encloses,*

68. 1. ——— to [Sir George Carey.] Was in Tyrone eight days, and came from thence the 22nd instant. The Earl lies in a place called Anycare, within seven miles of Newry. He has not more than 800 foot and 60 horse, and is sending daily for the rest of his people to come to him. The 18th instant, the Earl and his brother Cormack, Harry Oge, and other gentlemen of the country, with the Quins and the Hagans, sat together to agree what course to take at the Lord Lieutenant's coming down. They agreed that Essex should be suffered to come down through the Moyerie, and that none should shew themselves to deal with him; also that he be suffered to pass to the Blackwater in the like manner. From the Blackwater, they mean to intrench as much as they can, and in their fastness to do what hurt they may. They will give as little fight as possible, except upon great advantage, but will seek to weary Essex and his company in process of time. Their forces are "laid down" as follows. McMahon and they of the Brenny are appointed to join together to defend their creaghts on the Brenny side. These will make some 800 foot and 150 horse. Brian McCart, son of the Earl's brother, with all them of Clandeboy, are appointed to stay near



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*Carrickfergus, to defend those parts. These will make some 600 foot and 8 horse. O'Donnell, O'Rourke, and McWilliam are appointed to make good the Connaught side. These will be 2,500 foot and 200 horse. To be with himself, Tyrone has appointed Maguire with 600 foot and 30 horse, James McSorley with 500 foot and 30 horse, and Patrick McArt Moyle with 150 foot and 20 horse. On the county of Tyrone he has cessed 2,500 foot. So the Earl himself will have 4,000 foot and 300 horse, or thereabouts.*

*Some letters came out of Scotland, from noblemen there, as the Earl Huntly and others, signifying to Tyrone that he should be stout, and that he should want nothing that they could help him with. The Earl tells this himself, and that the King will not write to him, because he shewed the letters that the King sent him last. On the receipt of the noblemen's letters, the Earl and O'Donnell sent O'Donnell's mother into Scotland as an ambassador. She departed from Ireland on the 7th instant.*

*"There is no order left for Lough Foyle."*

*Sir Arthur O'Neill came to the Earl's camp on the 17th instant, to see whether the Earl and he could agree. At the writer's departure they were agreed upon some points, but were out on others. Howsoever, they will never be true one to another. Sir Arthur told the Earl that he received messages from the Lord Lieutenant. The Earl has sent into Leinster to see if he could draw down some of the leaders that are there, for he has great want of them with himself. The Earl receives many letters from the Desmonds, "and they are brought unto him by blind men and by lame men commonly." Saw the last letter they sent. It was to the effect that the Earl of Desmond had 6,000 men, and was sworn never to agree, without the Earl of Tyrone's consent. The letter bare no date. The Earl fears that McMahon and the Brenny men will come in to Essex, and is not very sure of James McSorley. As for Sir Arthur O'Neill, he is sure, if any forces come to Lough Foyle, that he will come in. There is one Neill O'Neill, who is commonly at Carrickfergus, and was lately in Dublin. He and the Earl are almost thoroughly agreed. The only difference is as to a castle, which the said Neill has in his possession, and which he wishes the Earl to let him enjoy. If they agree, Neill is to do some great piece of service; "therefore let him be looked to." On the 21st instant there came a man to the Earl out of Tyrconnell, and told him that there was some shipping seen at sea off Donegal. The next day another man came with the same news, but was not sure what the ships were. Left a man to hearken and learn about them. O'Donnell went on the 16th instant to Ballymote, to leave a ward there. He returns presently. The Earl of Tyrone and he meet about the last of May, near Strabane.*

*"Here is no other news in these parts, and for mine own business touching my debts, there is no money in the country to be gotten, but beeves." Has so dealt, that he shall have payment all in beeves. Prays for licence to receive them. Will also get some hawks. If his stay were not to Essex's liking, he would he were in Dublin or in some other place."—1599, May 23. [Postscript.] "Tyrone and Sir Samuel [Bagenal] fought near the Newry the 19th day of this month, and there was one horseman killed and seven footmen; and*



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38 footmen hurt; one horse killed, and a very good mare. The Earl had hurt, and like to die." pp. 2½.

May.

69. John Jolles to [Sir Robert Cecil]. Complaining of the abuse offered to his servants in Munster when delivering victuals to Her Majesty's forces there.—*Endorsed*, 1599, May. [*There is no date attached to this letter, but it may be the complaint referred to in No. 62 above.*] *Signed*. p. 1.

[May.]

70. *Rough notes of a manuscript history*. The beginning of November, 1598, Teig O'Brien, brother to the Earl of Thomond, together with the eldest son of Sir Tirlough O'Brien, with all Thomond, combined with the rebels. November 4: O'Dwyre, having delivered his son in pledge for his loyalty, began to revolt. Patrick Pursell; vide Journal, 2 and 12 August. Sir Terence O'Dempsey knighted by the Earl of Essex. p. 1.

[May.]

71. "A breviate of a proportion of victuals and provisions for 1,000 men for half [a] year, to be provided in Cheshire, Lancashire, Anglesea, and those places, by Mr. Edward Waterhouse, who is to take the charge of the providing and shipping the same in England; and John Bland to take the charge at Knockfergus for the expenditure, according as he shall be directed by the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex."—[1599, May.] p. 1.

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72. "A looking [-glass] for Her Majesty, wherein to view Ireland: wherein is expressed how this rebellion hath been kindled, and the rebel thus strengthened; what reformation [is] most behoveful for Her Majesty's advantage; [and] of (*sic*) many profits that might be raised towards Her Majesty's expenses." By Barnaby Rich.

Seven years have already expired since he delivered informations for her service in Ireland, and, in the opinion of some of her Council there, 500,000*l.* will not repair the neglect of the same. But what might have been done is past, and Her Majesty is rather to expect what is to be done. Nothing is more important than sufficient information, so that she may "learn with the physician first to know the disease, then to remove the cause, and so to cure the sickness." Will not presume to give directions for the prosecution of the rebellion, because, doubtless, the course is already determined by the Earl of Essex in this expedition now undertaken by him. It will be a matter of great difficulty thoroughly to suppress the rebel, yet the most noble piece of service that ever was performed in Ireland. "This service, without all question, would be performed, if it were not against the Irish, with whom we are so combined, that there is nothing that may be reformed, how beneficial soever it might be to your Majesty, but it shall be crossed. Your Highness hath paid dearly for it, but I fear me your expenses that way will never have end."

The main cause of this, as of almost every other rebellion in Ireland, is, that the Lords and great men of the country are evermore struggling to shake off the English government, to make themselves

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absolute, and to tyrannize amongst the tenants. They would bring Her Majesty "to be Queen of Ireland, as the King of Spain is King of Jerusalem." The liberty they have hitherto had in reigning over their tenants and followers in such kingly authority as they have done, makes them to be so followed as they are; "for the multitude, which knoweth no other God than Saint Patrick, nor other king than their landlord, dare not but be ready to rise out with them in any commotion or rebellion whatsoever."

Her Majesty should not make any great men in Ireland, nor dignify them with any high title or authority. "For, although this axiom might seem sufficient, which affirmeth that, where the subject is too great, the Prince too small, yet may it please your Majesty to pardon me but one precedent for Ireland. And I will take the man of greatest worth, the Earl of Ormonde by name, of whom I can report nothing but well, a great man in his country, firm and faithful to your Majesty (so far as I know), honourably disposed in all his demeanours. But what hath his greatness, or any other credit it hath pleased your Majesty to bestow of (*sic*) him, been available to your service now at this instant (that is worth the speaking of). But, if the Earl of Ormonde would have been a traitor, he would have been of greater power, and much more noisome to your Majesty than two Earls of Tyrone. By this it may appear (gracious Princess) that the greatness of the Irish may do your Majesty little good, but much harm.

"The inconvenience of this Irish regality was looked into by him that was able to judge of colours, I mean by the late Lord Treasurer [Burghley], who, to prevent the mischief, endeavoured still to establish law; and, for that purpose, the whole country was divided and reduced into shires, and accordingly there was (*sic*) appointed Sheriffs and other officers to minister both law and justice amongst them, that the people, seeing the diversity in government between a gracious Princess and an ungracious landlord, desisting from their Irish customs, might wholly incline themselves under your Majesty's protection. But these Seneschals, Sheriffs, and others, that should have been the reformers (as it was first purposed) became the only deformers (as they behaved themselves); for, in the choice of them, he was ever thought most worthy for the place that would give most money for the office; and these office-buyers did so exact and oppress the poor people, that they thought there was no greater servitude than to live under your Majesty's laws." This was one of the chief causes of this rebellion. The matter could easily be proved. "If your Majesty doth want money to prosecute the wars, who may better spare it than those who, by their corruptions, have drawn on the charge?"

This ill affection of the people was "a preparative for Jesuits, seminaries, and the rest of that Popish crew, to work upon. I shall need to say but little in this, for your Highness can easily consider where these protested enemies to your Majesty may have such scope as they have in Ireland, where both city, town, and country do swarm with them, what expectation of the people's obedience your Majesty may there look for; or what assurance of peace your Highness may ever hope for, I leave it to your most gracious con-



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sideration. Here is yet a matter to be considered of, how these Jesuits and seminaries have been fostered, bolstered out, and borne withal, even in Dublin itself. Some of them have been apprehended and imprisoned, yet quickly enlarged again, but not without some consideration, not only exacted from themselves, but their friends have likewise paid dearly to have again their freedom. So that these priests were profitable members to some men's purses, and great gain and commodity was raised by them. Amongst the rest that was apprehended, there was one invested by the Pope to (*sic*) the Bishoprick of Down, sent from Rome into the north of Ireland, where he sequestered churches, consecrated priests to say mass, dispensed with the people for their faith and fidelity to your Majesty, absolving them of their sins, confirming them to the Pope, and making them upon their book oaths to forswear all duty and obedience to your Highness. The people ran to him on heaps (*sic*) from all the parts of the country to receive his blessing. The fame of this Bishop was renowned through Ireland, and more renowned, coming from Rome, than if an angel had come from heaven. The Deputy there, being Sir William Fitzwilliams, made a great ado to have him apprehended, but it could not be by any means effected. In the end there was one lighted upon him by chance, who brought him to Dublin. He was committed to the Castle. There he remained more than a year, christening children after the Popish manner, making holy water which was carried away in bottles, confirming men, women, and children (which came flocking unto him) to the Pope, making them to forswear all duty and obedience to your Majesty. But in the end (as many other had been before him), he was enlarged. If it would please your Majesty to have the matter examined, it would fall out to be a bribe that delivered him, and which had enlarged many other, both before and after him. This holy Bishop hath since been in Spain upon embassage from the Earl of Tyrone, and hath been one of the greatest instruments to blow the coals of this rebellion, and so he still remaineth at this instant, if he be not lately dead.

"If these matters be true, the parties that have thus abused your Majesty are rich, and able to make some reasonable restitution towards your Majesty's expenses; but, if they be untrue, then I am worthy to receive punishment that have informed them.

"It would not be amiss to set down in this place what great sums hath (*sic*) been drawn into private men's purses by virtue of the High Commission. It hath been a good milch cow to others, and it might likewise be made a great benefit to your Majesty.

"I might likewise speak here of pardons and protections, what boldness they give to the Irish to enter into actions of rebellion; for what care they what mischief they commit, when they can still warrant themselves a pardon for a few stolen cows. These pardons and protections are likewise made matters of great profit to others, but most prejudicial to your Majesty, and hurtful to many that should there do you service."

As to the fostering of the rebellion, asks this question. "What might be the reason that the King of Spain, the monarch of Christendom, that hath the most mighty command of kingdoms and



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dominions, of riches and treasure, for the choice of skilful captains, for the multitude of trained soldiers, for all manner of habiliments and necessities for war; and, notwithstanding that, for these many years, he hath still endeavoured himself against you, by as many means as the wit or poliey of man could afford, and your Majesty hath still prevented him, fronted him, and triumphed in many notable victories performed against him in his own countries, yea, almost at his own court gates; how happeneth it then, that a base and barbarous nation, a beggarly people (of no worth of themselves, but by over enabling of them), should thus prevail against your Majesty, and within your own dominions offer your Highness so many indignities, to the great dishonour of the whole English nation, and enough to make us contemptible, and to be basely esteemed of, amongst all the kingdoms of Christendom? What could here be answered, but that your Majesty hath not been so soundly advised against the Irish, as you have been against the Spaniard? If it might but please your Majesty now to examine the cause, you should find out the very mystery of that which hath not only deluded your Highness yourself, but hath led your Majesty's most honourable Council here into many errors. For it is the great combination betwixt the English and the Irish that marreth all; not of the meanest sort of the English, but of the great ones, such as have credit in your Majesty's court, and are so well befriended and trusted, both that whatsoever they inform they shall be believed, and what course hath there been undertaken or attempted for those services in Ireland, which your Majesty and honourable Council here hath (*sic*) not directed altogether by informations from thence. Might it please your Majesty now to look into your coffers, and, taking account what money you have spent, measure it again with the service you have had there performed. It will appear your Majesty hath been handled as cunning chirurgeons do use to handle their patients, who being well able to pay for their cure, can apply one plaister to heal, and two that shall hurt, till they have hurt so long that they cannot heal again when they would, but have brought the infirmity to be almost past cure. So, if I should deliver here what trifling they have used in prosecuting the wars, how they have wrought your Majesty, together with your honourable Council, to yield to delays, how they spent your money, consumed the time, without any manner of service performed, but only in parleys, and how it might seem that your Majesty in many of those parleys was driven to as narrow a scantling as the lion, who, having had many indignities offered him by the wolf, was willing yet that the matter should be taken up by composition between them, and those that were to appoint arbitrators in the behalf of the lion, made special choice of the fox and the sheep. The fox, being an ally to the wolf, and very near in affinity to him, would not press him further than the wolf himself liked of. The sheep again, knowing himself every day in danger to be devoured by the wolf, durst not enforce anything against him that might offend him. But, in these delaying times, the rebels recovered Connaught, took Enniskillen, Monaghan, the Blackwater; they supplied themselves with wine, *aqua vite*, armour, weapon[s], powder, and all other necessities whatsoever they wanted, from all

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the parts of Ireland, yea from out of Dublin itself. These enormities were seen into; every man could discern what success was like to follow, and many there were that exclaimed openly against it. But I cannot tell what planet it was that reigned, or what destiny it could be that so overruled, that your Majesty and honourable Council here should be still drawn on to surrender and condescend unto it for so many years together, in which meantime it cost your Majesty more treasure than would have brought in all the rebels of Ireland that were then out, if it had been employed as it should have been. But it had been much more available to your Majesty that the whole mass of money that you have hitherto spent in those services, if it (*sic*) had been all thrown into the sea; for the very expending of that money (as amongst them they have handled it), hath strengthened the rebel thus against you; when there hath never passed year, since those wars began, but there have been armed, trained, and disciplined 1,000 of the Irish, at your Majesty's charge, that hath run to the enemy, and many of them sent of purpose from the rebel to that very end, that they might be enabled at your Majesty's cost; and there hath been whole companies raised of the Irish, and given to young men (nay, children, some of them) that never marched in soldier's rank, before they were made Captains, fit for such soldiers as they had charge on (*sic*), that were, the most of them, as arrant traitors as any were in Ireland; but they had your Majesty's pay, and they committed more spoils of your Majesty's subjects than the rebel himself could have done, killing and burning only excepted, and this was all the service they performed.

"Since I myself have served your Majesty in Ireland, 2,000 Englishmen, if they had been together, would have marched through all the parts of the country, and all Ireland durst not have made head against them. But now it is your Majesty's purse that hath made them strong; yet there is no doubt, but that hereafter it will be better looked into, and your Majesty may yet hope of a plentiful harvest by his honourable service, that hath now undertaken it."

Necessity now enforces that the Queen should speedily suppress this rebellion, or lose all. "But this reformation must be settled by the sword, not by composition and taking in of the rebels, by pardons, by protections, by putting in of pledges," and such like. "If this rebellion be not suppressed in such sort that the Irish may be disarmed, and all their furnitures for war brought into your Majesty's store; and that they may be likewise purged from their Jesuits and seminaries, and the rest of that rascal rabble sent amongst them from the Pope; if your Majesty shall otherwise contain them in peace, but for one whole year together, but that (*sic*) they will put your Highness to continual expenses, or else endanger your estate in that country; let me lose my life for it at the year's end, unless your Majesty will keep such strong garrisons, and that continually, as will empty your Majesty's coffers to bear out the charge."

If the Queen made "a compounded peace" with the rebels, she would lose the advantage they have given her by their forfeiture of lives, lands, and goods, through their own defaults. Besides, a



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number of escheats would fall to her share, "and many other commodities would fall out (or at the least I know how they might be found out)," that might be turned to her profit. Fears it would be but in vain for him to set down how Her Majesty's charge might partly be eased by laying it on the shoulders of those who have thus pulled it on. "I know it would be thought a dangerous matter, and it would be said that this would be a mean rather to drive all out than to reform (here policy should be opposed against your Majesty's profit); but to these objections it might truly be answered, that traitors in heart are far more dangerous than if they were armed, and out in open action; and, therefore, in respect of policy (indeed) it is behoveful for your Majesty either to make them subjects or traitors. But, if they should openly revolt, the escheats that would happen by their lands and goods would royally bear out your Majesty's expenses, and victual would be found whereby to relieve soldiers, that now are consumed sometimes to feed traitors.

"It is themselves that have drawn on this rebellion, and they have brought it to the greatest extremity, and extremities are not to be dissolved but by a violent mean.

"I assure myself that now, upon the arrival of the Earl of Essex in Ireland, there will be news of many rebels that will offer to come in with all submissive and humble show; they shall want no friends of the English with the Irish hearts, to speak for them that they may be received. Here policy shall be again opposed, and they will allege that it shall be a point of great policy and for your Majesty's profit both, that they should be received; which if they should so be, without a better assurance of their fidelity than ever I did yet know any of them able to make, it is easy to be conjectured what will be the success; and by these means your Majesty shall never be able to sift the corn from the chaff. I know there be some that will come in to my Lord personally themselves (*sic*), but their brethren, children, kinsmen, and all the rest of their friends and followers, shall be with the rebel, and they will say they cannot rule them. Some other will come in that, being in, will not bring six persons to fight on your Majesty's part; but, being with the rebel, will bring 600 to fight against you.

"I leave all to your most gracious consideration, neither will I here presume to give informations how this rebellion is to be suppressed, when I can well assure myself that the noble Earl of Essex hath already determined and set down the course how it shall be prosecuted; knowing likewise that his Honour can want no informations that either England or Ireland can afford. But rather it is to be feared there will be too many informers, for he that hath been in Ireland, and hath had there but two months' continuance, will undertake by and by [*i.e.* immediately] to set down precepts of reformation. But these informers have many times deceived your Majesty's Council here; and many come over with informations, some to mend their own estates, some to mar other men's. Some again ignorantly will inform they know not what, and men are believed as they are beloved, not according to the truth they can report, but according as they have credit with some great or noble personage, whose custom is to credit best the party they affect best.



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"Thus much I have observed, and since these wars were first undertaken, until this very instant, there was never any due course holden for the subversion of this rebellion; and, of my conscience, the greatest cause hath been by wrong informations delivered to your Majesty and honourable Council. God grant that this most noble Earl may now hold a straight course, and then there is no doubt but of good success.

"To speak a little of the suppressing of this rebellion (but yet not in general) it would be more for your Majesty's honour and profit both, that it might be performed rather in five months than five years; and, although this reformation must be settled by force, yet famine must be an especial mean whereby to accomplish it. For, if your Majesty had 40,000 soldiers in Ireland, yet should they never be able to serve upon the Irish, or to drive them to one day's encounter (unless by some great chance), but at their own pleasures; for we shall not fight but when they list; and when they please, we shall and must fight, or we shall be like to feel the smart of it, and that shall be upon such grounds of advantage, as we shall not be able greatly to annoy them." *Endorsed, 1599, May. Signed. pp. 9.*

May 31.

73. The Privy Council to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Council in Dublin. Her Majesty deems it negligence on their part that, during the absence of Essex from Dublin, they do not send her advertisements of the state of affairs. She doubts not but that they may always find matter enough, and of importance, to certify. Such advertisements "would be welcome unto her." Her Majesty thinks it great slackness and forgetfulness in them to suffer her to want due information, especially when they have so ready means of conveyance by postage, without trouble or expense to them. They are to advertise Her Majesty from time to time, in the absence of Essex. Doubt not they will satisfy her with more diligence, in requital of their past silence.—1599, May 31. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 162 b., 163. Copy. pp. 1½.*

May.

74. *Portion of a manuscript history.* Traitors in Leix and Offally. Onie McRory, with the sept of the O'Moores, went into action to revenge his father's death, and to recover his father's land. The O'Connors in Offally followed. The bastard Geraldines in the county of Kildare, reported to be the worst sort of traitors in the kingdom; "their ill bringing up, their wicked lives, and shameful disloyalty, to be a slander and shame to the house of Kildare." Phelim McFeagh, "the wolf of the mountain," son of Feagh McHugh. Redmond McFeagh, brother of Phelim. Brian Reogh, brother to Walter the traitor, who was executed at Dublin, and the sons of Garrett Owre, with certain of the Walshes. Brian was nine times protected, and twice pardoned, yet never true. Donnell Kavanagh, chief of the Kavanaghs, called Donnell Spainagh, because, when a boy, he "waited upon Stuckley into Spain," was of a stubborn and ambitious sept, descending as they say from McMorrogh, King of Leinster, whose daughter Strongbow married. When the race of noble English birth neglected their possessions,

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and deputed some of the Kavanaghs as tenants to enjoy the same, these in short space (like the Moores in Leix) drew sword, and with strong hand claimed the possessions as their own, and from time to time opposed themselves to the English nation, disquieted the land, and continued the rebellion. Dr. Weston, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, was of opinion that, unless Her Majesty would remove them from Ireland, and give them land somewhere else, she would never have her kingdom quiet. This Donnell made claim to Enniscorthy, which Sir Henry Wallop possessed, and his rebellious rogues took him for their King of Leinster. Hovenden, "an Englishman, but a papistical traitor," took Donnell's son, and carried him to the Earl of Tyrone, with the consent of his father, as a pledge of his fidelity to the Earl. It was then blazed abroad that the son was stolen away, full sore against Donnell's will, and that the State might be assured of his loyalty and subjection. Thus he wrought underhand, until the rebellion was ripe, and then he broke out to all kind of mischief. "It is found that he was protected and pardoned 14 times." After all this, he came in to the Earl of Essex, who received him in the chamber of presence with more honour and grace than became the Earl to shew him, or he to receive. For the Earl was no sooner gone for England, than Donnell fell to his old vomit.

"James FitzPiers, of the county of Kildare, the son of an honest gentleman and true servitor to Her Majesty, Sir Piers FitzJames, having his father with his whole family (as I said before) by Walter Reogh and his rebellious associates burned to ashes, wanting grace, and forgetting his father's injury and villany of traitors, went into open action, and became a malicious rebel. Immediately after the burning of his father, he went into England, [and] delivered his grief and great losses. Her Majesty, according unto her wonted clemency, graced him divers ways, and gave him ten horse in pay. After his return, he behaved himself civilly, and was made Sheriff of that county, kept much company with Captain Thomas Lee, who was a great favourer of the Earl of Tyrone (and then in question and disgrace therefore); and, as it may be gathered, infected with that company, underhand this James practised a long time with the Earl of Tyrone, but at length broke out, and his practices were revealed to the Lords Justices. Captain Lee and he making merry together, said Lee, 'James, thou and I will be shortly McRustelyns,' that is to say Robin Hoods, 'for we can get nothing as we are.' These words were brought to the Lords Justices. They were both sent for by a pursuivant. Lee appeared, was charged with treasons, and was committed to the Castle; but James would not shew himself. He practised to betray the fort in Leix, but failed of his purpose. He made claim to the Lordship of Cloncurry, which was the jointure of the Lady Baltinglas, and, because he could not prevail, he practised with the ward there to betray the same, and so it came to pass. He complained unjustly, as traitors did, of the Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant [General]; the which complaint Sir Garrett Aylmer (in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant) answered, and satisfied the Lords Justices, delivering upon his credit and certain knowledge, that



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the Earl did him no wrong, and that he was void of any gall towards him. The cause of his knowledge was that he had travailed between them, and found the Lord Lieutenant most honourable, and ready to show him any favour. He feared the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, for that he in England was examined whether the said Bishop had kept Rose [O'] Toole, wife to Feagh McHugh; as malefactors fearing everybody, and dare not trust themselves. After many mischiefs by him done, when both the Earls met at Athy, the 12 of May, anno 1599, with their forces, to pass into Leix for the victualling of the new fort, he pulled the bridge of Athy upon the river of the Barrow down, manned the castle at the bridge foot, [and] trenched the fords on the river side, to hinder the passage of the horsemen. But when there was a passage found, and horsemen conveyed over to compass the town, the ward ran away, and he, seeing himself in distress, came to the Earl of Essex upon his knees, and desired mercy, and so he was received into favour."

The nephews of the Baron of Upper Ossory. John McCoghlan joined with Con O'Neill, yet he excused himself in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, and sent therein enclosed a letter which the traitor of Tyrone sent unto him, to withdraw him from his loyalty. Redmond Burke and Sir Charles O'Carrall with Con O'Neill; their purpose to besiege Roscrea. The O'Mulrians in Tipperary. The O'Kennedys in Ormonde.

In October, 1598, Edmund, Viscount Mountgarrett, "having long covered the sparkles of rebellion in the hid ashes of dissimulation," began to break out, having matched his son and heir with the traitor of Tyrone's daughter, his sister with Thomas, Baron of Cahir; "and, sworn to the general combination of rebellion, practised by Derby Cragh, the Pope's nuncio, first in the county of Kilkenny he acquainteth his followers with his purpose, next he worketh very subtilly with the county of Wexford, and writeth to Sir Thomas Colclough, knight, James Furlong, Robert Codd," and others, saying he had dealt with the Kavanaghs in their behalf, and had their promise not to meddle or spoil in Wexford for a fortnight. He also desired further conference with them. He also wrote to the Sheriff and gentlemen of Wexford, stating, "I have entreated peace for you hitherto of all the Irishry in Leinster, and now can procure it no longer than Wednesday next, except you contribute to bear part of their charges in this action." He asked all who were so minded to assemble in some place of the borders, and to advertise him thereof by the day mentioned. He also wrote to James Devorrex, and the rest of the gentlemen of Waterford, saying how the rebels had lately spoiled him utterly in the county of Kilkenny, and were now beginning to do the like in Wexford. Therefore he thought good to do his best in furthering the Queen's service, as also to do his commonwealth and neighbours good. If they were pleased to assist him, and to bear the charge of 200 men in meat and wages for a fortnight, he would keep garrison in some convenient place upon the borders, and undertake to make good any loss of the county during that time, or venture his own person and companies for it. "All this while he went about the bush, and pretended the Queen's service," meaning nothing less than to plant garrisons without commission. "When



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he perceived this would not take effect, that the gentlemen of Wexford weighed him not, and that the whole county defied him, out he went into open action, gathered his rebellious forces together, and joined with all the traitors in Leinster and Munster, and sent his agent to Ulster to the Archtraitor of Tyrone, to send him aid thence to strengthen his forces. Then his rogues ran about like the devil's scouts, preying, burning, and killing. The Mayor of Waterford wrote to the Lord Lieutenant-General to that effect, and withal of the death of Philip, King of Spain, and how that Sorleboy took shipping at Lough Foyle to go for Spain. His Lordship likewise was certified from Thomastown how that Mountgarrett stayed all boats, and threatened to kill the boatmen that passed along the Barrow for Waterford. Also intelligence was given that he went about to match one of his daughters, Piers Baccagh's widow, to James Desmond; a second to Donnell Spainagh's son; and [a] third to Gerald McMurtogh Oge's son; a fourth to O'Donnell; [and] the fifth to Onie McRory; the faster to hold by the link of rebellion." The Lord Lieutenant-General wrote to Mountgarrett, marvelling at his disloyalty. "For answer, he desired to parley. That granted, and the day and place agreed upon, viz., the 13 of November, beside Gowran, upon the top of a hill called Crossmans, Mountgarrett, with Onie McRory, Morgan McBrian Kavanagh, his son-in-law, Donnell Spainagh, and others, shewed themselves. He sent two horsemen before, and two to second them, at length came himself to a river-side, where the Lord Lieutenant of the other side being come, demanded of him what he had to say. Mountgarrett answereth, 'A day of meeting was appointed as now in this place, and I am come accordingly.' To cut off his preface, said the Lord Lieutenant, 'What say ye to me?' Then began he with trifling matters and long speeches, that he was not regarded according to his calling; that, when the Justices of Assize came to the country, he sat among inferior persons; that the Lord Lieutenant, rejecting his kindred, took base fellows of his counsel, the Sheas and Rouths of Kilkenny; that his Lordship, since his last coming from England, held a hard hand over him; that he wronged him a little before in sending him prisoner to the Castle of Dublin; that he commanded the horsemen to cut off his head by the way; and that he was given to understand that there was a warrant issued from the Lords Justices to his Lordship to apprehend him; [and] that he stood in fear of himself, which moved him to take the course he had. The Lord Lieutenant replied, 'I am sorry to behold the sight that is before mine eyes this day; you, being of my house, and of that creation Lord of Parliament, to be in company with such rascal traitors. As for your grievances, if they were in substance true, yet are they slender causes to induce you into such great extremities. For answer unto you, I do know that every one of discretion, that knoweth you, reverenceth your person. I am not therewith to be charged. You know I have, of my part, used you ever most kindly. As for sitting with the Justices of Assize, none must assist them but such as are of the Commission of Oyer and Terminer. Touching my kindred, they know I love them well. If they be good, I will endeavour to advance them; if they be nought, I will be a

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mean to cut them off. Where you scorn my counsel, I will hearken unto them that direct me for the best. Since my coming last from England, I have showed you all the favours I could. No marvel you were apprehended upon suspicion, and committed to the Castle of Dublin, having matched with Tyrone, and secretly combined with traitors, by the practices of Dr. Cragh, the which then was concealed, but now come to light. And in that journey, there was no sinister dealing meant towards you, as the Earl of Thomond, your keeper (who used you most honourably), is at all times ready to witness. Lastly, you greatly mistake yourself. For what should I do with the Lords Justices' warrant to apprehend you, when as I had authority sufficient of myself, under the broad Seal of England, to all such effects? But in fine, deceive not yourself. Remember what you have is of the gracious gifts of the Kings of England. Devise how to call yourself back to your duty.' Saith Mountgarrett, 'If you mean it for peace, I will not consent to any without O'Neill.' Hold being taken of that, he most arrogantly added thereto, that he would not do the contrary for all them of the one side and the other side of the river, and that he was not as then sworn to O'Neill, but had sent his agent to him about his affairs. 'Put it down in paper' (saith he) 'if ye please.' The next day, Mountgarrett desired peace for a month or three weeks, until he might hear from Tyrone, upon these conditions, that his tenants and ploughs might not be disturbed; if they were, then would he do his worst; that he and his followers might have license to take meat and drink from Her Majesty's subjects; [and] that there should no more garrisons be drawn into his country, than were at that time. To the which the Lord Lieutenant answered, 'Your proud (*sic*; pride) and threatenings I weigh not; the course of Her Majesty's service will I not stop, neither so much dishonour Her Majesty as to license any traitor to oppress Her Highness' subjects, for I use[d] not to exact the same myself for Her Majesty's forces, but paid for that I took.' Being demanded what assurance he would give for the observance of the peace, if it were granted, he scornfully answered, 'the gentlemen on this side and that side of the water, and all Leinster to the north, to depend of the same.' One whispered him in the ear, whereupon he explained himself, saying he meant it of all such as would take his part. In the end, peace (without the former conditions) was concluded for three weeks; and Mountgarrett sent, the 15 of November, to the Lord Lieutenant the names of all those that should stand upon his dependence during the said truce." [*Here follows a list of the names, some given in on November 20, consisting chiefly of O'Ryans. The names of Mountgarrett's sons are given as Richard, James, Edward, Thomas, Tibald, John, and Gilbert: the names of his daughters as Margaret, Marie, Marget, Elish, and Joan.*] "Such a rabble of Ryan rebels (gentle reader) thou hast not read before. Notwithstanding the truce formerly taken, yet Mountgarrett ceased not, but travelled from place to place, animating his confederates and strengthening his complices. The 5th of December following, Morgan McBrian Kavanagh, his son-in-law, came to Kilkenny in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, and left in writing this mes-



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sage." [Here follow the said message, and the reply of the Lord Lieutenant thereto on December 13, together with Mountgarrett's "malapert" verbal answer to his Lordship on December 22. The first two will be found on page 412, and the last on page 423, of the previous volume of this Calendar.] "After that the northern rebels, under the conduct of Con O'Neill, the bastard, had met with Mountgarrett and others the Lords of Leinster and Munster then in action, and conferred together on sundry points, they could not agree, but jarred among themselves. For every one (such was their aspiring humours) would be General and Commander of the rest. Redmond Burke challenged the generaltie (*sic*). Con O'Neill, challenging that style to himself, snuffed at his fellow traitors, and charged them with breach of promise; that they had sent unto his father (the traitor) for aid, promised great favours, kindness, and entertainment, but then denied him his style, and his followers cess; and so he departed from them in great rage. Then Mountgarrett was in great perplexity, not knowing whom to trust, fain would become a subject, and wist not how to compass it; for he had sworn to the rebels, and received the sacrament upon it. Yet he used secret means to speak with the Lord Lieutenant; at length wrote unto him that, if his Lordship would not vouchsafe himself to come and meet him, it would please him to send the Earl of Thomond, who then was at Kilkenny. The Earl of Thomond, by direction from the Lord Lieutenant, met him the 23 of February, who received of him but shifts and slender excuses (after his wonted manner), and that fear of his person drove him to the course he held. He entreated for peace, which was then granted him for 14 days; but he, notwithstanding, in that time (traitor like), sent 200 of his men into Leix, to hinder the Lord Lieutenant in prosecution of the rebels. After that the Lord Lieutenant had victualled the fort in Leix, foiled the rebels, and preyed Upper Ossory, Mountgarrett's castles and country lying in his way, and fearing the Lord Lieutenant's whip, the 15th of March he sent two of his horsemen unto him, as he was at Aghmcartie in Upper Ossory, desiring he might come and speak with him, which the Lord Lieutenant refused in his own person, yet sent Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, Sir Walter Butler, Sir James Butler, and certain other Captains unto him, to understand what he had to say, with instructions accordingly. He entreated for peace. They demanded a pledge for performance of the conditions that should be agreed upon. He offered land; it was refused. They demanded one of his sons and two castles; that he denied. He offered his own word and honour; they said it was worth little. He craved time to be advised by his learned counsel. They, perceiving all was but shifts and delays, left him as they found him, among a company of rascal traitors. In the evening, that day, William FitzNicholas came from Mountgarrett, desiring the Lord Lieutenant to vouchsafe to speak with him; the which he would not grant, unless he made his penitent submission, submitting himself absolutely to Her Majesty's mercy; adding withal that, if the cause were between the Earl of Ormonde and Mountgarrett, he would look to have both pledge and obedience at



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his hands, being chief of the house whence Mountgarrett descended. Shortly after he sent his son to Dunmore, where the Lord Lieutenant was, desiring peace for five days, which was granted. Yet all that while was he practising mischief. The 26 of April he came to the castle of Kilkenny, kneeled down before the Earl of Ormonde, and desired two things; first, the benefit of Her Majesty's proclamation, the which the Earl of Essex had lately brought over with him; secondly, that he might, by the Earl's means, be safely brought to the Earl of Essex's presence; both which were granted him. On the 12 of May, at Athy, the two Earls meeting together, the Earl of Ormonde presented him and the Lord of Cahir to the Earl of Essex, who, as they kneeled, gave them a long and a sharp exhortation touching their rebellign, their subjection and loyalty being of them forgotten. The Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant-General, committed them to the Marshal, [and] took them with him to Dublin, where he pardoned Mountgarrett and his ungracious children, and gave him all his lands, with great favours. But in a short while after (small account being made of Mountgarrett himself, a man unwieldy), his sons were as far in rebellion as they were before.

"Thomas Butler, Lord Baron of Cahir, with his brethren, kindred, and all his country, went to open rebellion. The Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant, wrote unto him that he should with speed repair unto him with his forces, and shew his loyalty; the which he refused. He wrote the second time, viz., the 26 of November, 1598, to the same effect, but he came not. The man was simple and foolish, carried away by his wife, that was Mountgarrett's sister, Dr. Cragh, the Pope's Nuncio, and Father Archer. The 9 of May (remembering himself after the example of Mountgarrett) he came to the castle of Kilkenny, kneeled before the Earl of Ormonde, and desired the benefit of Her Majesty's proclamation, which the Earl of Essex had late brought over with him. 'Now Goodman fool' (said the Earl of Ormonde), 'what would you have? the benefit of Her Majesty's proclamation? Your father was a wise man, an honest gentleman, a good subject; but you have combined with traitors and rebels, and overrun your wits. That which you desire I grant you. Stand up, and I will bring you to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant-General, and let him dispose of you, as seemeth best unto him. At Athy he was delivered unto him, and there committed to the Marshalsey (*sic*), and carried along the journey. His castle of Cahir, after he had forsaken it, was kept by his brother James, and other traitors, against the Queen's forces, and the simple man could not command his own house; so that the Earl of Essex was driven to convey by water thither from Waterford a cannon and a culverin, to batter the house. Upon Whitsun Sunday, in the evening, the ordnance being mounted, they began to play and batter the castle. The Lord of Cahir and his wife, being then in camp and prisoners, beholding the battery of their house, wept like children. So sore was the castle assaulted and battered, that Her Majesty's forces determined, upon Tuesday in the morning, to enter; but the night before, the Lord of Cahir's brother, and a few with him, got away through a sink and under a water-mill; the rest of the rebels were pitifully mangled and slain along the river. Sir

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Christopher St. Lawrence and Captain Lawrence Esmond, with their forces, entered, took the spoil, and kept it, until the Earl of Essex had appointed a ward."—[1599, May.] pp. 9½.

June 2.  
Dublin.

75. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Council to the Privy Council. "Sir Henry Harrington, being appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to lie in garrison at Wicklow in the Byrnes' country, with the command of 500 foot and 60 horse of the ordinary forces of the army, took occasion to march from his garrison place, upon Monday, the 28th of the last month, with his said companions; and being encamped near the Ranelagh, the rebel Phelim McFeagh, having drawn to a head a great force of his own and other traitors, at that instant, being the 29th, set upon Sir Henry and his whole regiment with all their forces, and brake them, with a lamentable slaughter of the most part of the companies of foot, as may appear to your Lordships by his own letter written to us thereof, the double whereof we send herewith to your Lordships, and have likewise advertised the same to the Lord Lieutenant, who we understand is at this present in Munster, far absent from this place. Touching this disaster of Wicklow, we mean, God willing, to proceed to a more thorough examination thereof, against his Lordship's return, to the end that, the chief offenders therein being truly discovered, his Lordship may inflict punishment accordingly.

"There was written to me, the Secretary, from the borders of Ulster, and brought to me yesternight, these intelligences following, namely, that upon Monday last, being the 28th of May, a servant of O'Donnell's brought letters to Tyrone, lying then in camp about six miles from the Newry, signifying that there was come to O'Donnell's country the number of five Spanish ships; and that other ships were put into Lough Foyle; but in what number, or whether they were Spaniards or Scottishmen, the letters made no mention. Upon these advertisements, Tyrone departed from his camp the next morning towards O'Donnell's country, taking with him his wife, his two sons, and 60 light shot; and, during his absence, he left the charge of his camp with his brother Cormack and Tirlogh McHenry, keeping these news very secret, and little speech made of them in his camp."

About two days past, four ships arrived in Dublin harbour from England with victuals. Most of the cheese on board had perished, for want of good stowage. Appointed a commission to examine into the matter, and will send their final certificate, as soon as it reaches the Council. Beg for a new supply of cheese with all speed, for though the loss of the other falls upon the undertakers, "yet the army is greatly disappointed, not having other means to be relieved, than such as shall be sent out of England."

"We have also sent to your Lordships herewith Lieutenant Walsh his declaration, being Lieutenant to Captain Adam Loftus, who is since dead of his hurts."—Dublin, 1599, June 2. *Endorsed*, Received at London the 6 of the same. *Signed*. pp. 1½. *Enclose*,

75. 1. *Sir Henry Harrington to the Lord Chancellor Loftus.* "My good Lord, I cannot but with grief write unto your Lordship of this unfortunate day. Coming from our camp, within a mile



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and a half of the Great Water, returning to our garrison place, [I] was hotly pursued by the traitors, whose forces were far stronger than ours, marching on our way all along. We entertained skirmish with them with wings of loose shot, and with our horse brake upon them twice, but in the end they joined battle with ours within a mile and a half of Wicklow, where the most part of our men were lost, many of our horsemen sore hurt, and all through the cowardliness of our armed men, that never would once couch their pikes or offer to strike one stroke for their lives, do what their leaders could, who did long abide it, until their men quit them, and they brought off by the horsemen. No captain lost but Captain Wardman; Captain Loftus hurt in the leg, but I hope without danger. No men could serve better than his, whilst one man was able to stand. He lies in the Castle of Wicklow, wanting a good surgeon, of which I wish your Lordship to have care. My nephew Montague, with his horsemen, served very well, else had it been worse than it was. For when their battle came to join with ours, he brake through the head of them; in which himself was stroken in the side with a pike, and received two blows of a sword; so as he got our battle good breath. Yet would they never stand, nor once turn a pike, but presently dispersed; and then, with his horsemen, went up to the colours, being ready to be possessed by the enemy, and brought all away with their drums, save only Captain Loftus's, the which his lieutenant brought away with himself."—Newcastle, 1599, May 29. Sir Geoffrey Fenton adds:—"Captain Loftus is dead since this letter, of hurts received in the overthrow." Copy. p. 1.

75. II. "The declaration of Piers Walsh, Lieutenant to Captain Adam Loftus, touching Sir Henry Harrington's going towards the Great Water with the forces, and of the success thereof."

"Upon Monday, the 28 of May, Sir Henry Harrington, with the forces of horse and foot under his command, being 500 foot and 50 horse, did set forward towards the Great Water near Rathdrum, to view the sconces made by the rebels to stop the passage of that river; and, drawing near the river, he encamped with the forces at a waste village called Ballysha, within a mile to the river. And after the watch was set, the rebels' shot played upon the camp, at what time Sir Henry caused some of the forces to put the rebels' shot from their standing. That night the rebel, Phelim McFeagh, sent a messenger of his own, being a rhymmer, to pray Sir Henry to forbear doing of any hurt to him, and that he would submit himself to the Lord Lieutenant. And the next morning Sir Henry, upon intelligence received that the rebels were gathering into a head too strong for him, he dislodged, and caused his carriages to march back towards Wicklow, and himself, with the forces, followed. And immediately upon his remove, another messenger came to him from the said traitor, with some message, which the said Walsh knoweth not, but, as he verily thinketh, it was to feed Sir Henry with fair words until their forces were ready to set upon him, as might be well gathered by the sequel. For within a small time after, the rebels, with their battle and loose wings, came in, and began to skirmish with the forces. Whereupon Captain Adam Loftus, with his foot company, answered the skirmish in the rear of the battle, and fought very valiantly for the space of



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three miles, the rest of the companies of foot yielding small help, but only marching forward. The rebels, perceiving that, did draw near with their main battle, at what time Captain Adam Loftus, having then taken a horse with Captain Montague and the horse troop, charged the head of the battle, and did pass through the same. In which charge Captain Adam Loftus was thrust into the leg with a pike, whereof, and of some other hurt afterwards received, he died. Immediately whereupon, the rebels' battle joined with ours, and by reason our armed men could not be drawn to turn back, or to make a stand and to fight, a great part of the forces were slain, and, as the said Lieutenant doth gather, at the least the one half did miscarry; among which company, Captain Wardman is lost, and many officers. The rebels continued this killing till they came within half a mile to Wicklow; and such of the forces as escaped got away disordered by footmanship, leaving their arms behind them. All the Captains' colours were brought away by the horsemen, and Captain Loftus, his colours and drums, were brought away by the said Lieutenant Walsh. That number of the soldiers that came off and were not slain, he knoweth not certain, for that they took divers ways for their safety." Signed. pp. 1½.

June 2.  
Dublin.

76. George Beverley to Sir Robert Cecil. Forbears to trouble him with reports and declarations concerning the victualling, in respect of Sir Robert's other great occasions, and because the Lord Treasurer bestows an honourable care and travail in those affairs.—Dublin, 1599, June 2. *Holograph.* p. ¼.

June 10.

77. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Acknowledge his letters sent by Mr. Tracy, Mr. Darrell, and Sir Francis Darcy. The reinforcements asked for by his Lordship. He has not mentioned the time and place when and where they are to arrive. Essex had an army of 16,000 complete on April 28, and yet asked for 2,000 men more, to come by the middle of June. It is very likely reinforcements will be needed for his journey into the north, after his return to Dublin, by reason of the decay of men that will happen in that service. The difficulties in the way of sending over the 2,000. Think they will likely be wanted to land at some place further north than Dublin. The return of Essex to Dublin may be a good while later than he expects. In the meantime the new troops would occasion fresh charge to Her Majesty. The drain on the magazine at Dublin, if the troops were sent there. Desire to satisfy his Lordship, and let him understand that Her Majesty has given order for the levy of the whole 2,000, and that they be at the port of Chester by the 26th of June. The whole proportion of victuals originally agreed upon is completed, and order has been taken for an additional supply for the 2,000 men.

"For the swords desired by your Lordship (which you know well is a new demand, and must pass by a new warrant under Her Majesty's hand), we must say this unto your Lordship, that in respect you had a provision in surplusage of arms when you first went over, we did not expect to have been driven to deal with the Queen so soon for any extraordinary demands of that kind; but finding it

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required by your Lordship, it is a sufficient argument unto us to be necessary (*sic*), and in that respect sufficient to move us to deal with the Queen humbly and earnestly for that supply according to your letter, wherein we will take care, if Her Majesty assent unto it, that it may pass over with the supplies of 2,000 men. And, as touching the 300 targets you require, for the which Captain Hayes demands 12,000*l.*, we find by talking with him sundry difficulties therein, as namely, that without a grant from Her Majesty (which you know will ask some time to effect), he is not willing to make any at all; and, though the same grant were presently passed, yet that under three weeks' space he cannot furnish 100 alone; and then, allowing but one month more for their bringing to your Lordship, it will by this account be near the end of July before your Lordship can have them. Nevertheless, as we shall find it feasible for the service, and Her Majesty's good pleasure inclinable thereunto, who, you know, doth neither easily nor suddenly assent to new charges, so shall we further proceed to give your Lordship satisfaction by moving for some fifty or a hundred, if possibly in respect of the time we can effect it."

In reply to his letter of May 24 from Clonmell, and the journal therein enclosed, are right glad to hear that he has passed those quarters with Her Majesty's honour, with loss to the rebels, and safety to himself and the army. Are attending now with great devotion what will be the issue of the titular Earl of Desmond's approach near his Lordship. "We must needs expect the rest, which shall follow, to be successful, when we observe these good beginnings expressed in your journal, and remember the former experiences which Her Majesty had of your Lordship's noble endeavours and successes in other actions of great consequence to Her Majesty's state and kingdom, the continuance whereof in all your proceedings we wish, both for our public duties to Her Majesty and private respects to your Lordship, whose care and wisdom deserveth no less at our hands. We have thus shortly dispatched this by the running post, which is the reason that Her Majesty doth make you no present answer to any of your letters to herself."—1599, June 10. *Copy certified by W. Waad. pp. 5.*

June 10. 78. Another copy of the preceding.—1599, June 10. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 163-165. pp. 4½.*

June 10. Greenwich. 79. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. "Her Majesty, having of late received certain knowledge that your Lordship hath constituted the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse in Her Majesty's army under your charge, with which she is much displeased, hath given us commandment to signify her mind in that behalf, and to let your Lordship understand that she thinketh it strange, and taketh it offensively, that you would appoint his Lordship to that place and office, considering that Her Majesty did not only deny it, when she was here moved by your Lordship to that purpose, but gave you an express prohibition to the contrary, that he should not be appointed thereunto. This commandment being (as Her Majesty saith) so precisely delivered unto you, and the same



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being now so publicly manifested to the world to be broken, hath moved Her Majesty to great offence in that respect. And therefore Her Majesty's pleasure is, that you do no longer continue him in that place and charge of General of the Horse, but to (*sic*) dispose of it to some other, as you shall think good, Her Majesty esteeming it a very unseasonable time to confer upon him any so great place, having so lately given her cause of offence towards him. This being Her Majesty's direction and commandment unto us, we do deliver it by this our letter as from herself, wherein having discharged our duties, we are sorry for the occasion."—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, June 10. *Copy. p. 1.*

June 10. 80. Another copy of the preceding, certified by W. Waad.—The  
Greenwich. Court at Greenwich, 1599, June 10. *p. 1.*

June 10. 81. Another copy of the same.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599,  
Greenwich. June 10. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 166, 166 b. p. 1.*

June 13. 82. John Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Writes again, although  
Dublin. his late letters miscarried. Presumes Sir Robert knows of the Lord Lieutenant's journey westwards. Hitherto his Lordship's proceedings have been very good and honourable, and most of the country comes in to him, wherever he travels. Yet some of them are fallen from him of late, and run into rebellion again, as Captain Tyrrell's brother, who went away with all his goods and people. His Lordship took as great care of the borders and all other parts as might be, both for the defence of the subject and for the offence of the rebels, "yet we prevail but little." Upon his Lordship's departure from Dublin, he appointed Sir Henry Harrington, with 550 foot and 68 horse, to prosecute Feagh McHugh's sons and the rest of the rebels about the mountains. Presumes the circumstance of this service is well known to Sir Robert, "yet this much I will make bold to let you understand, that our soldiers had no sooner discovered the enemy, but they were presently possessed with such a fear, that they cast away their arms, and would not strike one blow for their lives, yet the enemy no more in number than they were; and there the greatest part of that number was slain, with Captain Loftus, the Lord Chancellor's son, and Captain Wardman; yet the enemy was not above a dozen horse." Essex also left at the new fort in Leix 500 men, and at the fort in Offally, with Sir Edward Herbert, 700 men, "yet the enemy is so strong, that they dare not look out of the fort." At Ardee there are 400 men, and the same number at Dundalk with Lord Cromwell. The traitors came on Thursday last to the very gates of Dundalk, and took away all the small cattle that were there, without any resistance. At Newry there are 700 foot and 100 horse, and the same at Carrickfergus, "yet I cannot advertise your Honour of any service that is done, the enemy is so strong, or we so weak."

There came into Lough Foyle, about the 27th of May, four or five Spanish ships, and Tyrone, being in camp hard by the Newry, understanding of it, made his repair to them with all the haste he could, and received, it is credibly reported, some store of munition and



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treasure. "There also landed a thousand men, who are gone to O'Donnell. Tyrone is returned back again by the Newry to his old camping place, and there he remains, where I fear he will receive no harm this year. God send he may be overthrown the next year. I am in despair of the good of this country. God help us, and send us better men or better fortune."

Threescore horse and upwards of the Earl of Southampton's troop were placed at Carrickmayne, within five miles of Dublin. Last night the enemy came thither, and took away the prey of the town, and burned it, and went away without any harm, the horsemen being all in the town. There is no other news. Will write from time to time.—Dublin, 1599, June 13. *Signed. Endorsed, Received the 23rd at London. pp. 1½.*

June 18.  
Dublin.

83. Sir George Carey to Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England. Since the dispatch of his last packet to his Lordship, has received the enclosed advertisements out of the north.—Dublin, 1599, June 18. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed:—Received the 23rd, at London. p. ½. Encloses,*

83. I. ——— to Sir George Carey. "Sithence the writing of my last letters unto you, I have had some more certain advertisements out of the north, which, according to my promise, I do hereby briefly make known unto you. First, for the report of the shipping arrived from Spain. The truth is, there came but two ships and two gentlemen, besides the mariners, who brought with them 1,000 pieces, 1000 pikes, with their furniture, and for every piece twelve pound[s] of powder, with lead and match, but no treasure at all. Tyrone's man, and those Captains that came with him reported that the cause of their coming hither was to enquire whether Tyrone was agreed with the State here or not, which had been reported there [in Spain]; and that there had some people come from thence unto the aid of Tyrone, had not that report been; and therefore two English gentlemen, who had so reported to the King of Spain, were by him arrested until the return of those ships, with the full answer and knowledge thereof from Tyrone. The ships departed the last Tuesday, the 12th of this month, with whom Tyrone proffered to send many great horses, but they refused all, saving only some few fine hackneys, which they took with them. Tyrone did write by them to the King of Spain, that he would demand but few men, not above two or three thousand, and munition for 3,000 more, which he would have sent with the greatest speed that might be. Those letters were written by one Robert Chamberlayne, a priest born in this county of Louth. The Spaniards have not left one Spaniard behind them; and this is all the certainty of the Spaniards' arrival and departure. The garrison of Knockfergus being very strong, both of horse and foot, have lately made a great prey upon the enemy, killing some men, but very many women and children. Tirlogh McHenry, who hath this fortnight or more lain within four miles of this town with a great force, is now removed into the Fews, three miles further. Tyrone returned from the Spaniards on Wednesday last to Dungannon. On Monday next he will be at the Blackwater, and on Tuesday at his

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*camp, lying still at Loughrorken, within seven miles of the Newry, where he hath appointed all his forces to meet him.*—1599, June 16. p. 1.

June 19. Dundalk. 84. "Advertisements from Dundalk of Tyrone's intended courses."

Immediately after his return to his camp, Tyrone divided all the culivers and munition, that came to him from Spain, between O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, O'Cahan, James McSorley, and himself; but all the pikes he still keeps to himself. There has a long time been some controversy and no sound friendship between Tyrone and Sir Arthur O'Neill, "a man of great force about the parts of Lough Foyle." Many meetings have passed between them to little purpose. Another is appointed for Tuesday next. Knows not what will come thereof. This day or to-morrow, Tyrone begins to entrench between Armagh and the Blackwater, and so downwards. He has caused all his forces to assemble and meet him "within these three days," when he proposes to do some outrage within the Pale, and intends, if he may, to enter about Kells, where Lord Audley is Governor, and that way forward to do as much as he can in revenge of the death of a Captain of his, one Tyrrell, whom he much esteemed, and who, he has lately certainly heard, has been slain. The departure of the two Spanish ships. They brought only culivers, pikes, morions, and munition; no treasure.

"This is all the news that I have now to write unto you, but that which is no news, that our garrison doth much mislike of their provant; the bread is mouldy, and the rest not very good; therefore I pray you on their behalf to befriend them as much as you may with money, if it be possible, or at the leastwise with some money, and some victuals as shall be good and wholesome."—Dundalk, 1599, June 19. *The signature has been obliterated.* p. 1.

June 20. 85. "A schedule of the counties from whence 2,000 men were levied for supply of the army in Ireland, by virtue of Her Majesty's letters dated the 4 of June, 1599."—[1599, June 20.] *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 165. Copy. p. ½.*

June 21. 86. "Warrant and Instructions from Sir Francis Darcy, knight, being appointed to undertake the transportation of 2,000 men from Chester into the realm of Ireland."—1599, June 21. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 165. Copy. p. ½.*

June 22. Greenwich. 87. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. The time for which the ships, appointed to serve on the coast of Ireland, were victualled, will expire about the 26th of July next. Desire to know if Essex consider the continuance of all such shipping necessary; and if not all, of what portion, and where it will be most convenient to re-victual the same. Will then take the best order they can.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, June 22. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 165 b. Copy. p. 1.*



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June 22. 88. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Having taken order  
Greenwich. for the 2,000 men to be put in readiness forthwith, and to be at the  
port of Chester by the 26th instant, they willingly use the opportunity of Sir Francis Darcy's return to his Lordship, to give him charge of the transportation of the men to Dublin. Not having heard from his Lordship since writing their last letters, they have thought good to proceed in the dispatch of the men, and have instructed Sir Francis Darcy accordingly. Have also obtained an order from Her Majesty for the 3,000 swords Essex desired. Will send them as quickly as they can. Wish him happy success in all his actions.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, June 22. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 165 b, 166. Copy. p. 1.*

June 25. 89. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "As in my former  
Waterford. despatch, sent by Sir Francis Darcy, I showed the causes of my looking into Munster, so by this [*wanting, but from the endorsement we learn it was the journal of his proceedings from 21 May to 12 June. See Carew Calendar, under date, Vol. III., pp. 301-308.*] Your Lordships shall be able to inform both Her Majesty and yourselves of all my courses and successes in this province. I am now hastening back to Dublin, but will pass through the county of Wexford and the Ranelagh, both to give order for those parts, and to seek some revenge on those rogues who, in my absence, had the killing of our base, cowardly, and ill-guided clowns. Of which defeat, because I know your Lordships are already particularly informed from the Council at Dublin, I do spare to write. But, at my return, I purpose, by God's grace, to do such justice as shall be for Her Majesty's honour, and make other men hereafter know that the justice of a martial court is no less terrible than the fury of all the rebels in this kingdom. And in my passage if the rebels, by this our disaster, be so much puffed up as I hear they are, I hope, by God's favour, your Lordships shall soon hear that their pride is but a preparative to their greater ruin. I am advertised that they have drawn to them, besides the forces of Donnell Spainagh, and the Kavanaghs, and Feagh McHugh's sons, and the mountain gallowglasses, all the force of the Moores and Connors, and of Tyrrell with his bonnaughts. Howbeit, though the companies here with me be both fewer in number and weaker in strength than at any time since I came out, yet I assure your Lordships I will neither be sought by them, nor go out of my way to seek the champaign, but take my course as it lies through the midst of their countries. For surely this blow cannot so much appal our base new men, as it doth inflame the hearts of our commanders and gentlemen of quality, whose forwardness I shall have no less labour to restrain, than to encourage and bring on the meaner sort."

Hopes on his return to Dublin to find such liberal supplies of men, money, and victual, that he will soon be provided for his journey into the north.—Waterford, June 25. *Signed. Endorsed, 1599. Received primo Julii. By Mr. Gibbon. p. 1.*

June 27. 90. "A Book of Her Majesty's ordinary charges of General Officers, Officers of the four Courts, Officers of Provinces, bands of kern,  
2. E



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warders, pensioners, and such like, not contained in the establishment"; sent over by Sir George Carey, Treasurer in Ireland. [*The greater portion is in duplicate.*] *Endorsed*, 1599, June 27. pp. 28.

June 30.  
Dublin.

91. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Lieutenant purposes, upon his return to Dublin, which, it is thought, will be within seven or eight days, to provide forthwith for his Ulster journey. The extraordinary charge thereof will be very great, for transportation by sea of soldiers, horses, munition, victuals, and other necessities, as also for carriage of all manner of provisions for the army by land. The 5,000*l.* appointed by the establishment to supply extraordinary charges will not suffice. Sir Robert knows that almost 3,000*l.* was issued before Essex went on his present journey, for the extraordinary charges of which 1,000*l.* will not suffice; so the small remainder will not be able to answer this subsequent charge. Desires a further warrant, without which he cannot proceed.

"There is one thing more that I would willingly trouble your Honour with, which is, that we might have your Honour's help to ease Her Majesty's charge for the hiring of store-houses for the victuals, and also ease Her Majesty of the great losses and wastes that doth yearly grow to Her Majesty by often removing of the victuals to and fro. If Her Majesty were so pleased, and that your Honour and the rest of my Lords thought it so good, for the laying out of 300*l.*, which would make the house very fit, Her Majesty may have a house here called the Blackfriars, hard adjoynant upon (*sic*) the river, that will be able to receive Her Majesty's whole magazine of victuals, and save her 500*l.* per annum. I have written hereof to my Lord Treasurer, hoping that by both your Honours' good means we shall receive direction for the effecting of this so necessary a service for Her Majesty."—Dublin, 1599, June 30. [*Postscript.*] "After the writing hereof, and before the enclosing, I received your Honour's letter, but it is too true that I have lost in this service my son; and my grief is the greater, because I have no more." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

June 30.  
Dublin.

92. John Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. As to his former intelligence concerning the coming of certain ships out of Spain and the landing of some men, it was not in so large a measure as he wrote. There arrived only two small ships, which brought nothing but arms for 1,000 men, with a small proportion of munition. They landed no men at all, except three Irishmen, whereof two were sent into Spain by Tyrone. The Lord Lieutenant is expected this week at Dublin. His Lordship was fought with both in Leix and in Munster, but to small purpose, for the rebels never durst stand him in any place. The hurt done on either side is not worth the writing, other than Sir Robert has already heard, save that Sir Henry Norreys lost a leg, and Sir Henry Davers was shot through the face. The enemy wanted munition very much. Dares not make any particular report of his Lordship's proceedings, because there are so many false reports. It is thought he will come homewards

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through the Glynnys in Feagh McHugh's country, where the traitors have prepared for him, and give out that they will fight with him, if his Lordship come that way. If Essex goes to Dungannon, as is expected, he will be as well fought withal as ever he was in his life, for there is neither want of men, munition, nor willing minds to fight; yet they will never meet his Lordship in the plains. Tyrone is now in camp hard by Newry, at his old camping place, and has brought all his creaghts with him. He is determined to come near Dundalk, where he means to camp till Essex's coming into those parts. "He is both proud and strong, yet I doubt not, if it please Her Majesty to look to it in time, but she may easily pluck down his pride, otherwise it will be too late, for the kingdom is almost all overrun already, whereof as yet I see no hope of recovery. We lose by them every day both men, goods, and lands, and we never get anything from them but blows; and their number increaseth daily. Sir John Shelton, lying in garrison at a place called Ardee, within ten miles of Tredath, and understanding of the enemy's coming into the country, did draw out certain of Captain Warren's and Captain Moore's horsemen, and as soon as ever he did discover the enemy's horse, he charged them very unadvisedly, and they gave way presently, and drew him into their ambush, where he himself was slain, and seven or eight of the horsemen hurt and killed. There is also slain at the Newry one Phelim O'Hanlon, who had twenty horsemen in pay of Her Majesty. He was the most sufficient man for that service that this kingdom afforded, and the best for intelligence. He had four proper men to his sons, whereof three of them did run to the enemy presently upon his killing. To write of any killing done upon the enemy, I cannot, for which I am very sorry. There is gone out of the Lord Chancellor's house this last night eight of his servants to the enemy."—Dublin, 1599, June 30. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

June 30.  
Dublin.

93. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The last packet brought by the bearer, Cuthbert Stillingfleet, he received yesterday, and, within an hour after, sent it by a servant of his own to the Lord Lieutenant, who, he understands, is newly returned into the county of Wexford from his long journey in Munster. Hopes the packet will come safe to his Lordship's hands, though the ways be dangerously laid by the rebels. Took the more care, as Sir Robert wrote that it was a charge laid upon him to have the packet speedily delivered.

"This is to answer this particular matter, otherwise I would not have adventured to write at all, considering your late restraint, which I dare not disobey, till you set me at liberty; humbly praying you that, neither toward yourself nor her sacred Majesty, my silence may be interpreted to me as a fault, albeit it is a grief to have my hands tied up from writing, when so many occasions do require it."

There are sent to Sir Robert by this passage the muster-books of Ireland for five months, from 1 October to 28 February last; they contain only checks and defalcations in money and apparel, "without meddling in victuals and munitions." Though the total rises



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now to above 10,000*l.*, yet the benefit to Her Majesty will not be so great hereafter by those kinds of defalcation, for the companies will not be as deficient as heretofore they have been.—Dublin, 1599, June 30. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed,* Received 13 Julii at Greenwich. *p. 1.*

June 30. 94. "A note of victuals defalked from these several Captains hereunder named, between the first of March, 1598[-9], and the last of June following, 1599." Total, 3,370*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* *pp.* 3½.

June 30. 95. A similar list of checks defalked from several Captains, from 1 March to 30 June, 1599. Total, 1,375*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* *pp.* 3½.

June 30. 96. "The charge, issue, and remain, of Her Majesty's store [of munition] in Cork, from the first of March unto the last of June, 1599." *Signed by Anthony Ersfield. p. 1.*

June 30. 97. Copy of the preceding. *p. 1.*

June. 98. The charge of a proportion of victual sent to the fort of Philipstown.—1599, June. *p. 1.*

[June.] 99. Sir Alexander Radcliffe to Sir Robert Cecil. "Inasmuch as I am jealous that those men who were overthrown in the Glynnys may be reported to your Honour to be of my regiment, and that it may be thought a foul fault in me to have been absent from my command, I am bold to present this trifling discourse to your Honour's leisure to read it (because whosoever came from Dublin could not tell my conditions), and I am curious of satisfying nobody else save your Honour, whose good opinion I would be most glad to obtain and conserve, because some of these men were levied out of your Duchy [*i.e.*, of Lancaster], for whose loss I ought to be answerable. I am more suspicious (though in reason it concern me little) that I may be wronged by some foolish packet, or forgotten by my Lord Lieutenant, who promised me he would certify to the Court that I was nothing guilty of any slackness of any charge committed unto me, but commanded to attend him, as I will tell your Honour.

"It was first set down by my Lord Lieutenant and the Council here that Sir Henry Harrington should return to the O'Byrnes' country, which was his government, where the Glynnys border, and to suppress those rebels there, who were Phelim McFeagh and the Toolles, with other rogues of their consort. He should have 700 foot and fifty horse, which should be my regiment, to lie in garrison at Wicklow; and, upon his direction and espial, who was to command the country, I should be at all times ready to draw out the troops, and to be their Colonel. Afterwards my Lord was to go this journey, and wanted some troops (before we were dispatched), to be in proportion answerable to those rebels that he was to encounter; so that my Lord commanded my company, and a Low Country company of Captain Carew's, to attend him in his journey; which two companies took away 300 out of the 700 that was first



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appointed. Then Sir Henry Harrington undertook to garrison at Wicklow with 400 foot and his nephew Montacute's [Montague's] fifty horse, until I returned with the other companies; and upon the same day that my Lord Lieutenant marched from Dublin, I did but understand of the alteration, and told my Lord Lieutenant I would be glad to attend him as far onward of his journey as to a place called Athy (where the chief expectation of this journey lay) with my whole regiment, and return time enough to Sir Henry Harrington; but, if that might not be, I would as soon attend him with one company as but (*sic*) with two, which my Lord Lieutenant accepted of, and then I directed my own company to go with Sir Henry Harrington to garrison at Wicklow, until my Lord Lieutenant sent me away with Carew's company, which (the Captain being absent) marched as my own company for this journey. Then Sir Henry Harrington was 550 foot strong and fifty horse, and the reason I added my company to those troops which stayed with Sir Henry Harrington was, because I desired to have it fair and strong for the northern voyage, and withal lest those 400 should be disposed to somebody else, which being all Yorkshire men, and my acquaintance, I did the rather desire we should not part; and Sir Henry Harrington told me he would do nothing until I returned, neither (as I told him) had he cause; for they were all new men (excepting some few Irish of Captain Loftus his company), and the only men I presumed of were these of Carew's, whom I had seen in the Low Countries; and I was unwilling to depart from my Lord Lieutenant without those men, and with them I never yet could get away (because my Lord Lieutenant had so few troops). Again, in this journey my Lord Lieutenant made my command better, for I had seven colours (though it was but by turns, as every one else had, because we are here almost as many Colonels as companies). Now, how Sir Henry Harrington carried himself with these men, your Honour hath heard better than I can tell; only my Lieutenant there writ unto me that at the muster they wanted 250 in all, and 68 were of my own company, and most of their arms lost."—[1599, June.] *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

[June.]

100. Report by Sir Ralph Lane to the Earl of Essex on the information gained in Ulster by Captain J. C., in fulfilment of instructions given to him on 9 May, 1599, by the said Earl.

Captain J. C. got as far as the river and lough of Strangford; which is not as far as Essex meant, but the rebels were very strong in all those parts, which indeed they wholly possessed. Yet the Captain got far enough to be able to certify the main points of strength that Tyrone and his combiners were resolved to stand upon.

Tyrone has twice changed his mind since Essex arrived in Ireland, and, since those two ships were sent to him out of Spain, he may change it a third time. He holds one resolution firmly, viz., to make strong fights upon every pass by which Essex's men are to go into Ulster, from the Ballenemovrie forwards, and to draw the war forth into an unmeasureable length, knowing that he will thus cress the three furies, *Penury, Sickness, and Famine*, upon Her Majesty's armies that are to assail him in Ulster. The invincible

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fastnesses of Tyrone, together with the desert, craggy, and boggy mountains of Sleough Gallaine, containing forty miles in compass, with the great woods of Killultagh, Kilwarlin, Killeleyrto, and Clancankie (of which he means to make a bawn for his cows, whilst the soldiers must hunt after them, and take their bane in them), these fastnesses were inevitable stops to the journeys of all former Deputies into Ulster, in times of far easier wars than this one is like to prove. The prevention of all this lies wholly in Essex, and that without great increase of charge to Her Majesty, if his Lordship slack not the opportunity of the course for it. This course, although seriously considered in every former government, was never undertaken by any, save only by Lord Burgh, who at his first entry into it, and at the very prime of its negotiation, departed this life. Sends Essex the project thereof, together with the drafts of the letters concerning it, and the instructions of Lord Burgh to Captain J. C. Thought it most requisite to present these to his Lordship, before he entered upon his northern journey. "And though the manner of the letters be but barbarous like themselves, yet I humbly assure your Lordship the matter is sound, and such as (having been some years past plotted and well digested by certain ancient experimented Englishmen, long inhabitants in Ulster) was, in the first entry of Sir William Russell's government, presented to him, and made ready for him, by a known special well-willer of his, but by him after as ill requited, as weakly prosecuted, even when the same, very well approved in England, was (with some few cautions very easily provided for) wholly left to himself, either to follow, or to let fall. And he resolved upon the latter, only for fear of being taxed to increase (*sic*) Her Majesty's charge of [*i.e.*, by] 1,200*l.* sterling a month, and that but for two or three months at the most. And, if your Lordship should be now pleased to revive the said plot, and with expedition to enter into the practice of it, not omitting present opportunities offering themselves fitly for the same, I dare (in the mercy of the Almighty) humbly presume to prognosticate to your Lordship not only the avoiding of those mischiefs that the protracted time must of necessity force Her Majesty unto, but also such event in the same, as shall be to the glory of God, the advancement of His Gospel and true worship in this heathenish and idolatrous nation, and for the most honourable support by your Lordship of Her Majesty's most royal diadem of England, in this of poor Ireland engaged; but also such greatness to your Lordship in the whole, as shall rather, for the glory of it, by many be envied, than equalled by any of many ages." Dedicates the plan to Essex.

*Here follow the instructions of Essex to Captain J. C., and the answers of the latter thereto.*

1. "First you shall make your course northwards from Skirris to the river of Strangford, whereunto being entered, you shall pass into the Lough Cuan, where you shall seize upon such boats as are suspected to carry relief unto the rebels of those parts. And any such coming to your hands, you shall carry them to the road of Killeafe, there to be kept under the guard of the Sheriff of Down, for Her Majesty's use and service."



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"According to this instruction I entered the river of Strangford, and came unto an anchor under the road of Kilcleefe, where (not finding the Sheriff to confer with for Her Majesty's service) I was certified by his brother, his Vice-Constable of Kilcleefe, that Magennis had, two days before, seized upon all the boats within Lough Cuan and in the harbour of Strangford, as well Scots as others, and had in the same boats transported over the river of Strangford 300 shot and 60 horse, wherewith he preyed Ferdorogh McSeneshall Savage, and killed of his men in the Lesser Ardes; and, at my return back to Strangford Castle, Magennis (having been advertised of my coming northwards by the Scots that trade Dublin and Drogheda, and do use to go into Strangford to buy hoop-staves), left 200 shot aboard the boats at Strangford, to wait my coming, and to keep the said boats for the service of Tyrone."

2. "You shall parley with such rebels as you shall think meet, as with Neill McBrian Ferto and McCartan, who, as we are informed, inwardly hate Tyrone; of whom you shall demand what service they will do to Her Majesty, if they should be taken into protection."

"Tyrone, suspecting Neill McBrian Ferto and McCartan (that they would, at the arrival of Sir Arthur Chichester to Carrickfergus, come in), hath given charge to Brian McArt McBaron, whom he hath placed over the South Clandeboy (where Neill is with 300 shot), not to suffer Neill to speak with any Englishman, and to take his pledges for his service to him. He hath in like sort appointed Magennis over McCartan, whom Magennis carrieth with him in his own company with all his creaghts, so that he may not be spoken withal, either by myself, or by any man that I had there to send. Nevertheless, I sent a woman to Neill McBrian Ferto (because a man should have been suspected), by whom he sent me word that if Tyrone's shot were gone out of his town into the country he would come to speak with me where I would appoint at the seaside; but I was advertised that he was so waited on that he could neither send to me, nor I hear from him."

3. "You shall make diligent enquiry in what part of Tyrone the traitor his treasure (together with his great pledges, the sons of Shane O'Neill) are kept, and under what guard, and the qualities of the places."

"I do not find by such intelligence as lately hath been delivered to me, that he hath had as yet any store of treasure at all from the Pope or the King of Spain (as was supposed) for the common cause. But this that is now come, in the two ships lately arrived at Lough Foyle with munition, is assured me to be sent from the King of Spain. And Tyrone went from Dungannon to Lough Foyle about it, whither he sent for Sir James McSorley to come to him, O'Donnell also being there, where Tyrone and O'Donnell fell into some contention about the receiving of the said munition and treasure, Tyrone challenging the disposal of the whole, as Chief and General of the common service, and O'Donnell claiming as great a right in it as he, being, as he affirmed, as deeply engaged therein as he. In the end the assembly there (by the mediation of an Irish Bishop from Rome with them) overruled the absolute disposition of the whole for Tyrone. As for Shane O'Neill his sons,



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these his great pledges are kept in an island in Tyrone within a certain Lough called Lough Inselinn, within the great fastnesses of the country called Killelewtre."

4. "You shall learn what aid Tyrone doth expect out of Spain, or else out of Scotland, and when he looketh for them."

"It is commonly given out that there are seventeen Spanish ships at sea, but with what number of Spanish soldiers is not certain; which ships (I am credibly certified by a priest of the Clandeboys) were sent for Galway, and in them 1,500 Spaniards. I was further certified by a redshank (a follower of the Lord of Cantire) that the 15th day of May last past, 1599, Tyrone sent a gentleman with a letter to Donnell Gorme, a great Lord of the Out Isles, to move him to serve him against the English, and to be advertised from himself what number of redshanks he could furnish him with, for which he should receive his pay beforehand; also, that O'Donnell hath at this instant another for him there amongst them, for the same purpose, and both of them treat in like sort with the sons of McLane, whose father this last year was slain by Angus McConnell; and therefore the McLanes have refused to serve on that side on which McConnell shall be entertained. As for Angus McConnell himself, this his follower assured me that he was at that time in hand with the Scottish King for justice (as was pretended) in the behalf of the McLanes, for the murder of their father; but the Scot told me that they all in Cantire did conceive it to be done by the said King in regard of the special favour that he beareth to Sir James McSorley, and at his suit. Yet the sons of Angus McConnell could be contented to serve O'Donnell, because O'Donnell's mother is sister to their father, aunt to them, and so they cousins german to him. But Tyrone they hate, in regard that two ways he hath injured their father; one, in countenancing their deadly enemy, Sir James McSorley, in withholding from him the Glynnns, for the which Angus McConnell hath Her Majesty's patent (which he greatly insisteth upon), the other, in that Tyrone had betrothed himself to Angus McConnell's daughter, and nevertheless married his wife that now is, Magennis's sister; which dishonour the sons of Angus have sworn by all means to endeavour the revenge of. As for Spaniards, they look that they will be sent them, but Tyrone will none of them for Ulster, but hath earnestly solicited in Spain (by one sent thither this last winter of purpose) to have 3[000] or 4,000 sent for Munster, and Galway in Connaught; which are told me to be the seventeen ships now upon the coast of Galway, only with 1,500 men as aforesaid; and further that a Frenchman, called *Petite Ognette*, came the last week into Strangford, with wine, salt, iron, and some powder, unto Brian McCart and Magennis, which are now in camp in the Lésser Ardes with 900 shot, 300 targeteers, and 240 horse."

5. "You shall take care, during your being on that coast, that no Scots' boats or barks, or others, shall enter into any harbour or creek, between the Red Bay and the Bay of Dundrum, with victuals and munition for the use of the rebel."

"The channel betwixt Galloway in Scotland and that part of

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Ireland is so narrow, and the tides so strong, that it is impossible in summer to keep the Scots from landing on that coast, or from entering with their rowing boats and gallies, *malgré* all the shipping of barks and pinnaces that can be brought, which only stir with wind and sails. But the only vessels to keep that coast, and the entry of the rivers and harbours upon the same, and to keep the Scottish galleys from landing their men on those parts, were two galleys with 20 oars on a side, and that would carry one saker and one falconet in her prow; the same to lie at the Raghlin. They would be carvel built and not clinchar, 14 foot a piece at the beam, and 44 by the keel, at the least. There passed into the river of Strangford, as also into the Bay of Dundrum, the 15th of this month of June, 1599, sundry Scottish boats and barks with munition, morions, and swords (as it is publicly there talked), which Brian McArt McBaron and Magennis furnished their men withal. With such two galleys before specified, I would undertake to cut off this traffic and intercourse of Scotland, which is the only nursery of all the traitors' means, both for munition out of Dansk and men out of Scotland, to continue these rebellions, which a fleet of ships, barks, or pinnaces will never be able to do."

6. "You shall endeavour to learn what forces Tyrone hath upon his own pay, and what number of men his combiners and neighbours are charged with, and of every particularity to inform me within fourteen days, either by sea or land, as shall be meetest and safest."

"Tyrone had, at the date thereof, in Lecale, and the Clandeboys, and the Route, three camps, viz.: one under Magennis in Lecale, McCartan, the Captain of Kilwarlin, the Slaughte McO'Neills, and the Captain of the Dufferin, of 1,000 foot and 140 horse; a second in the Great Ardes, with the forces of South Clandeboy, in the command of Brian McArt, 600 shot, 200 targeteers, and 120 horse; a third at Clanarum, under the command of Sir James McSorley and Shane McBrian, 800 foot, most shot, and 140 horse, both horse and shot very good. But, when Tyrone shall draw all these together with O'Donnell's forces, O'Cahan, O'Reilly, McMahon, O'Kelly, and his own particular followers of Tyrone (besides O'Rourke), his gross will be 9,000 foot, 1,400 horse. Also I am credibly informed that the greatest strengths that he doth assure himself to be able to draw forth the wars [with] into an unmeasurable length (with which he hopeth to tire out England), shall be the great fastnesses of Tyrone, the great fights that he prepareth to make at Lough Foyle, the Blackwater, Ballenemoyrie, and in the mass of redshanks that are to come to O'Donnell, and to be at his direction, and so agreed upon amongst themselves (for that Tyrone dare not trust the chiefest of them, and therefore will not willingly have any numbers of them in Ulster); and that O'Donnell shall cess them all upon Connaught and Munster, and therefore they have agreed to send to the Earl of Argyle, who (if he be monied) is able of himself to send over 12,000 Scots, to entertain him with as many as he will send, so as they will give in pledges that they shall take their cess upon the provinces before specified (that is to say), Connaught, Munster, and Leinster; and now that they have money out of Spain, the bruit thereof will doubtless make a great



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inundation of those beggars, if speedily good courses be not entered into for the same, which must and can be but only by two means: the one is, by two such galleys as before mentioned, speedily to be set out; and the other, by entertaining these three great Lords before mentioned, which his Lordship may yet assuredly do, viz., Donnell Gorme, Lord of Jura, the sons of Angus McConnell, and the sons of McLane. The use of which must be resolutely this; upon a sudden, whilst Tyrone and O'Donnell shall be quartering their forces to encounter his Lordship's several armies on the parts where they look for them, that is to say, at Lough Foyle (where Tyrone prepareth mighty resistance, both by horse and foot, and by intrenchments, whereof he hath made many, and daily employeth the country in the workers of them), at Ballyshannon, and at the Blackwater, he having first belaboured the army at the Ballenemoyrie, where he presumeth to make some of the better sort to drop and to fall off with his when he listeth to the Blackwater, there to be ready with the same men afresh, to renew his fights upon his advantages prepared there; his Lordship then (when he least thinketh) to enter upon him with 4,000 Scots, in the heart of all his greatest fastnesses of Tyrone, by the ford of Tewme in Killewre amongst 4,000 cows; which fastnesses also they may sit down in and ensconce themselves there, having taken his cows, before he and all his can turn themselves to stop any part of that breach, which that furious and unlooked-for battery shall have made upon his strongest rampier; having such a kennel of hungry, starved hounds at his heels to break their main herd, and to enter his park and royal chase of Dungannon; being therewithal to have them so nigh neighbours unto him, as once in fourteen hours at their pleasures to attend his stirrup at his own gates, which will course him and his firmest followers more ways than one."

7. "Lastly, whereas we have appointed Captain Thornton to go for those parts, our pleasure is, that upon your meeting with him that (*sic*) you hold good correspondency together, and, if you have intelligence of any ship or bark on that coast, which you are not able yourself to deal withal, to advertise him or any of the rest of Her Majesty's pinnaces, who shall assist you for the taking of any ship, bark, or galley that is for the rebel, and of all these particularities afore specified you shall advertise Sir Ralph Lane within fourteen days at Dublin, whom we have commanded to certify us with all expedition. And for your doings herein, as also for other specialities before specified, these our instructions, under our hand and signet, shall be, as well to yourself as others, whom it may concern, sufficient warrant. Given at Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin, this 9th of May, 1599."

"Finding the boats of Strangford seized upon by Magennis, and none of Her Majesty's pinnaces upon that coast, only Captain Thornton, who in truth was passed further northwards than (the wind hanging southerly) he could turn up; and, furthermore, having got this assured intelligence of Tyrone's present treaty with the Scots for men; I thought my voyage well made, and my best service for the knitting up of it with my best expedition, according to my instruction to advertise your worship of it."



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Urges the employment of the 4,000 Scots. Lord Burgh was satisfied of the desirability thereof, notwithstanding the objections that were raised as to the difficulty of getting them to go back again to their country. Sends Essex drafts of the letters prepared for Lord Burgh's signature to Angus McConnell and Donnell Gorme, only altering the former from the father to his sons, as Angus McConnell (then at liberty) is now in prison, and the sons hold his command. Reminds his Lordship that, upon the first message sent by Lord Burgh into the Out Isles, they mustered 3,800 men in one day, and 1,200 on another, the 26th of August, 1597, all of whom would have come over, by the contract, at the end of September following, had not Lord Burgh fallen sick the same month, and died on October 13 at Newry. Tyrone and O'Donnell were so afraid of this plot, of which they had perfect intelligence, and which they found no way to prevent, that O'Donnell's mother, who was sister to Angus McConnell, was herself sent over to entreat her brother not to come over, and offered him, both in the behalf of her sons his nephews, as of Tyrone, a very great contribution, as well for his followers as for himself, to stay at home. But his answer was, that he desired nothing more than revenge upon Tyrone for many injuries, which he had then done him, whereunto he had added another, in his last marriage with the sister of Magennis. So all the grace his sister could obtain of him was, that he would spare O'Donnell and his, if they were not in company with Tyrone. Particulars of Lord Burgh's contract with the Scots. As for the cessing of the septs in the several countries, thinks the same distribution as before might be made, viz., the sons of Angus McConnell and their men upon the Route, the Glynns, and North Clondeboy, where are their particular enemies, Sir James McSorley and his brethren, between whom there will be no sparing of killing; Donnell Gorme and his followers upon Iveagh, Magennis's country, Killultagh, Kilwarlin, and Killelerto; and the McLanes upon South Clondeboy and Dufferin.

If Essex be pleased to use the service of the Lord of Skilmerlye in Scotland, he lately sent word to Sir Ralph Lane that he would for Her Majesty's pay, within ten days' warning, bring to Carrickfergus 100 or 200 horsemen well appointed; "and I assure your worship [*i.e.*, Sir Ralph Lane] 200 horsemen of their sufficiency will be able to perform more service, and will follow the same for their greediness of spoil, more to the gall of the rebel, than 400 of the best horse that England can afford, except [those of] the borders of Scotland, which cannot be spared from thence."

*Here follow the drafts of the letters which it is proposed Essex should send to the sons of Angus McConnell and to Donnell Gorme.* In the first, addressed to James Oge McAngus and Angus Oge McAngus, Chief Commanders of Cantire and Islay, acknowledgment is made of their readiness to serve Her Majesty against the rebels of Ulster. Captain J. C. is sent to confer with the sons, and the paymaster at Carrickfergus will pay such sums as are agreed upon. When their service is performed, Essex will be ready to put them in possession of the Glynns again, according to the tenor of their

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father's patent, and will be a suitor to the Queen to write to the King of Scotland for their father's enlargement. For further particulars, the sons are referred to Captain J. C. and John Lugge, of Carrickfergus. In the second letter, that to Donnell Gorme, acknowledgment is made that his grandfather had served Henry VIII. in his French wars, as a Colonel of 1,200 foot, and that Donnell himself is willing to serve the Queen against the rebels of Ulster. Essex has therefore authorised Captain J. C. to confer with Donnell for the raising of a regiment of 2,000 of his followers for the Ulster wars. The paymaster at Carrickfergus has order to deliver such sums of money as are agreed upon. The letter is addressed to "Donnell Gorme McConnell, Chief Lord of Jura and of the Out Isles of Scotland."

*Here follow the instructions to be given by Essex to "Captain J. C. and John Lugge, of Carrickfergus, sent into Cantire and the Out Islands of Scotland,"* for the levying of Scots from the above chiefs and McLane. From the sons of Angus McConnell, 2,000; from Donnell Gorme, 2,000; and from McLane as many as he is able to furnish. The pay to be 300*l.* sterling a month for each 1,000 men, their victuals to come from the countries on which they shall be cessed, and, after the first month, their pay also from the said countries. One half of the preys taken from the rebels to go to the Scots, the other half to Her Majesty's use. None of the protected in Ulster to be preyed. The sons of Angus McConnell and also Donnell Gorme to put in pledges for the same, and for departing when they are commanded to return home.

Captain J. C. recommends that Sir Ralph Lane be sent to Carrickfergus, and there, jointly with Sir Arthur Chichester, see the conditions of "the contract with the redshanks" performed. The McLanes will be readier to do Her Majesty service upon Sir Ralph's motion, because of his name.—[1599, June.] *pp.* 13.

July 1.  
The Camp.

101. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "By this journal which I send herewith [*wanting, but from the endorsement we learn it was the journal of his proceedings, from 22 June to July 1: see Carew Calendar, under date, Vol. III., pp.* 308-312], your Lordships shall be able to inform Her Majesty and yourselves of my course and success in the later end of my voyage; which I haste to send, as well to give your Lordships the account I owe of my proceedings, with the soonest (*sic*), as also that, this principal duty being performed, I may the more freely attend to the disposing of the army, to the hearing of all such causes as shall be fit to be ordered at my return, and to the recovery of my former health and strength (which, by my continual toil, hath been somewhat impaired), if at least I may find any time for it. The only gloss I can make upon the plain and true text I send, is this, that if so much hath not here been performed, as is there by Her Majesty expected, either it hath been because she made choice of an insufficient minister, or else because it hath pleased her to match him with a weak and insufficient Council. For I may boldly protest that I have not failed to execute that which either myself could conceive, or what was remonstrated to me by my fellows, to be for



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the advancement of Her Majesty's service. But, as I ever said, I ever must say; I provided for this service a plastron and not a curate; that is, I am armed on the breast, but not on the back. I armed myself with confidence that rebels in so unjust a quarrel could not fight so well as we would in a good. Howbeit, if the rebels shall once come to know that I am wounded in the back, not lightly, but to the heart (as, I fear me, they have too true and too quick advertisements of this kind), then what will be their pride and the State's hazard, your Lordships in your wisdoms may easily discern. Pardon, I beseech your Lordships, this short and idle letter. At my return to Dublin, when I shall have received Her Majesty's and your Lordships' further pleasure, and shall have settled my distempered brains, I will make amends for this want."

[*Postscript.*] "In passing by Enniscorthy and Ferns, I gave order to the Seneschal, and to his brother Captain Henry Masterson (who commands the six companies left in garrison at Enniscorthy) that in case they found by their espials that Donnell Spainagh joined his forces with the rest of the Leinster rebels, and attended on me as I marched, then they should take that opportunity to burn and spoil his country; which I doubt not they have done, both because they had a very fit time, and because this morning a messenger told me, upon his own knowledge, that, as he passed, he saw many of his villages burning. The particulars I have not yet received, only thus much in general I thought good to acquaint your Lordships with."—From the Camp, July 1. *Endorsed*, 1599. Received at Greenwich the 7th, by one Greene. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 2.  
Dublin.

102. The Council in Ireland to the Privy Council. Received on June 29 their Lordships' letters of May 31, imputing some slackness to them in advertising during the Lord Lieutenant's absence from Dublin. Hope their Lordships are fully satisfied now by their letters of June 2 and June 19. The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the matter of the corrupt cheese have not yet perfected their certificate, but are now in hand to do it, when it shall forthwith be sent over.

"We have received very certain advertisement that, the 29th of the last, Sir John Shelton, having charge of the garrison of Ardes, together with eight or ten horsemen of the same place, riding out to rescue a prey, were slain by the rebels of the North, who, likewise, have yesterday made an incursion into Westmeath, taking away the prey of some subjects there. But for the proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant in his long journey in Munster, and now in his return through the county of Wexford and those parts of Leinster, we forbear to write anything thereof (having no certainty of matter) until his Lordship's own return, which we hear will be within two or three days, his Lordship being come yesterday within three miles of Wicklow, in the Byrnes' country."—Dublin, 1599, July 2. *Endorsed*, Received the 6th, at Greenwich. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 2.  
Dublin.

103. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your packet of the 28th of the last, I received the first of this month, by the post of Holyhead, and do retain it with myself till the return of the



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Lord Lieutenant, who will be here within three days, as his Lordship writeth. I dare not adventure to send it to his Lordship, as well for the danger of the ways, as for the charge you gave me in your letter to deliver it to his own hands. His Lordship is now in the Byrnes' country, where he hath a good mind to take some revenge of the late dishonourable blow given by the offal of Feagh McHugh to the garrison of Wicklow, and to attempt those rogues in their fastness, where they have plashed the passes, and made all the strongest preparations they can devise. At his Lordship's return it is like Her Majesty and your Lordships will be thoroughly advertised of all proceedings in Munster, which but by his Lordship cannot be truly signified, for that those matters are not known here otherwise than by report, which is too uncertain to transmit to your Honour with any credit.

"The two Spanish ships lately arrived in O'Donnell's country are returned for Spain the 13th of the last, having left behind them some powder and arms, but no money nor men, as I am written to. Tyrone giveth out that, upon the coming back of those two ships, a great force of Spaniards shall be sent for Ireland, to descend at Limerick and Galway, upon which confidence he hath written to all his traitorous confederates to stand firm in their revolt, assuring them of speedy support from the Spaniards, but I hope these hopes of Spain will prove frivolous and vain, as many others in the late former years have done, specially if some of Her Majesty's ships of war be at sea, to lay for the coming of the Spanish fleet."—Dublin, 1599, July 2. *Signed.* p. 1.

July 5.  
Youghal.

104. Sir John Brooke to Sir Robert Cecil. Thought good to acquaint him with the success of the forces in Munster, especially since the coming of the Lord Lieutenant. All matters before that were of no very great importance, and, if they were, have been fully made known to Sir Robert.

"At my Lord Lieutenant's coming to Kilkenny, your Honour shall understand he sent for the Lord President of Munster, unto whom he gave order to meet him forthwith, with the forces of that Province, at Limerick. Hereupon the forces of Munster were drawn incontinently into the field; where, being advanced so far as Kilmallock, about two or three miles thence, we fell [in] with certain companies of the rebels, and fought with them; the order of which fight was this. Mine own fortune was to command the vanguard that day's march. This was the occasion that my troop advanced itself somewhat before the rest of the army, and thereupon came first to discover the enemy. They were to the number of two hundred foot at least, three parts of them pikes. After we had chased them the space of four miles, we fell [in] with them upon the entrance of a bog. The fashion of the place was this. Between us and them was a bank of a yard and a half high, which defended them: before them was the marsh. This gave them either courage or necessity to turn upon us, and to make a short stand; yet, being commanded by the Lord President, I went up with the troop and brake them, being amazed with the terror of the horse, with which kind of fight they had not been yet

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acquainted. We had the execution of them so far as firm ground lasted, which was some eighteen score (*sic*). About threescore of them were slain in the field, many perished in the bog in our own sight, either through their hurts or through their own weight. Scarce any man went away without hurt, as was afterwards confessed; and many of ours hurt also in following the execution. Scarce any horse without some wipe or other; mine own horse thrust through the neck with a pike; my Lord President himself hurt in the face, and divers others hurt of the common soldier. This I thought good at more length to advertise your Honour of, as one of the best successes we have had here in Munster since these forces arrived here. After which, within two days, we joined with my Lord Lieutenant's forces at Limerick. Thence the army marched to Askeaton to relieve it, and in the way was continually skirmished with by the rebel upon their advantages; but with no loss at all on our side, save only that Sir Henry Norreys was by them unfortunately shot, whereby he lost his leg, and Captain Jennings mortally shot. The same manner of skirmishing the enemy held during all our march afterward through Munster, till the army came to part (*sic*) at Dungarvan; in which journey Sir Henry Davers was shot in the face, and else no hurt taken, all this way and while my Lord Lieutenant withholding the soldier from doing any manner [of] outrage or spoil upon the country, thereby the rather to win them to accept of Her Majesty's so mild and gracious government, which, notwithstanding, hath so little good wrought in the minds of this rebellious race, that not any man of mark among them, save only the Lord Burgh his brother, hath submitted himself to authority since my Lord's coming into those parts. So little hope there is left that any of them will now come in, that he is gone."—Youghal, 1599, July 5.

[*Postscript.*] "My Lord Lieutenant hath not performed so much as he promised me, touching the giving me a foot company, whereby I remain rather hindered than preferred by this bare command of fifty horse, which is much inferior to the command I have had before, besides the disgrace of holding it barely, without foot. Yet do I mean to expect the performance of his promises in this kind till Michaelmas, although altogether out of hope thereof, in regard of his carriage here toward me since his coming into Muuster, whereof I thought good likewise to advertise your Honour." *Signed.* pp. 2.

July 9.

105. The Privy Council to Sir Francis Darcy. Want in the number of the men mustered at Chester. Defects in their armour and weapons. Desertions from their ranks. Volunteers in Chester ready to supply the place of the deserters and of the sick soldiers. Authorise the employment of such. In view of divers abuses that have been committed, the "impotent and unmeet persons" are, in public and open view, to be visited and dismissed, without any payment. The Mayor of Chester has been instructed to supply the defects in the men's armour and weapons, and they will see the charge repaid by the counties responsible for the same. Wish him all success.—1599, July 9. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 168, 168 b.* *Copy.* pp. 1½.



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July 10.  
Greenwich.

106. The Privy Council to the Treasurer at Wars [Sir George Carey], the Mustermaster [Sir Ralph Lane], and the Comptroller of the Victuals [George Beverley]. Severely censure them for their not sending timely declarations and certificates of defalcations, considering their continual receipts, and hearing their daily demands. Essex's travail both of mind and body. Authorise the expenditure of 300*l.* on storehouses for victual. Will give that sum to their men, who are hastening over with another month's treasure. Her Majesty has agreed to a sum of 2,199*l.*, for the revictualling of the ships serving on the Irish coast. Concerning the making of biscuit in Ireland, and the supply of the garrisons.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, July 10. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 168 b-169 b. *Copy. pp. 2.*

July 10.  
[Greenwich.]

107. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. "Having now received, since your Lordship came to Waterford, a despatch by Mr. Gibbon, your servant, with an exact Journal of all your proceedings, since the taking of the Castle of Cahir, and by another packet of yours, brought by one Green from Arklow, the like relation how you have forced your passage towards Dublin through the heart of the rebels' country, with honour and safety to Her Majesty's army, we perceive in both how well your Lordship hath surmounted all the practices and dangers, which were prepared for you by such force as the rebels have, which is so doubled by the situation of their countries, that they do thereby continually save themselves, whiles Her Majesty's army, that is bound to another kind of proceeding, is subject to all extremities. For answer whereof, we had thought by this letter only to have welcomed your Lordship to Dublin, with congratulation of your safe return, and with thanks for your particular information, whereby we receive so great contentment. But forasmuch as, by some clauses in your letters, we do find your Lordship not so well satisfied in the correspondence which you have, or shall receive, from us, as we do know you have cause, and shall have, in all things incident to the service, according to the agreement before your departure; although we have often signified unto your Lordship by our letters, and made it apparent unto you, by the fruits of our continual cares, how much we have judged it to concern Her Majesty in honour and safety, to accomplish all the parts and points of the project, resolved and agreed on for suppression of that rebellion, when you departed hence; yet, both for our own discharge, and out of [the] desire which we have always had to prevent all such occasions as may trouble that mind of yours, which ought to be freed from any such anxiety (considering what heavy charge your Lordship doth sustain), we are thereby enforced briefly to renew again unto your Lordship, in what sort we have given you continual satisfaction, from time to time, for all that was agreed and resolved on; and do very heartily pray your Lordship that, if any cause be given you to note defects in anything which is done by us, belonging to this public service, that (*sic*) you will explain the same, whereby we may either satisfy your Lordship in those your doubts, or (if anything be mistaken by us), we may take order [that] the same may



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be either reformed upon better notice, or else that your Lordship will change your mistrusts into assurance to receive all that can be expected by your Lordship from us, either in regard of our duty to our Sovereign (who hath graciously recommended to our care the carriage of all these things that concern Her Majesty's service in that kingdom), or in good respect to yourself, Her Majesty's public minister, and a principal member of this table."

The large supplies they have furnished of victuals. Beverley thinks ready money for the same would be more profitable for the present. Wait to hear Essex's opinion. Have sent the 3,000 swords and the 200 horse for carriage asked for, though these were beyond the compass of the project. The merchants have been long since paid for the whole quantity of the apparel, and the same has been sent by them into Ireland. The 2,000 men at Chester awaiting favourable weather to cross over. Essex has already had five months' full pay [for the army], and the sixth is at present in telling to the Treasurer's Deputy. If the due defalcations have been made, a round sum must needs remain in his hands towards the payment of the army for a long time. Yet the Privy Council make no stay of the six months' pay for any such respect. "Thus it seemeth unto us that your Lordship hath from hence been armed with such a sound and sufficient backpiece of defence behind you as we know you bear, and God and so just a quarrel standing for your defence, we cannot doubt but that all good and prosperous success will follow, even to Her Majesty's contentation, and all our earnest desires."

Strictures on the lack of advertisements from the Council at Dublin. "For lack thereof, we are forced to walk in darkness, where, contrariwise, if they had not been so remiss, we might have made great use of their correspondency." Entreat Essex to use his authority over the Council. The grants for storehouses, and for the revictualling of the ships. The making of biscuit in Ireland. The further month's pay for the army.

"Lastly, where Her Majesty findeth by your Lordship's report how honourably the Earl of Ormonde hath assisted you in these services, with the hazard of his own person, we are commanded to wish your Lordship in Her Majesty's name to give him thanks, being no less than she hath ever expected at his hands."—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, July 10. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 169 b-171 b. Copy. pp. 4.*

July 12.  
Dublin.

108. Sir Henry Harrington to Sir Robert Cecil. "My Lord Lieutenant, soon after his arrival here, dispersed the army into several parts of the realm, appointing such commanders as to his Lordship seemed fit for the prosecution of the service, amongst which it pleased his Lordship to appoint me for one, to garrison at Wicklow, a marine town within my government of the Byrnes, where I was promised to have 700 foot and 50 horse, of which 300 should have been old companies, his Lordship taking a journey into Munster, from whence he returned not in eight weeks, and left with me but four new companies, and Captain Adam Loftus his company of foot, who were all Irish, and most of them lately come

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from the rebels; myself without either horse or foot, or any penny of entertainment. After I had settled all things in the garrison that were fit, partly to refresh the soldiers, and exercise them with the order of a camp, and to confront the enemy, and for some other reasons for service, I drew them towards the rebels' country, into the plain, some five miles; where, understanding of all the rebels in those parts gathering ahead against me, the next day I rose to march homewards, the rebels lodging not two miles from me. As soon as our men was (*sic*) on foot, they came after me. We had not marched a mile, but their shot overtook us, and entertained skirmish with us the space of two miles, which we lightly put off with our horse and loose wings, without the loss of any one man. The rebels' battle, consisting [of] about 200 pikes and targeteers, crossed all alongest (*sic*) a bog, the nearest way to get a ford in our highway before us; which I perceiving, took with me forty or fifty musketeers, and possessed the ford, and lodged the shot at rest very conveniently in a strait of the highway, giving them direction not to discharge all at once, but by parts as they saw the rebels approach. Our battle and horse being somewhat far off, and the rebels still coming on, I sent to them to march somewhat faster, not only that they might without trouble pass the ford, but that the horse might be most conveniently placed to charge, and also that the foot might recover the rising of a hill beyond the strait, where they might stand in battle, and fittest to send seconds to the rear, where I had appointed most of the commanders to be. But some loose men of the rebels coming up before their battle, above twelve score, all our shot in the rear shot off at once, and so instantly threw away their pieces. Most of our men in the rear, being of Captain Loftus [s] company, fled a contrary way. At this instant, also, Captain Loftus his lieutenant, long before having (unknown to me) quit his place, came up to his Captain's colours, and ran away with them on horseback towards Wicklow. All his pikes, that were in the battle therewith, brake their ranks, and fled with him; which so disordered the battle, and possessed our new men with such fear, as, with all that ever I or their Captains could do, could never make one of them once to turn his face towards the rebels; notwithstanding that our horse, that were in the rear, charged twice between both battles, whereby they won our men breath, and ground enough to have better resolved. But they rather took that as an opportunity to strip themselves, not only of their weapons, but clothes; all which course of their cowardness (*sic*) is sufficiently proved, not only by the several depositions of the Captains, but by trial of the most orderly and solemn martial court that my Lord Lieutenant had called upon it, and [by the] execution done, not only upon the lieutenant, but on divers other soldiers, for the same; who in their baseness practising amongst themselves, one of them, in hope by some excuse to save his life by imputing fault in me (as is confessed by some of them since), should say at his death that he ran not until I bid him shift for himself, but the time and place being duly examined, was sufficiently proved could not be; and where the original cause of this overthrow began, is at large set down in these several reports of the Captains there present, which I here-



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withal send your Honour. Yet am I committed, and remain a prisoner with the Marshal, never as yet called in question, or anything objected by my Lord Lieutenant against me; not doubting now but his Lordship hath so judicially heard this cause, what of all sides is to be charged, as I shall be restored to his favour, which is as much as I desire; for, as I am without entertainment, I will so hold me. After thirty years' service, to have this for a farewell, is a just punishment laid upon me. My desire was to have performed a better day's service, which had been, if our men would have stood. I hear that Her Majesty is mightily informed against me. I doubt not but God will raise me some honourable friend, to move her Highness in my behalf. I ever depended upon my Lord your father, since I was twenty years old, and now on yourself. If I free not myself of any imputation that I shall be charged withal for this matter, let me never have your Honour's favour; humbly beseeching that you, with the rest of my good Lords of the Council, will write your honourable letters hither for my enlargement, without further disgrace, which I shall account as your Honour's most especial good favour to me."—Dublin, 1599, July 12. *Endorsed, Received the 18th, at Greenwich. Signed. Seal.* pp. 2. *Encloses,*

108. 1. "*The true discourse of the service at Wicklow,*" by Captain Atherton. "*Monday, being the 28 of May, Sir Henry Harrington, being Commander at Wicklow, drew out the garrison, being the regiment of Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, namely, his own company, Captain Loftus his company, Captain Mallory his company, Captain Linley his company, Captain Wardman his company, and Captain Montague his horse, leaving a convenient ward in the Church, where the store of munition and victual lay. And thus drawing our men into order of march, the strength of foot consisting [of] 400 and 50 (sic) at the most, and 50 horse, we marched directly towards Ranelagh. When we had marched but six miles, Sir Henry and the horse, being in the vanguard, chose out a place to encamp in, where our baggage was unladen, and our battle came in, and encamped, about some 2 or 3 of the clock. The place of our camp was a mile, or something better, from the passage into the Ranelagh, upon which ford the rebels had fortified. Sir Henry Harrington, being desirous to discover their fortification and their strength, caused our horse to be made ready, and 100 foot, but being otherwise advertised by some of the country, the foot stayed in arms on the other side of the bog. So he, going with the horse very near the place, discovered little or nothing, but returned presently to the camp. And drawing towards evening, we placed our guards to our best advantage, and expecting an alarum, placed double 'centernells' [sentinels] on the bog, with a strong guard near them. Our scout of horse being out, about eleven of the clock came in to give intelligence; but the enemy, coming almost as soon as they, gave the alarum with a volley of shot into our market place; but, it being assured, they retired, and not long after came again with the like alarum, but stayed not long. Which when we saw, we strengthened our guards, and the rest retreated to their colours. In the morning, about 8 of the clock, Sir Henry Harrington, yet desirous to take a better view of the foot, commanded the horse-*



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men to be ready. And being asked what foot he would have, he said none but Morrogh McTeig's kern, and 20 of Captain Loftus his shot; which being made ready, they went on, all the Captains going with him, but Captain Wardman and myself. And having given order to every Captain to be in readiness upon any occasion, Captain Wardman and I went to my cabin, where we sat talking. In the meantime, Captain Loftus his ensign drew out some 40 men on the other side of the bog, opposite against the horse, which (sic) at last a soldier came and told of all news. Whereof (sic) we went forth, and seeing them gone a pretty way, and, not knowing whether there had been any further direction given by Sir Henry Harrington, we let them go, knowing they could not pass but in his sight. Which when he saw, he sent a horseman to me to know whether I had sent them, or no, and to send for them back. I sent both that horseman and a footman of their own company. Presently came their Lieutenant riding from Sir Henry, as I thought, with an intent to call them back. And then Sir Henry himself coming into the camp, I met him, and told him that, if ensigns, or any other officer, might take men abroad at their pleasures, it would breed a great disorder. He said it should be punished, where the fault was so found. The horseman which I sent overtaking the ensign, they began to return, but their Lieutenant, coming to them, took some six, or thereabouts, of them, and sent them over the bog, staying himself at the bog's side; the rest came towards us. Some of the Captains, perceiving the going of the men over the bog, demanded of me what it might mean, considering I was sent to call them back. I shewed Sir Henry of it, who was very angry with the Lieutenant, and protested he would lay him by the heels. But his Captain went down to him himself, and the men, having been over the bog, came to their Lieutenant again, and so they came away. The soldiers being coming (sic) towards us, the rebels shewed themselves on the hill over against them. Whereupon the Lieutenant alighted, and went to the midst of the bog, and the Captain he stayed at the bog side. The Lieutenant called to the rebels, and they to him, but it was so far from us, as we could not hear what was said. He stayed not long, but came away. I asked Captain Loftus the cause of their stay, and he told me that it was to have spoken with one Owen Gravie. This Owen had been his soldier, and ran away with some of his company. And I must needs confess that Captain Loftus had told me, a day before, that he heard that Owen Gravie was willing to come in himself, and all his fellows; and that, if we did go abroad, he would get leave of Sir Henry to parley with him, and so, if he could, bring him in. These were Captain Loftus his speeches to me many times, but when they returned into the camp, Sir Henry called me to him, and said that he had certain intelligence that the rebels were drawing all their forces together, and that night they met. Therefore he meant to rise, and to lodge more conveniently and nearer to Wicklow. Whereupon I gave order to the Captains to make ready, and presently drew out all the foot, and put them in order of march, while our baggage was a loading. And it being loaden (sic), I sent Captain Linley his Lieutenant before it, with some 50 shot and some horse, we being

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certain of no danger in the vanguard. In the vanguard of our shot, which were in the battle, leaded [led] Captain Linley himself, and a Lieutenant leading in the second division; next him Captain Ratcliff led in the head of the pikes, and another officer leading in the next division of pikes. Captain Loftus his Lieutenant led in the vanguard of the shot in the rear, a serjeant leading a second division of shot after him, so that upon any occasion they might draw into battle. In the rear of all was (sic) Captain Mallory and Captain Wardman. Captain Mallory his Lieutenant had 50 men in the rear of our battle, Captain Loftus his two serjeants leading either of them a wing of shot, where I still kept, Sir Henry and Captain Montague, with the rest of the horse, keeping in the rear of us. And thus we marched from our camp one mile, before they entertained any skirmish with us at all, but made what haste they could to overtake us. We, having gained a wood, thought but a little on it, as I thought, and no doubt it was the greatest strength we had. This wood stood on a high hill, with a step to descend to a foul ford. There the shot overtook our rear, but, our baggage and battle being passed (sic) the ford, I commanded Captain Linley, who had the vanguard of the battle, to draw into the battle on the other side of the ford, and to stand till our horse and the rest of our foot had passed the ford quietly. And our loose shot behaving themselves well, with our battle marched on. Our shot increased, we strengthened our rear, and so the skirmish was maintained the space of two miles, our horse charging now and then, as the ground would afford, myself being still with the last of our loose shot, bringing them off and on, as occasion served for our best advantage. On my faith and credit, there was not one bullet come near our battle in all this skirmish; but now, we drawing near to another ford and strait, Sir Henry being all this time in the rear of the battle, I went unto him, and desired that some of the vanguard might make good the ford for the safer passage of our main battle, and also that he would send some powder and bullets to me in the rear, which he went and saw done. The powder came to me, which I saw delivered to all the loose shot, considering the skirmish was to be maintained.

"But perceiving their battle making all the haste they could possible to gain the ford, coming to the end all along one bog on our left hand, I went myself over the ford, both to view the ground, and also to be assured that the place were (sic) well guarded for the safer passing of our battle. Whither when I came, I found Sir Henry placing some 40 musketeers upon a ditch bank very convenient for the receiving of their battle, and also a little plot of ground without the ditch bank, serving well for our advantage. But perceiving their battle somewhat far off, I went over the ford again, passing the horse over before the battle for fear that they should grow to any disorder coming into the rear. Then our battle passed orderly, but yet methought somewhat too fast. But then perceiving the rebels' shot spent, by reason that many of them fell to the bog to their battle, I then put over all our loose shot and pikes, which were some 100, and came myself the last man over the ford. At which time, in my conscience, there was not one man of ours lost, then being over the ford, our battle passing a



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*narrow strait, but not long. I left at the ford a serjeant of Captain Loftus, with some shot and pikes, to maintain a skirmish with some straggling shot of theirs. Upon the left hand of the battle were some 40 or 50 muskets, lying at rest upon a ditch bank, betwixt our battle and the rebels. Upon the right hand of our battle were high furze and such [a] foul way, as they could not annoy us. Betwixt our musketeers and the rebels' battle, into the little plot of ground I spake of before, I went myself, taking with me three or four score men, being commanded by Captain Wardman his Lieutenant, Captain Mallory his Lieutenant, and Captain Loftus his Lieutenant. And having a purpose to charge the rebels, as they should come from the bog, I gave order to the musketeers not to shoot till I had charged; but they, contrary to that commandment, discharged before, and ran before our vanguard, having had direction to make good that place, and so to have fallen into the rear of our battle. The men with me being now come where we should have given charge upon the rebels' battle coming from the bog, their powder being spent, and our men having received munition but instantly before, at the very charge refused me, being very near the rebels' battle. For God is my witness, I saw not any that stayed, but only one of Captain Mallory's corporals, who called to me before, 'I thought they had been good,' and said, 'Retire, for they have all left you.' But I, returning back, did not only see those men with me run away, but also the shot in the vanguard and rear of our battle, and the pikes being left bare, thrusting one upon another's back, willing also to have been gone, but forced to stay by the Captain's great endeavour. The rebels, perceiving the great dismay of our men, made what haste possible they could, going along by the river side, to overtake the rear of our pikes, which are (sic) now passing in the strait. I, seeing this eminent danger, made all haste I could to recover the rear of our pikes, before our battle should come up, Captain Montague coming down to me with his horse. When we came into the rear, we found some of the rebels killing our men, they making no resistance, nor once turning their faces towards their enemies. Which, when we seeing (sic), we charged into the strait, forcing the rebels to retire to their battle, which was now come very near. I persuaded our men but to turn their faces, and it should be sufficient for their safety. But they never offered to turn nor speak, but, as men without sense or feeling, ran one upon another's back, it being not possible to break, by reason of the Captains, which endeavoured by all means to stay them, but all in vain. Then the rebels, perceiving all our shot gone, and seeing our pikes by no means would stand, charged me; where Captain Montague, seeing me engaged, and by no means likely to be recovered, charged in with some twelve horse or thereabouts. In which charge he received a horseman's staff in his side. This charge, I hope[d], would have been a cause to make our men turn, but was, as it proved, the cause of their sudden back-taking, which was done in an instant, the colours falling on the left hand amongst our horse. What then had been to be done (sic), considering there were some six or seven of those twelve horse hurt, I refer to the judgment of judicial men. Yet after this, Captain Montague brought off all the colours, and those foot that*



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came off."—[1599, July.] *Unsigned. Endorsed, "Captain Ather-ton, his report."* pp. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

108. II. *Report by Captain Mallory, on the overthrow near Wicklow.*

"Upon the 28th of May we were commanded by Sir Henry Harrington to rise from our garrison, and to march to a town six miles off, being within two miles or less of a fort, which was holden by the rebels upon a passage of the river of Ranelagh ["Randyllagh"], where we pitched our camp about two of the clock in the afternoon, without sight of any enemy as then (sic). Where, after we had rested a while, Sir Henry Harrington, being attended on by Captain Loftus, Captain Wardman, and the troop of horse, did ride forth, as they said, to discover the strength of a fort which the rebels did hold. And, for his safety, if need had required, there was commandment given to draw forth some certain, both pikes and shot, forth of the camp of Captain Loftus and Captain Wardman, to whom, if danger might fall, Sir Henry and his troop might have retired. Which commandment being done, yet much mistaken by the Captains, for that their officers did lead their men on the wrong side of a bog, so that neither horse nor foot could have relieved other; which ignorance our Commanders did greatly blame; after this we rested for that night, till it was about eleven o'clock, when the rebels gave us a hot alarm, and, within two hours after, one other alarm; both which was answered with good like of our Commander (sic). But in both these did neither Captain Loftus nor his Lieutenant shew themselves, either in answering skirmish or in making head to the market place of our camp; which I myself am able to justify, being [having been] commanded by the Serjeant-Major to keep that place myself. Where they were I know not. After this we did keep in arms till the watch was discharged.

"And the 29th of May, it pleased Sir Henry Harrington, about eight o'clock, to ride forth, better to discover the strength of the said fort, which the rebels hold (sic), being then attended on by Captain Loftus, Captain Linley, Captain Montague, and of (sic) myself, all on horseback; and Lieutenant Walsh, with twenty of his company on foot, and himself well mounted, did all in this sort attend Sir Henry Harrington. But coming near unto the place from whence we should have discovered the fort, there fell so great a storm of rain that it forced us to retire. When coming back again, Sir Henry Harrington and the rest did descry, on the far side of a bog, marching from the camp towards the rebels, about the number of three score or thereabouts, which upon perfect view were known to be Captain Loftus his men, led by their ensign, brother to Lieutenant Walsh. Sir Henry asking the cause of this, some would not, others could not satisfy him; wherefore he commanded the said Lieutenant to fetch them home again with speed. Which he seemed to do; for, being well horsed, in a short space he rode about the bog up to them, where his carriage was; then, at his coming to his ensign, he made some stay, and immediately he sent some ten or eleven soldiers into the midst of the said bog, where they, in the sight of the whole camp, did parley with the rebels. Himself did second those ten or eleven, and had conference with the same rebels himself. This sight did move

*Sir Henry Harrington to displeasure, and the rest [did] suspect him, being near kinsman to the chief of those rebels. This parley did he and his company continue, to the dislike of all that did see it. And to break off this parley, Captain Loftus himself did go to fetch him; where he gave some evil suspicion of his own behaviour; but being at the last, as I think, all of them retired, they made this answer to our Commander, that they were sent forth by their Lieutenant, and could shew no other cause. Whereupon commandment was given to every Captain to draw his men into arms, and to mount his carriage, to march home to our garrison. Which being done, and our men by our Serjeant-Major set in battle, we might descry coming towards us many loose shot from the rebels, and their battle following them. At which instant there came a messenger from the rebels to Sir Henry Harrington. What his message was, I know not, but I am certain it gave the rebels such opportunity, as they came so near us, that we had not marched a mile, but they fell in skirmish with the rear, and so continued for the space of three miles and more. All which was answered by our shot, to the great contentment of our Commanders, and the great hope to us all of a fortunate day, being relieved so often as the ground would conveniently serve for (sic), by Captain Montague and his troop of horse.*

*"In this march many disorders grew in the rear of our battle, occasioned through the absence of Captain Loftus and his Lieutenant, who both did quit that place which our Serjeant-Major, in our beginning to march, had appointed them. Which by myself was twice brought in order again, and so continued, till we had passed a ford of great importance for us. But then the rebels' battle, presenting themselves nearer unto us than at any time before, came up so fast towards us, that we were called to march faster than ordinary, to have recovered (sic) the top of a hill which might have been much for our advantage. And in this haste, where no present danger was, did Captain Loftus his Lieutenant, being Lieutenant Walsh, ride up to his ensign and take his colours from him, wrapped them up, and carried them away with him, having one behind him, which I took to be his ensign. At this the rebels' battle came within twelve score yards of us, or thereabouts. His own company, their colours being taken away, fell unto (sic) great disorder; our shot, that was in the rear, fell up into our battle, break the ranks, and overthrew the men, having none to keep them in order, for that, as I said before, Captain Loftus and his Lieutenant had quit that place, at the first entertainment of skirmish, which was appointed them by the Serjeant-Major. This disorder was not in me to have helped, for it neither concerned my place, which was appointed me, neither could I well absent myself, because Captain Wardman, who had the same place given in charge which I had, was at that instant slain with a shot in the face. To add this disorder more. Captain Loftus his own serjeant, who had the leading of a loose wing of pikes and shot, did, at the presenting of the rebels' battle, quite forsake us, turning on our right hand, and ran away to our place of garrison. Those disorders, or rather, as they seem, treachery, whereof I am an eye-witness, was (sic) the especial cause of this our great discomfort, as God shall help me, and my hand avow, if denial be made.*



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"The order how we marched, and what place appointed, as by our Serjeant-Major.

"The forlorn hope by Lieutenant Linley, Captain Linley his Lieutenant.

"The vanguard by Captain Linley.

"The battle by Captain Ratcliffe.

"In the rear of the battle, and the leading of the shot, which was in the rear, was Captain Loftus, and his Lieutenant, Lieutenant Walsh.

"In the rear of all, Captain Mallory and Captain Wardman.

"The wings of shot, which did follow the rear, to maintain the skirmish, was (sic) led by Lieutenant Edwin, Lieutenant to Captain Mallory.

"The other wing of shot was led by an Irish serjeant, officer to Captain Loftus."—[1599, July.] Unsigned. Endorsed, "Captain Mallory, his report." pp. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

108. III. Report by Captain Linley on the overthrow near Wicklow.

"Upon the 28th of May, being commanded by our Governor, Sir Henry Harrington, to make ready to march from our garrison, as Sir Henry Harrington saith, to learn our men to make cabins, and to get fresh flesh, which evening we pitched our camp at a place called Bóloughe, within two miles of the rebels. Presently, upon our coming thither, Sir Henry Harrington took horse, and with him Captain Loftus and Captain Wardman, Captain Mallory and myself being appointed to stay in the camp, to keep all our men in arms, if need were to use them. Within two hours they returned to the camp, the night coming. At the setting of the watch, there came a messenger to the camp, to Sir Henry Harrington, from the rebels, and stayed all night. About eleven of the clock, the rebels came and gave us a volley of shot into our camp, which was very well answered, myself leading a file of shot into the bog, and entertained skirmish with them, being called off by the Serjeant-Major. About one or two of the clock, the rebels came again, and gave us one other 'value' of shot, which was answered as before, myself entertaining skirmish with them until they fled, Captain Mallory and Captain Wardman their Lieutenants accompanying me. Captain Loftus nor his Lieutenant were not seen all that night; the reason I know not.

"The 29th of May, Sir Henry Harrington, with all the horse and some foot, with all the Captains attending him, went to the top of the hill, with intent to view the rebels' strength, as I thought; but being not half an hour forth, we were beaten back with the bitterness of the weather. In our return, we descried marching forth of our camp, a mile from us, to the number of a 100 men, as we could judge, being so far off, marching along a bog side towards the rebels; which was Captain Loftus his men, under the leading of his ensign. At the sight whereof Sir Henry Harrington being grieved, sent Lieutenant Walsh to fetch them off; who presently made towards them to do so, but when he came there, he made a stand with them, lighting off his horse; and, in the sight of the whole army, sent some fourteen shot of his company over the bog to parley with the rebels, being



*disliked by all the army. At their return, coming to their Lieutenant, he standing still by himself on the bog, they presently departed from him to the rest of their fellows, which stayed all this while, contrary [to] direction. And at the Lieutenant's departure off the bog, he shaking his hat towards the rebels, the rebels encountered it with the shot of a piece, and so came away. But his staying was so long that Sir Henry Harrington sent his Captain to fetch him off. Immediately after, Sir Henry Harrington commanded the army to march towards our garrison, which we all did. And being by [the] Serjeant-Major put in battle, about a mile off us we saw the rebels march towards us very fast, as also a messenger came running, which by commandment we stayed his coming (sic), the parley being some quarter of an hour long betwixt Sir Henry Harrington and the messenger. The baggage marched away, guarded with the forlorn hope. I came to the Serjeant-Major, and told him I disliked this long stay, praying him to get Sir Henry Harrington away, for it was but a policy of the rebels that they might come near us, for I saw them come fast towards us. Which being by the Serjeant-Major made known to Sir Henry, we presently marched away in this manner; four in a rank, myself commanded to the vanguard of the shot. But we had not marched a mile, but the rebels came up to our rear, and fell in skirmish with us, which was very well answered of all parties. My own part I refer to Sir Henry Harrington and the Serjeant-Major. Then the Serjeant-Major willed me to put all our men eight in a rank, but within one half mile further the rebels come (sic) so near us, that Captain Montague charged them and drove them back to a wood. But, nevertheless, they charged faster and faster. Myself being in my place appointed, I descried the rebels' battle, with many shot, upon our left hand, coming fast towards us, I calling upon Sir Henry Harrington, to let him see them, praying him to send for the forlorn hope to meet them, and make the ford good, saying to Sir Henry that he would make the wood good with some shot. Whereupon I sent three several files of shot into the wood, to keep the rebels from it, for they would haste unto it. And at the rebels' coming and offering to enter the wood, the three files beat them forth thereof. For, if they had got it, it would have been the loss of many of our men in that place. And presently we entered the ford, the enemies playing very hotly upon us with shot off the bog, as also their battle, marching over the bog unto a fair green close, making haste towards us. At which sight Sir Henry Harrington commanded me to march away to get the top of the hill; but presently there was a word, 'Turn, turn, for the honour of God.' I, looking about me, saw Lieutenant Walsh on horseback, and his colours in his hand, and one behind him, when the rebels' battle was at least six score [? paces] off us. At which sight the rebels' battle came very fast up, and charged us in the rear with push of pike, our men coming all on a heap, by reason divers of Captain Loftus his men quit their places in the battle, seeing their colours gone, Captain Ratcliffe and myself doing our best to make them stand, but all in vain; though I hurt some of our men; and in the end they fled so fast that they threw me under their feet, the disorder beginning in the rear. At my getting up, I saw all in great danger to be lost. I made to my*

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colours to save them, but could not get to them by any means. Then seeing a gentleman, one Mr. Barton, far engaged, myself with three pikes charged the rebels and brought him off, but, when I looked for a second, they were all gone; so that I was enforced to fly, the rebels having me in chase, and I being in great danger by them. Captain Montague charged the rebels and rescued me, and commanded his trumpeter to take me up behind him, and himself recovered my colours. The number of mine lost is 44. Captain Loftus all that day never lighted off his horse, nor never drew sword, but his poignard. His Lieutenant I never saw until I saw him on his horse's back, with his colours in his hand.

"Captain Montague told me that he told Captain Loftus he was ashamed to see him keep his horse, and willed him to go to his place appointed him.

"Lieutenant Mannering told me that some 20 or 24 or thereabouts of Captain Loftus his company, under the leading of his serjeant, being appointed for loose shot, took away upon the right hand, and hasted all as fast as they could to Wicklow, our place of garrison, when they might have done good service in the rear of the enemy's battle.

"Sir Henry Harrington told me that Captain Loftus had parley with the rebels.

"As for all the Irishmen that came either in company, or under protection of Sir Henry Harrington, [they] never took their horses, nor made any service that day.

"In our garrison ever, when any watch night came with Captain Loftus his men, I found them so disorderly, and careless of their duty, that I made it known to their Captain at the least three several times, for so oft I watched with them myself. And Captain Loftus his answer was, that he could not mend it, for, if he should find fault, they would run all to the rebels with his arms; and therefore prayed me to rest contented."—[1599, July.] *Unsigned. Endorsed, "Captain Linley his report." pp. 2½.*

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109. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council. "As neither we of the Council could tell what to advise, nor I, the Lieutenant, what to undertake, in the managing of these Irish wars, till we had considered of the means that we have, or are like to have, for the same; so, lest Her Majesty and Your Lordships should expect more at our hands than we have ability to perform, or we fail of supplies by not making our wants known in time, we send your Lordships herein a true declaration of all our means, with our general opinions what may be performed with the same, and our humble petition that we may be with all speed advertised what Her Majesty alloweth or disalloweth therein, and whether Her Majesty will have us play this stock, which is committed to us, more frankly or more warily.

"The first consideration is, the strength of the forces which we have, and which Her Majesty allows. Her Majesty's list (as your Lordships know) is 1,300 horse and 16,000 foot. The strength of the rebels was of a greater number, as by the state of the kingdom, signed both by us of the Council that then were present, and by the



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Earl of Ormonde, and sent by Sir Thomas Gerrard, your Lordships may well perceive. Since which time the arms and munitions they have received from Spain for the furnishing of their idle men, hath (*sic*) (as we are advertised) much increased their numbers. And, though our men do fall sick, and our companies decay daily, yet they who are used to misery, and bred in the climate, have no other cause but the sword to cut them off. But, though our companies could be kept in strength, yet when Munster and Connaught, the counties of Wexford, Kilkenny, Carlow, the five counties of the Pale, Leix, Offally, and the northern frontier, have had their proportions, there will be a small force left to make a prosecution in Ulster, and to be divided according to the projects heretofore set down. For Munster hath 3,300 foot and 200 horse, and yet (if a plot which I, the Lieutenant, have been about, to draw away the bonnaughts of that province, succeed not) we fear that our men there shall have enough to do. Connaught hath 2,850 foot and almost 200 horse; yet the Governor thinketh himself too weak to go down to Ballyshannon. The counties in Leinster and the northern frontier cannot be left with so few as 3,000 foot and 300 horse. The towns of Knockfergus, the Newry, Dundalk, and the castles that belong to them, cannot have less than 1,000 foot and 100 horse; so as there remain not fully 6,000 foot, and but of horse 500, for the prosecution of Ulster. Now, if these should be divided, one part to plant at Lough Foyle, and the other to enter by Armagh and the Blackwater, it being in the rebels' choice to which of them he will address himself with all the forces of the north, your Lordships may easily judge what hazard one or both the forces shall run: 6,000 foot and 500 horse shall see greater numbers than themselves to encounter them. And our arms in that Province do so soon decay, and so much, that in twenty days there will not be so many able men by half, as are carried out, which upon the retreat of the Lord Burgh's army was clearly seen. Therefore, without a greater force for Ulster, we think it unfit to send any to Lough Foyle, and till these other Provinces be more reduced, or Her Majesty's army increased, we think it as much as may be attempted, to plant at Armagh on this side, and to direct the Governor of Connaught to Ballyshannon on the other side. We do presume that, with the two thousand which we hear are coming over for supplies, that (*sic*) the list of 16,000 will be full. But, if we have no more, I, the Lieutenant, must either defer my going into the north till the season grow dangerous in that climate, or else I must suffer the rebel (who in all these parts will be master of the field in my absence) to reap the harvest, which is very plentiful, and which will beggar the subject, force all the gentlemen to quit their castles, and enable these traitors to maintain a whole year's war, with great commodity to themselves, and disadvantage to Her Majesty.

"And as the state of the forces is not proportionable to a general undertaking, so the state of the victuals is not such, as we shall have enough to leave in the garrisons that shall be planted at Armagh, Ballyshannon, and Lough Foyle, and to serve the army whiles it is in the field to countenance their planting. For, as at



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Lough Foyle there can be no garrison under 3,000 foot, besides the horse, so must they be victualled at least for four months, it being so far from succour, and the winds very shortly like to grow very contrary to all that shall pass out of England thitherward. Also less than three months' store cannot be left at Ballyshannon and Armagh; for, if we should often make convoys, we should employ Her Majesty's forces almost in nothing else; and these two garrisons would require at least 3,000 more. Besides, the army which is in the field in Ulster, which should be 6,000, must be provided of two months' victual. So as, if all the rest of the kingdom should be unprovided (as it cannot be without the loss of many most important places), and that the full proportion, which your Lordships have written of, were arrived and proved serviceable, yet would it come short of that which is required for Ulster alone. But part of that proportion, for anything we yet hear, is not come out of England, part lost by shipwreck, and intercepted upon the coast of Connaught, and a very great part so unsavoury and unserviceable, that it would poison all the soldiers to whom it were delivered, as shall appear by the certificate of the Comptroller of the Victuals, which we send to your Lordships herewith under his hand [*wanting*]. How we shall be supplied with victual or with money out of England altogether, or part out of the Isle of Man, we leave to your Lordships' grave consideration. But that course of supplies, in our opinions, will be the fittest that may be the speediest, which, we presume, will rather be by money than a new provision of victual. And if hereafter your Lordships would command the undertakers not to make the provision of butter and cheese in Essex and Suffolk, places so remote, but in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Wales, this decay and corruption of those kind of victuals by the way would be avoided.

"Of munition we confess we have plenty. Of apparel, we hear of 10,000 suits, which will trouble us in dividing it to 16,000 men; and which being thin, and provided for the summer, we could have wished they had come in the beginning of summer; for within two months the poor men will be very cold in them; which consideration we hope will move your Lordships to direct the winter apparel hither more seasonably. Also, we do find by experience that the English stockings and shoes sent over are very unserviceable, for they shrink upon any wet, and our poor men do wade in their marches at least twice or thrice a day. And in winter, the short cassocks will make them quake for cold, whereas if, instead of the hose and shoes, they had money to buy themselves stockings and brogues, and for their cassocks, mantles, they would be kept much longer in health and strength. But, because there is a very provident and politic course taken already for this matter of apparels, we leave it to your Lordships' grave consideration, and dare not presume to press alterations. Of treasure there arrived, according to the establishments heretofore set down, a proportion for two months, which we assure your Lordships came very seasonably; for the army was everywhere very miserable, especially those poor men that had been eight weeks in the field. To send treasure

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so as we may never be destitute, we doubt not but your Lordships will be careful, for in your wisdoms you know it is the sinews of the war. And we doubt not but you will also increase the proportion as Her Majesty shall see cause from time to time to increase her list. For the present, that which only troubleth us, and will infinitely maim the service, is the limitation of all extraordinaries to 5,000*l.* a year, in which stint it is impossible for us to keep them, unless we suffer the service to fall to the ground. We do humbly wish that Her Majesty and your Lordships would be pleased to consider that, first, no Governor in the kingdom was ever so limited and restrained; secondly, that in time of less actions, and with far less numbers, the charge of extraordinaries could never be kept within that proportion; nor, though Sir Henry Wallop's men made a reckoning of 1,900*l.* for extraordinaries the last year, yet, by the Auditor's examining of the accounts, we find his certificate to be of betwixt 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.*, as by James Ware's declaration, herewith sent to your Lordships [*wanting*], may appear; and, lastly, there was never any time, or any army or action, that did require so great an extraordinary expense.

"And now having delivered to your Lordships the state of our present means, and our opinions how far forth they will stretch, we are bold humbly to remonstrate to your Lordships, that these rebels will hardly be subdued, if some of themselves be not used against themselves. For, besides the daily decay of our English soldiers, those men which are sent hither do not in a good time make so good soldiers as these rogues here are. Also, a certain li[st] of an army, to continue all the year long in one proportion, is not fit for this action, for some times are fitter for service than others, and will require greater forces than others. If all the time of harvest we be not masters of the field, the work will be far harder for the year to come. And, on the other side, in the dead of winter, if places of importance be kept, and some garrisons upon the frontier left so strong that they may look abroad, it will be sufficient. And therefore, if Her Majesty will give us leave to entertain till the end of harvest 2,000 foot more, I, the Lieutenant, will draw them from the rebels, and will carry them every day to fight, assuring myself I shall do good service in making a riddance of either side, and I will still have a strength of mine own countrymen, which shall be my *triarii*, and shall (by God's favour) save the main chance; and, when harvest is done, and the winter come on, we will abate as many of the number of 16,000, and for as long time, as upon these occasions we have increased it; so that there shall grow no loss or surplusage of charge to Her Majesty. Whereas, if this course be not taken, we shall have the rebels' best and whole forces against us, [and] we shall be able to do little upon them with our heavy footmen, unless we had as light knaves as themselves to follow them, and hunt them. And they will so overtop us in number, that we shall in some places receive great disadvantage. To this proposition, we humbly crave to be by your Lordships advertised of Her Majesty's pleasure; for though, for the time to draw some present service from some of these knaves, to keep them from



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doing mischief, we do venture somewhat with them, yet in any such great proportion we dare not presume, until Her Majesty's pleasure be known. And especially, because I, the Treasurer, though I see the necessity of the service, yet can hardly agree to this, but that I am assured by the Lieutenant and Council that, if Her Majesty allow not (*sic*) of it, there shall be as much abated the next month, as this month will grow to in surplusage."—Dublin, 1599, July 15. *Signed. Endorsed,* Received at Wimbledon the 28th. *pp.* 4.

July 16.  
Dublin.

110. James Ware to the Privy Council. Was commanded by Essex and the Council to see what money was paid for the extraordinary charges of Ireland from 1 October, 1597, to 30 September, 1598. It appears from Sir Henry Wallop's books for that time that his clerks certified to their Lordships, not long before Sir Henry's death, that the extraordinary charges for that year amounted only to 1,947*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*, which falls out to be far short of the money spent for the same. This arose because the clerks wrongfully comprehended all the extraordinary charges for victualling, munition, and buildings, under the title of imposts on accounts, without any mention of extraordinary charge for those causes. This amounts to 2,900*l.* odd, as, by a certificate under his hand and that of him who drew the former book sent to their Lordships, may appear. That clerk did it not of any purpose, but rather followed the precedents of former accounts. Is commanded to assist Sir Robert Gardener and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, to see how the money received by Sir Henry Wallop, since the lendings began, has been issued. Is not yet able to make any certain report thereof to their Lordships, because the paymasters Sir Henry had in Munster and Connaught, who are to account for 20,000*l.* at least, came to Dublin not above three days ago.—Dublin, 1599, July 16. *Signed. Endorsed,* Received at Wimbledon the 28th. *p.* 1.

July 17.  
Dublin.

111. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "I account it no small happiness that my faithful endeavours do find so gracious an acceptance of Her Majesty, and so good allowance of your Lordships; and your Lordships' favourable letters of welcome (as it pleaseth you to call them) are very humbly and thankfully received. As for my want of satisfaction in the correspondence held with me for Her Majesty's service, I do humbly beseech your Lordships to believe that I charge not your Lordships with want of care or breach of promise in directing supplies of all things for this war; but these wants we have I acknowledge to have grown by casualty by sea, or by ill choice of victual, or contrariety of winds, which have stayed the supplies of men and provisions. But, if you will give me leave to expound my own words; in telling your Lordships I came provided of a plastron, or fore-part of an armour, I understood all provisions for the war of Ireland, and resolution to encounter both the Irish rebel and foreign invader; and in professing myself unarmed on my back, I meant that I lay open to the malice and practice of mine enemies in England, who first procured a cloud of disgrace to overshadow me, and now in the dark give me wound upon wound. I know that those who are guilty of



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them will confidently deny, and cunningly distinguish to excuse themselves. And they are at better leisure than I to study their shifts, and give themselves more liberty to save themselves, they having now compassed their own ends. But England and Ireland, subjects and rebels, do not only familiarly speak of the power they have had in this my absence to supplant me in the favour of my Sovereign; and the insolent liberty they take to scoff and jest at me and my services; but also make collections of every circumstance, wherein I have been offered, since my coming over, disgraces and discomforts. The particulars I beseech your Lordships not to press me to recite; for I shall *infandum renovare dolorem*. Your Lordships' own memories, and the Council book, wherein all your despatches are recorded, will make up some part of this account. And as reason of state doth teach that a difficult war cannot be successfully managed by a disgraced minister, so experience, even in this short time, hath proved that a combination of proud, malicious, and successful rebels will not be subdued or daunted, nor an army that serves in a miserable, wretched country will be kept in strength and vigour, by any man that is not countenanced and enabled by all the circumstances of favour that can be; which ere long will more plainly appear. For as, before my time, the Irish subjects, seeing the prosperous proceeding of traitors, did ordinarily and familiarly ask leave to make their peace with them; so now I doubt not but our English voluntaries and persons of quality will ask passport of me (who am utterly unable either to advance or to defend them) to go make their own compositions with such as they have offended by following me thus long. But no more, neither now nor hereafter, of this argument. Your Lordships shall see that I will not fail of doing the uttermost duty that the happiest man could have performed. And I will humbly and patiently bear my unlooked-for, contemptible destiny. Of the state of the army, and of our provisions of all sorts, the general letter from the Council here and myself will certify your Lordships. This shall be only to assure your Lordships that, as I will cause myself to do somewhat more than ordinary in such an extraordinary fortune, so will I call upon all the other ministers to give your Lordships a full, clear, and frequent satisfaction."—Dublin [1599], July 17. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, "17 July, '98 (*sic*). The Earl of Essex, from Dublin." *Signed. Seal.* pp. 14.

July 18.  
Dublin.

112. Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. Has received their Lordships' letter of the 11th instant, in which they reprehend Sir Ralph Lane, Mr. Beverley, and himself for not supplying certificates of the defalcations and checks. Begs them to suspend their censure. Is not able at present to deliver an exact account of his charge. Is compelled to use divers paymasters in the several provinces, as also do the Victuallers, and Commissaries of Musters employ their deputies. These cannot be drawn together of a sudden, "the state of this rebellious kingdom being as it is," so that they may deliver their accounts. Sends, however, herewith (*wanting*) an imperfect statement of the defalcations and checks, the accounts from Munster, Newry, and Carrickfergus not having yet been received.

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The Blackfriars, according to their Lordships' good allowance, is being fitted up as a storehouse for victual. The Lord Lieutenant takes present order for the revictualling of the ships.

"There may be corn bought here in some good proportion, at reasonable prices, whereof there is at this present good store, if the same be not transported beyond seas, or ingrossed by the coopers. To prevent both which the Lord Lieutenant hath taken order by proclamation, since his Lordship's return from his late journey, albeit before by some it would not be hearkened unto. So as by this restraint I make no doubt but there will be provision of corn made, sufficient for Her Majesty's garrisons and forces in Leinster, at more reasonable rates than in England; this being my computation, viz., every Bristol barrel of wheat at 8s.; the baking, 2s. Each barrel will make 120 lbs. of good biscuit, which, being uttered at Her Majesty's price, at  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  the pound, maketh 15s. So as Her Majesty shall be a gainer, besides the saving the charges and loss by transportation from England hither. And, if it shall be so thought fit by your Lordships, the Lord Lieutenant hath an intention (for the better ease of Her Majesty's charge), to make provision of such proportion of corn as may furnish all the Ireland garrisons for this next winter season.

"For I do perceive it is a great charge to Her Majesty both in the carriage and in waste; as, for an instance, by this particular note your Lordships may understand; besides that it will be a great comfort to a sick soldier to have fresh bread and meal to make him some hot meat, for this mouldy and rotten biscuit, cheese, and fish, with 'ristie' butter, doth breed much sickness and diseases amongst the soldiers, weakening the army, and yet Her Majesty's charge no whit more abated, than if the companies were very strong. As soon as possibly it may be, your Lordships shall receive true certificates, both of the checks and victuals. In the mean while I humbly beseech your Lordships to consider that, as I came into this land shortly after the Lady Day, so as the half year's payments of the chief officers, pensioners, warders, and others, which usually receive their half year's pay at Michaelmas and Easter, are paid by me, which, being added to the charge of the Officers of Justice to the establishment signed by your Lordships, amounteth to 20,000*l.* per annum, and above. But towards the payment of this last half year's fees, being of the said ordinary charge, I have not received above 1,300*l.* What the charge of concordatums, passed since the Lord Lieutenant's arrival in this land, amounteth unto, I do also herewithal present to your Lordships, the proportion whereof is much more than I would have expected, if the necessity of the service did not require the same."—Dublin, 1599, July 18. Signed. Endorsed, Received at Wimbledon the 28th. pp. 2. Encloses,

112. i. *Extract of Concordatums passed since the 14th of April, 1599, by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to the 17 of July next following.*"

Among the entries are the following:—

"To Jones Johnson and Loies de Rosse, engineers, for their entertainment, at 15s. per diem——15*l.*"



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- "To the Clerk of the Works for the Castle of Dublin——30*l.* 10*s.*"  
 "To him, for the repairing of Kilmainham——7*l.*"  
 "To Sir Conyers Clifford, for the building of Sligo——300*l.*"  
 "To John Vinton, a maimed soldier, for his relief——40*s.*"  
 "To the Society of Trinity College, for the half-year's annuity ending ultimo March——20*l.*"  
 "To the said society, for six dead pays, for four months ending 10 Junii——22*l.* 8*s.*"  
 "To Henry Beytaugh, for sundry services——15*l.*"  
 "To Thomas Plunkett and his cousins, for special service, 17 Julii——15*l.*"  
 "To the surgeon of the Earl of Ormonde's regiment——5*l.*"  
 "To Henry Sheffield, Serjeant-Major of the Earl of Ormonde's regiment——30*l.*"  
 "To the Provost Marshal, for carriage of victuals, munition, and small ordnance, in this journey in Munster——45*l.*"  
 "The Lord Lieutenant's carriage, which also carried sick soldiers——218*l.* 16*s.*"

Total of concordatums : 4,358*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* sterling. pp. 6.

July 19.  
Greenwich.

113. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex. "We have perceived by your letters to our Council, brought by Henry Carey, that you are arrived at Dublin after your journey into Munster; where, though it seemeth, by the words of your letter, that you had spent divers days in taking an account of all things that have passed since you left that place, yet have you in this dispatch given us small light either when, or in what order, you intend particularly to proceed to the northern action. Wherein, if you compare the time that is run on, and the excessive charges that is (*sic*) spent, with the effects of anything wrought by this voyage (howsoever we may remain satisfied with your own particular cares and travails of body and mind), yet you must needs think that we, that have the eyes of foreign Princes upon our actions, and have the hearts of people to comfort and cherish, who groan under the burden of continual levies and impositions, which are occasioned by these late actions, can little please ourself hitherto with anything that hath been effected. For what can be more true (if things be rightly examined) than that your two months' journey hath brought in never a capital rebel, against whom it had been worthy to have adventured one thousand men. For of their two comings in, that were brought unto you by Ormonde (namely, Mountgarrett and Cahir), whereupon ensued the taking of Cahir Castle, full well do we know that you would long since have scorned to have allowed it for any great matter in others, to have taken an Irish hold from a rabble of rogues, with such force as you had, and with the help of the cannon, which was always able in Ireland to make his passage where it pleased. And, therefore, more than that, you have now learned, upon our expenses, by knowledge of the country, that those things are true, which we have heretofore told you, if you would have believed us, how far different things would prove there from your expectation. There is little public benefit made to us



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of any things happened in this action, which the President, with any convenient addition to his numbers by you, might not have effected, either now or hereafter, in a time more seasonable, when it should less have hindered the other enterprise, on which depends our greatest expectation. Whereunto we will add this one thing, that doth more displease us than any charge or expense that happens, which is, that it must be the Queen of England's fortune (who hath held down the greatest enemy she had), to make a base bush kern to be accounted so famous a rebel, as to be a person against whom so many thousands of foot and horse, besides the force of all the nobility of that kingdom, must be thought too little to be employed. For we must now remember unto you, that our cousin of Ormonde, by his own relation when you arrived, assured us that he had delivered you a charge of a kingdom, without either town maritime, or island, or hold, possessed by the traitors. But we did ever think that Tyrone would please himself to see such a portion of our fair army, and led by the person of our general, to be harassed out and adventured in encountering those base rogues, who were no way strengthened by foreign armies, but only by such of his offal, as he was content to spare and let slip from himself; while he hath lived at his pleasure, hath spoiled all where our army should come, and preserved for himself what he thought necessary. Little do you know how he hath blazed in foreign parts the defeats of regiments, the death of Captains, and loss of men of quality in every corner; and how little he seemeth to value their power, who use it so as it is likely to spend itself. It is, therefore, apparent that all places require not one and the selfsame knowledge, and that drafts and surprises would have found better successes than public and notorious marches; though, where the rebel attends you with greater forces, it is necessary that you carry our army in the form you use.

"But it doth sound hardly in the ears of the world, that in a time when there is a question to save a kingdom, and in a country where experience giveth so great advantage to all enterprises, regiments should be committed to young gentlemen that rather desire to do well than know how to perform it. A matter wherein we must note that you have made both us and our Council so great strangers, as to this day (but by reports) we know not who they be that spend our treasure and carry places of note in our army. Wherein you know we did by our instructions direct you as soon as you should be arrived, seeing you used your reasons why it could not be done so conveniently beforehand. These things we would pass over, but that we see your pen flatters you with phrases, that here you are defeated, that you are disgraced from hence in your friends' fortune, that poor Ireland suffers in you; still exclaiming against the effects of your own causes. For if it be not enough that you have all, and more than, that which was agreed on before you went, concerning public service, but that you must, by your voluntary actions there in particular things (which you know full well are contrary to our will and liking), raise an opinion that there is any person that dare displease us, either by experience of our former tolerations, or with a conceit to avoid blame by distinctions; then

must we not hide from you (how much soever we do esteem you, for those good things which are in you), but that our honour hath dwelt too long with us, to leave that point now uncleared, that whosoever it be that you do clad with any honours or places wherein the world may read the least suspicion of neglect or contempt of our commandments, we will never make dainty to set on such shadows as shall quickly eclipse any of those lustres. And, therefore, although by your letter we found your purpose to go northward, on which depends the main good of our service, and which we expected long since should have been performed, yet because we do hear it bruited (besides the words of your letter, written with your own hand, which carries some such sense), that you who allege such weakness in our army by being travailed with you, and find so great and important affairs to digest at Dublin, will yet engage yourself personally into Offally (being our Lieutenant), when you have there so many inferiors able enough to victual a fort, or seek revenge of those that have lately prospered against our forces; and when we call to mind how far the sun hath run his course, what dependeth upon the timely plantation of our garrisons in the north, and how great a scandal it would be to our honour to leave that proud rebel unassailed, when we have, with so great an expectation of our enemies, engaged ourself so far in the action, so as without that be done, all these former courses will prove like *via navis in mari*; besides that our power, which hitherto hath been dreaded by potent enemies, will now be even held contemptible amongst our rebels; we must now plainly charge you, according to the duty you owe us, so to unite soundness of judgment to the zeal you have to do us service, and with all speed to pass thither in such order, as the axe may be put to the root of that tree, which hath been the treasonable stock from whence so many poisoned plants and grafts have been derived. By which proceeding of yours, we may neither have cause to repent our employment of yourself for omitting those best opportunities to shorten the war, nor receive (in the eye of the world) imputation of too much weakness in ourself to begin a work without better foresight. What would be the end of our excessive charge, the adventure of our people's lives, and the holding up of our own greatness, against a wretch whom we have raised from the dust, and who could never prosper, if the charges we have been put to were orderly employed?

"For the matter of Southampton, it is strange to us that his continuance or displacing should work so great an alteration, either in yourself (valuing our commandments as you ought), or in the disposition of our army, where all the Commanders cannot be ignorant that we not only not allowed of your desire for him, but did expressly forbid it; and being such a one whose counsel can be of little, and experience of less use; yea, such a one [as], were he not lately fastened to yourself by an accident, wherein, for our usage of yours, we deserve thanks, you would have used many of your old lively arguments against him for any such ability or commandment; it is, therefore, strange to us that we (*sic*), knowing his worth by your report, and your own disposition from ourself in that point, will dare thus to value your own pleasing in things un-



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necessary, and think by your private arguments to carry for your own glory a matter wherein our pleasure to the contrary is made notorious. And where you say further that divers, or the most, of the voluntary gentlemen are so discouraged thereby, as they begin to desire passports, and prepare to return, we cannot as yet be persuaded but that the love of our service, and the duty which they owe us, have been as strong motives to these their travails and hazards as any affection to the Earl of Southampton, or any other. If it prove otherwise (which we will not so much wrong ourself as to suspect), we shall have the less cause, either to acknowledge or reward it."—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, July 19. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 171 b-173 b. Copy. pp. 4½.*

July 19.  
Greenwich.

114. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex. *Minute of the preceding, with alterations by Sir Robert Cecil. In the passage where Ormonde is mentioned, the words, "either town maritime, or island, or hold," are altered to "either town of ours maritime, or inland, or hold." In the passage relating to the Earl of Southampton, after "expressly forbid it," the words run, "and being such a one whose experience can be of no great use, it is therefore strange to us that you will dare thus to value your own pleasing in things unnecessary," &c.—The Court at Greenwich, 1599, July 19. Certified by Windebank. pp. 5.*

July 20.

115. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. "Upon the receipt of your Lordship's letters, brought unto us by Sir Henry Carey, we did impart them in full Council to Her Majesty, and Her Majesty having also received such other letters as you wrote unto herself, which Mr. Carey also delivered, with such other matter as your Lordship gave him in charge to communicate with her, we immediately found Her Majesty to be displeased that so long time had been spent in Munster, being also jealous lest some protraction should be made of the northern journey, by reason of a bruit that is dispersed that your Lordship would go into Offally, where, as she knows your person cannot move, being her General, without force, and that she assureth herself those loose rebels will fly before you, without daring to abide you, but only when place doth give them advantage, Her Majesty seemed to wish you had rather rested yourself after your indisposition, and employed some of the Commanders thither, than to have any way engaged your person, or those that have been also with you, in any place, until your northern action were begun, where Her Majesty highly affecteth somewhat should be done to pull down the Traitor's pride, that feedeth the rebellion in other parts, and glorieth in his own security, when those that are but dependers upon him have had so good success, where your Lordship hath not been present. Of all which he brags in no small pride in foreign parts, which doth not a little disquiet Her Majesty's mind, and from which he will never desist until your Lordship have undertaken him; wherein we must confess we wish all expedition, as that whereon the good of Her Majesty's service specially dependeth. The unhappy chances befallen to Sir Henry Harrington, to Sir John Shelton, to Sir Thomas Egerton's regi-



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ment, and some other losses, being daily multiplied in other Princes' courts, from whence they fly hither, being added to that point which Her Majesty still remembereth, that when your Lordship arrived in Ireland, the Earl of Ormonde professed to have left no one of Her Majesty's towns, nor forts maritime or inland, in the rebels' hand, will make all matters of that kingdom more distasteful, till some good occasion present itself to your Lordship to advertise things that may better please her. And where your Lordship used many arguments to persuade the inconvenience which the Earl of Southampton's disgracing would procure amongst the army, and where you urged one point of the disposition in voluntaries the rather in this respect to leave her service, we found it rather did increase than diminish her displeasure in that point, as taking it a diminution to her greatness, that anybody's zeal should be the colder for any private man's disgraces. For all other matters in your despatch concerning yourself, we must refer you to Her Majesty's own writing, whose letter being dispatched in haste, whiles divers of us that should have signed this were dispersed, we thought it fit to send it after by the post, though we are sorry it can bring your Lordship in some things no better contentment, to whom we wish all success as your heart desireth, and which we doubt not shall ensue for Her Majesty's honour."—1599, July 20. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 173 b-174 b. Copy. pp. 2.*

July 20.  
Waterford.

116. Thomas White, Mayor of Waterford, to Sir Robert Cecil. Burghley's fatherly care of their city will never be forgotten. The universal calamity and sudden mutation of the state of Ireland through the undutiful rebellion of the subject compel them to crave the aid and protection of the Privy Council in this so doubtful and perilous a time. Desire Sir Robert's furtherance in their just causes. "And now, for some shew of gratuity, we do herewith send unto your Honour two blankets or bed-coverings, and a rondell of *aqua vite* of our town's making, which we beseech your Honour to accept according to our good minds."—Waterford, 1599, July 20. *Signed. p. 1.*

July 22.  
Dublin.

117. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council. The great want of firing there is likely to be in Dublin in the coming winter, by reason of a new custom of two shillings and eight pence levied at Chester and other port towns upon every ton of coals transported to Dublin. The usual custom hitherto has been only two pence the ton. The masters of barks, finding themselves unable to answer the trade of coals at any reasonable rates, have forborne to bring up any at this passage, which is the fittest time for all men to make their winter store. Neither will the masters bring any this summer season, unless their Lordships give speedy direction for easing them of this new custom, which will be very hurtful. Dublin and the other towns upon the sea coast, "which are now much to [he] respected," are by the present rebellion debarred from the benefit of the woods upon the sea coast in Leinster and Ulster, from which they were accustomed to be well served. If their Lordships dissolve not that imposition, there will be hard

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living either in Dublin or in those towns upon the coast." And, although we know that some advantage may be raised upon that commodity, yet when your Lordships shall weigh the great inconveniences [that] will follow the want thereof here, or the providing of it at excessive rates, which of necessity must cause a want among the meaner sort, who are a great relief to Her Majesty's forces upon all occasions, we doubt not but your Lordships will little regard the private benefit that may rise by that custom, in respect of the common utility both there and here." Pray them to give present order, that they may be furnished from all English ports, "from whence only we must expect our relief in that case," at the former rates.—Dublin, 1599, July 22. *Signed. pp. 2.*

July 25.  
Dublin.

118. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 22nd of this month, the Lord Lieutenant drew towards Leix and Offally, to prosecute the rebels of Leinster, and the day following I received an advertisement from Tyrone's camp, which I sent after his Lordship presently, who hath returned them again, wishing me to transcript some part thereof into England, as may appear by the postscript of his letter, which I send to your Honour herewith. And without that direction, it had not been safe for me, considering your restraint, and the danger of a further jealousy here. His Lordship, at his return, meaneth to draw so much of the army into Ulster, as may be spared from the other Provinces; wherein his Lordship doth that which is meet, considering Tyrone, the Archtraitor, resteth at ease, and is not stirred at home, but doth kindle coals abroad, and so seeketh to bear up the rebellion in other parts of the realm, to the end that he may sit quiet in Ulster. But, till a strong garrison be settled at Lough Foyle (which I doubt will hardly be done this year), I have little hope of the total suppression of that cankered, proud house of O'Neill. Your Honour knoweth best how I have maintained this project for a force to be placed at Lough Foyle, and have justified it with those reasons and experience which stand good still in the skill of any that knows the place. But, seeing that course prevaieth not, it is not my case to press it further; and yet, by that I find in the Lord Lieutenant, his Lordship alloweth of the plot, but wanteth means to execute it this summer; by which impediment I see not but the recovery of this kingdom will be still protracted, to a further increasing of the danger, and a grievous consumption of Her Majesty's treasure."—Dublin, 1599, July 25. *Signed. p. 1. Encloses,*

118. 1. "Advertisement from the north of Ireland;" being a letter from Richard Weston to the Earl of Essex.

According to Sir Geoffrey Fenton's direction, he went up last Monday, the 15th instant, to Tyrone's camp, which was very near Newry. A gentleman from the King of Scots came to Tyrone with a letter, the chief substance of which was this, that the King was one who wished him well, and that Tyrone should not want anything that he might help him with; also, that Tyrone should send the King all news of Essex's proceedings since his coming into Ireland. If it pleased Tyrone, the King would write to his sister of England for a peace to him and all his country; and, but for fear of a great bruit in Eng-



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land, would have sent one of his Lords to Tyrone. In the meantime he was to give credence to the bearer. This gentleman was of the Neills, "and spake very good English, and very good Irish." Tyrone wrote but a very slight answer, for he feared it was a "fetch" to make him write. "There came one of Tyrone's Council, and told me that there was (sic) such words in the letter that, if it pleased Tyrone, the King of Scots would have gotten him peace. I told him that I thought, if he would have peace, that there was neither King, nor other, that could deal better with Tyrone, nor for him, than your Honour, if Tyrone would deserve it. So this gentleman stayed with Tyrone from Monday till Wednesday. A Wednesday at noon, Tyrone drank a health to the King, which went about the house; after dinner gave him a horse, and so he departed."

Heard the King of Spain's letter read. After commendations to Tyrone and O'Donnell, with all the rest of their Christian friends, he did advertise that, in his father's time, help was twice sent to them; first, by a Bishop called Bishop Helley, who perished; and again, soon after, by a fleet, of which many perished at sea, and the rest returned. Since Philip II. died, the King did not know whether Tyrone would give him the promise given to his father, so he sent the bearer to know their minds, and finding them to him as to his father, he would not let them want anything. The man who came from the King of Spain was Colonel of some 4,000 foot. He swore that, if there came no more, yet he would make all the speed he could himself with his company.

Ever McCoolye McMahan (who is called Captain of Ferney) went himself to Tyrone and requested license to come in for this harvest, to save his corn. Tyrone gave him leave. Some of the Brenny sent for the like license, and the Earl gave it. There is one Hugh O'Hanlon, son to Phelim O'Hanlon, who has promised Tyrone to set Newry on fire at both ends, and so come out himself. Tyrone was two nights about Newry, watching for his coming forth. Hugh's brother is with the Earl in action. Tyrrell was in Monaghan last Tuesday night, and Cormack also, the Earl's brother, to safe-conduct Tyrrell in the way. They had with them the munition Weston formerly wrote of.

O'Donnell wrote out of Connaught to Tyrone, that Sir Conyers Clifford, with his forces, did not come forward, but that he dispersed them into garrisons. O'Donnell said he would come to the Earl, if he needed him. Tyrone wrote back, and bade O'Donnell look well to those parts, and be ready if he sent for him.

Has no more information at present. Fears the intercepting of his letters. As soon as he hears from Essex or Fenton, will repair down, and write as occasion shall serve.—The Bawn, co. Louth, 1599, July 20. Copy. pp. 2.

118. II. The Earl of Essex to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Has just received his letter, with enclosed papers. As for the party, Fenton may send him back again, with such directions as he thinks fit.—Castle of Carbery, 1599, July 24. [Postscript.] "I return also Weston's letter unto me, that, if you think good, you may advertise any part of the news into England." Signed. P. 1.



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July 29.  
[London.]

119. John Jolles to Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England. "Where it appeareth that Mr. Beverley, Surveyor of the Victuals for Her Majesty's garrisons in Ireland, lying still in Dublin, cannot have any certain notice what provisions of victuals do arrive at Galway, Cork, the Newry, or Carrickfergus, but by letters from the Commissaries in those places, which often times their letters are long upon the way or [ere] they come to his hands; and so, by uncertain advice, the said Mr. Beverley misadviseth the Lord General, as doth appear by an uncertain note lately sent over to your Honour from Mr. Beverley of great wants and ill victuals; others than we the undertakers know to be as (*sic*) the said Mr. Beverley hath incensed the Right Honourable the Lord General there, as may appear to the Lord General by a book now delivered your Lordship to that effect, wherein we set down what ought to be sent to every magazine, what is sent, and what is short by waste or want of the full proportion that ought to be sent. Wherein we find there can be no better way to satisfy the Lord General than, if it might so please the Right Honourable the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy Council, to appoint Mr. Darell to go over with the said book, and as well to make probation of the truth thereof, as to see the issuing and good ordering of those remains of victuals there, as also to supply all wants that can be justly demanded, to your good Lordship's full contentment and liking. And forasmuch as of our knowledge there is yet no want, but good store, of victuals, which hath lain long in some of the magazines, not issued in due season; which being good, yet lying there long, may decay, by reason the Treasurer doth furnish the Captains with money, the old store is the greater that remaineth, and therefore we in humble wise desire that it would please your Honour that order may be given from hence that the victuals that have lain long may be first spent, and this new butter and victuals last sent may be last used and spent. And finally, we do certify your Honourable Lordship, that there is by the last winds sent away from sundry places of this realm to the ports of Dublin and Galway victuals for ten thousand men for six weeks, besides all the old store which remained in those places, before these last victuals were sent away; which it seemeth the Lord General is not made acquainted withal by the Surveyors of the store of victuals there."—[London.] *Endorsed*, "To the Lord Treasurer, dated the 29th of July, 1599." *Holograph*. p. 1.

July 29.

120. Note by Urie Babington on the summer apparel for the troops in Ireland; with holograph memorandum by Lord Buckhurst.—1599, July 29. *pp.* 1½.

July 30.

121. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex. "We have seen your letters written to our Council, by which we find many lacks represented; although, upon examination thereof, we find those things only wanting of that which was resolved, by those accidental causes which accompany sea transportations. And yet we understand by our Council that, upon calling to account the in-

ferior ministers, to whom those cares were left, that (*sic*) most of those proportions of victuals, which were certified from remote garrisons to the Comptrollers there to be unnarrived in Ireland, have been long since shipped here in several ports, so as they do assure themselves that long before this time they are in their appointed places. But of these things, and of your demand of 2,000 Irish more to be in charge for this present service, with enlargement of our allowance for your concordatums, our Council shall deliver you our pleasure, it being our purpose only now to deliver you our conceit of the course already holden, and what is our further determination.

"First, you know right well, when we yielded to this excessive charge, it was upon no other foundation than [that] to which yourself did ever advise us as much as any, which was, to assail the Northern Traitor, and to plant garrisons in his country, it being ever your firm opinion, amongst others of our Council, to conclude that all that was done in other kind in Ireland, was but waste and consumption.

"If then you consider what month we are in, and what a charge we have been ever at, since the first hour of your arrival, even to the greatest proportion that was intended, when the general prosecution should be made, and what is done of effect in any other place (seeing every Province must require so great numbers as by your letters is set down), you may easily judge that it is far beyond our expectation to find you make new doubts of further proceeding into Ulster, without further increase of numbers, when no cause can be conceived by us, that you should hold the traitor's strength at higher rate than when you departed, except it be that by your unseasonable journey into Munster, and by the small effects thereof (in comparison of that we hoped this great charge should have effected), you have broken the heart of our best troops, and weakened your strength upon inferior rebels, and run out the glass of time which hardly can be recovered. For the present, therefore, we do hereby let you know, that the state of things standing as they do, and all the circumstances weighed, both of our honour and of the state of that kingdom, we must expect at your hands, without delay, the passing into the North, for accomplishment of those counsels which were resolved on at your departure, to the intent that all these six months' charges prove not fruitless, and all future attempts there as little successful; especially when these base rebels shall see their golden calf preserve himself without taint or loss, as safe as in his sanctuary, and our treasure, time, and honour, spent and engaged in other enterprises, which were always concluded to be of no difficulty, till the capital Rebel had been attempted.

"In which respect, because we know that on your continuance there doth now depend the order and conduct of this important affair, and by your return suddenly (till the northern action be tried), many and great confusions may follow; our will and pleasure is, and so we do upon your duty command you, that, notwithstanding our former license provisionally given, whereby you have liberty to return, and constitute some temporary Governor in your absence,



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that you do now in no wise take that liberty, nor adventure to leave that State in any person's government, but with our allowance first had of him, and our pleasure first known unto you what order you shall leave with him. After you shall have certified us to what form you have reduced things in the north, what hath been the success, and whom you and the Council could wish to leave with that charge behind, that being done, you shall with all speed receive our warrant, without which we do charge you (as you tender our pleasure) that you adventure not to come out of that kingdom, by virtue of any former license whatsoever.

"It seemed strange unto us that in none of your letters we could find any advertisement of the arrival of the 2,000 last sent over, nor of your purpose to go into Offally, when the messenger you sent did deliver both of them for certainty to divers that spake with him, which, we must tell you, we did disdain to do ourself (his quality and his own conditions considered), and though in his own presumption he desired it, as a matter which he pretended you desired, yet we cannot believe that you would deliver any matter of importance to such a man's relation, whom both our city and court know and speak to be unfit to come into our presence." *Endorsed*, "1599, July 30"; and by *Sir Robert Cecil*, "To command him not to come over." *Copy, certified by Windebank.* pp. 2½.

July 30. 122. Another copy of the preceding.—*Endorsed*, 1599, July 30. pp. 3.

July. 123. A breviat of the proportions of victuals sent from England for Dublin, Cork, Galway, Knockfergus, and Newry, for February last (being parcel of the former charge), and for six months following, viz., 1 March to 16 August —*Endorsed*, 1599, July. *One sheet.*

July. 124. "The articles delivered by Christopher Nugent to the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant, against the Lord of Delvin, with the said Lord of Delvin's answer under each article."

1. That after Peter Nangle, the friar, was publicly indicted of high treason, for conspiring the taking of the Castle of Dublin and the subversion of the whole state and realm of Ireland, he was two days and two nights in the company of Lord Delvin, and from thence fled immediately to the rebel Tyrone, with whom he yet remains.

Lord Delvin denies that he saw Nangle, or had conference with him after the indictment, of which indeed he had not heard; therefore "to confer with him is no treason."

2. That Nangle, since the said time, sent messengers from the north to Lord Delvin, and often does so.

Lord Delvin denies that any such messengers came; and, if they did, he might by his authority confer with them for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service.

3. That, since the said time, *aguavite*, money, and clothes, have been sent by him to the north to Nangle.

This Lord Delvin denies.



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4. That after numbers of the northern rebels had come to burn and spoil the subjects of Westmeath, numbers of the said rebels being killed by the said subjects, some were taken prisoners and brought to Lord Delvin. Among these was one called McGillernow, a notable rebel, to whom Lord Delvin gave the Queen's arms and entertainment, and shortly after McGillernow was either sent or went to the rebels again, carrying the said arms with him, and remains with them.

Lord Delvin answers that, in October, 1598, Ross O'Farrell, having entertained divers of the northern rebels, sent them then to the barony of Corkery, to spoil the same. Lord Delvin, having knowledge thereof through the said McGillernow his spy, sent thither his company of foot. These found the said rebels in the castle of Joanston, and after a day and a night's assault, defeated them. Thirty-four heads and six prisoners were sent to Dublin, eight were burned in the castle, and the rest, being of the Farrells and men of land, were committed to the gaol of Mullingar, where they yet remain.

"It is to be noted what malicious and calumnious sleights the said Christopher useth, to defeat the said Lord, not only of his life and living, but also of the honour due to him for the service, saying that the same was done by the subjects of Westmeath, thereby inferring the inhabitants of that county, making no mention of Her Majesty's soldiers under the said Lord's command, which did the service, as Richard Nugent, of Donower, Edward Nugent, of Frewen, Leduche, of Ballenlacky, and Dallamare, of Ballenefiddy (who only of the county were present at the execution, and relieved the soldiers with munition), can testify. This notorious lie delivered by him to so honourable a personage before that honourable table, contrary to his own knowledge, though he nor any of his was never present at that service, or any other service worthy the note, doth manifest how little he regardeth the duty of a Christian, or common civil carriage, so he may for the time be credited. Now touching the said McGillernow, he was but a kern and a mean fellow, employed as a spy, and not armed by the said Lord, as falsely in the article is alleged. And after this service, he drew the said Lord's company in November, 1598, into the Brenny, upon the rebels of the Nugents, who at that time were put to their running, with the loss of most part of their arms, and 70 of their company slain, as then was advertised to the Lords Justices and Council, who, I hope, do not forget this, with many other the said Lord's services."

5. That the piper of the said rebels, being a notable rebel, and in great estimation with the traitors, being brought to Lord Delvin, was by him set at liberty, and given a target, a sword, and a head-piece, whereupon the said piper went to the rebels, and was of late with O'Rourke, McMahon, Maguire, and divers other rebels, at the burning of Ballimore, and at the assault on Ballimore House.

Lord Delvin denies that any such piper was brought to him, nor did he ever hear of any such being apprehended.

6. That Michael Chamberlain, of Dublin, Alderman, being at Mullingar, co. Westmeath, and seeing one passing suspiciously

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through the town, apprehended and examined him. The man confessed he was Captain Tyrrell's man, and that he was sent from the north to his brother, William Tyrrell. Whereupon the said Chamberlain searched whether he had any letters, and found two, one written in Irish, in the sole of the man's shoe, and another from Captain Tyrrell, written in English, willing his brother, William Tyrrell (now in open action, and then fostering to Lord Delvin) to get a protection for the man, and to send by him certain armour. Chamberlain delivered both the man and the letters to Lord Delvin, and told him as aforesaid; whereupon Lord Delvin presently enlarged the messenger to the rebels again.

Lord Delvin denies the allegations in this article, but confesses that upon the cessation in April, 1598, one Daniel McUllimett was, by direction from the Earl of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant General, employed to draw in Richard Tyrrell, and at the return of the said Daniel from the north, he was arrested at Mullingar by Captain Pettit, until the next day, April 25, the said Lord certified his employment, whereupon he was enlarged, but not to the rebels, for he remained twelve months after with Hobarte Dillon, of the Baskine, co. Westmeath.

7. That William Tyrrell aforesaid, being upon Lord Delvin's protection, after having taken a robbery from one of the subjects in Westmeath, came to the said Lord, and being before him accused of the said robbery, confessed it. But Lord Delvin did not lay hands on him, as in duty bound, but gave him a new protection, making any satisfaction for the said robbery; which course he continued with the said William, until his going into open rebellion, wherein he yet remains.

Lord Delvin answers, that William Tyrrell, being divers times employed for the calling his brother to loyalty, by direction of the Governors from time to time, was by their authority protected for that service. He denies the allegations as to the robbery.

8. That Lord Delvin rescued from the said Christopher, who was a Justice of Peace, one William McDonogh, who was accused of treason.

Lord Delvin denies that he rescued the said William, or any other accused of treason.—[1599, July.] *Signed by Lord Delvin.* pp. 3.

July.

125. Memorandum by John Bird, gent., to the Privy Council, concerning "the extraordinary concourse" at Bristol fair, Bartholomew fair (London), and Stourbridge fair, "of buyers of all kinds of warlike provision for strengthening of the Irish rebels." These buyers are for the most part Jesuits in disguise. A greater concourse is expected this year at the English fairs. All comers over to the Court of England were, when dispatched back, suffered without any restraint (as Tyrone, Florence McCarthy, and others did) to buy and transport from London, Bristol, Chester, and other maritime towns, where best choice for price and goodness is to be had, as much as they could compass in purse and credit. Urges that a proclamation be issued to the Mayors of the said towns, signifying that no warlike provision be henceforth sold to any persons,



without bonds being taken of the buyers, with known sureties abiding in England. Further regulations to the same end. The rebels finding their hopes of supplies crossed, and their means from Scotland also failing them, through Her Majesty's ships lying about Carrickfergus and Lough Foyle, their pride will soon be abated, and they will think themselves happy, that may be taken first into Her Majesty's pardon, "which they seemed so much in former times to scorn, as they refused to pay for the seals, or to accept them being offered." Other advantages of the proposed regulations.

"Also for lessening the number of Romish priests, which are the workers of all the rebellions in Ireland and disturbance of this government, he likewise offereth his service, so far as he may be thereunto authorized and enabled to reward service-doers for their apprehensions; with the better effects the same will take, if it may be notified that, for every priest taken alive or killed (especially Archer, Dr. Creagh, or any the like legates or sub-legates), some condign reward may be expected; for, howsoever it may be disliked that ecclesiastical persons or causes should be dealt withal in these turbulent times (as in peaceable times, for fear of rebelling, they were suffered to run all courses of idolatry, and to seduce subjects), rebellions will never have an end, but rather grow stronger, in Ireland, albeit Her Majesty shall double and redouble her forces.

"Also, in regard that more priests and Papists of late than in former times (over presuming on Her Majesty's gracious inclination to mercy in suspending the execution of the laws) are said to have their weekly assemblies and conventicles in London itself, for massing, and to divert the subjects from God's and Her Majesty's laws, for their discoveries and apprehensions he offereth himself." It is desirable, also, that, during the continuance of St. James's fair at Bristol, Bartholomew fair, and Stourbridge fair, two ships may be commissioned to ride between Chester and Dublin and Bristol and Munster, to peruse such letters as shall be directed from one to another of the Irishry, or writings for instructions, by which it is not doubted that many a treacherous plot and false heart will be discovered, and all disguised Jesuits stayed, who at this time more than at others take Ireland in their way from Spain and Rome for England.

"Also, where there is hope of beating to light some goods, chattels, legacies, and other rights, descended unto Romish priests, fugitives, exiles, and convicted persons (the detainers whereof make no consciences at the defrauding of Her Majesty of her right thereunto), he likewise offereth his serviceable means for discovery and recovery of such concealments, praying for the better stirring up of intelligencers and other needful service-doers," who should receive one half of what may be so unexpectedly gotten, the other half being answered to Her Majesty.

His assurance of success. His estate has been weakened by losses, "five thousand pounds thick." The arrears due to him. [1599, July.] pp. 2.

July 31.

126. Memorandum that a letter, the copy whereof remains with Sir Robert Cecil, was written by Her Majesty to the Lord Lieuten-



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ant, and sent by Cuthbert Stillingfleet, the messenger.—1599, July 31. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 174 b.

Aug. 2.

127. "A note drawn out of the concordatums of Ireland," being payments to divers officers and others.—*Endorsed*, 1599, August 2. p. 1.

Aug. 3.

128. "A list of the whole army, as it stands at this present sorted and disposed to several places of garrison." Total: foot, 11,250; horse, 925.

"The list of the whole army is 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse; out of the which these 11,250 foot and 925 horse being deducted and disposed, as here is set down; and to be disposed, if the Lord Lieutenant go into Ulster, there remaineth towards the journey of Ulster, 4,750 foot and 378 horse; and yet to the province of Leinster there is appointed no more than to maintain a defensive war, and that very barely."—1599, August 3. pp. 1½.

Aug. 4.  
Nonsuch.

129. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex and the Council. "Although we have received a letter of great length from your Lordship and the rest, containing many parts that are very fit for answers, yet because we consider that most of your Lordship's arguments tend to one end, by which you hope to advance the present actions, we will begin to give you satisfaction first where you concluded last. Your Lordship shall therefore understand that Her Majesty, having much debated your reasons alleged for entertainment of 2,000 Irish more during the harvest, wherein you have shewed so seriously of how great consequence it will be to the northern service to yield to that proposition for so short time, the rather to further the plantation of a garrison at Lough Foyle; although you can easily guess that all demands of this nature must be displeasing, considering the multiplication of Her Majesty's expenses there, and of her daily expectation of some troubles from Spain; yet hath she (according to her royal wisdom) been pleased to yield to your request, according to the condition thereunto annexed, which is, that as much shall be abated of the sixteen thousand foot in the month succeeding. And therefore Her Majesty commandeth you, the Treasurer, to make payment of eighteen thousand foot, if you, the Lord Lieutenant, shall direct it, for which you shall have her warrant, under her hand, to allow thereof in your accounts, by the next despatch, for which at this present time doth not serve."

Concerning the pay of the 300 Irish horse. Know that Essex will use them most now. Answers of victuallers as to alleged non-arrival of victuals, &c. Send a book and letter subscribed by them (*wanting*). One of the victuallers is appointed to repair to Essex, to give him more clear satisfaction in all things. As only 3,000*l.* has been defalked for victuals, the Treasurer must either have the magazines full, or have good store of money in his hands. With regard to the apparel, the purveyors affirm that the last proportion of 2,000 [suits] has been long since shipped, and they doubt not that it has arrived. This brings the number to 12,000 [suits],

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and the 2,000 men who last went over carried their clothes with them. So there can be no want in the army in that point, considering that the dead pays in the 16,000 amount to 960, "besides all those of that number that use none of those clothes. For the other point concerning the unserviceableness of stockings and shoes, we had before this time given order to those that deal with the apparel, to cause those kinds to be provided in Ireland, according to your Lordship's direction. And although the assigned day for winter apparel were, by your Lordship's assent, also continued, yet shall it now be hastened according to your desire." As to the concordatums, refer to certain payments which should not have been made by means thereof. The Queen can hardly be induced to believe the error which the Treasurer supposes Sir Henry Wallop to have made on this point in his certificate, and they cannot procure from Her Majesty any further enlargement. Neither can they persuade her to think that, if the concordatums are to be applied to pays of Colonels and Captains of horse and foot, with increase of pay to servitors (as, namely, to Sir Warham Senteleger, for one), it was to any purpose to have the army limited to any number. On comparing the issues for concordatums this year with those of last year, the Treasurer will find that many payments were made then under that title, which now are satisfied fully under others. The Treasurer lately confessed that if he had the two months' treasure sent at once (and it has long since been issued to him), no more need come over for a great while; which they believe, if he certified the defalcations as speedily as he ought. Concerning the abatements for checks, which are very small, it gives them good comfort to think that, as the Queen's charge diminishes not, so her force increases not. Essex is to direct the Mustermaster to send over a complete book, whereby Her Majesty may have "a perfect view of her army, and the numbers, with the names of her officers and captains." Have made no stay of the treasure to be sent over, but the Treasurer's men are slower in taking it.

"Thus have we written to your Lordship's general letter such answer as may in our opinions satisfy you, which we desire as much as your Lordship doth towards us, knowing that we in both realms concur in one end. To your Lordship's other particular letter written by yourself in answer of ours, which was grounded upon a former letter of your own, we can only say this, that those imputations of any indisposition towards you are so improper to us, as we will neither do your Lordship that wrong to take them so intended, nor ourselves that injury to go about to excuse them, knowing you too wise to apply those descriptions to any of us, and ourselves too honest to deserve any such exception; and therefore, as your Lordship pleased to say, that you will touch that point no more hereafter, so we desire to give you no occasion by our writing to revive it, nor any other of like nature, but to believe that we that are tied by the same duties with your Lordship, to desire and labour that the action may prosper in the highest degree, do also wish to your Lordship in particular that contentment, which they should do that remain, etc." (*sic*).—The

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Court at Nonsuch. Aug. 4. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 174 b-176 b.*  
*Copy. pp. 4½.*

Aug. 5. 130. "A note of the army under the command of Sir Conyers Clifford, at the Curlews, Sunday, the 5th of August, 1599.  
 Sir Alexander Radcliffe's regiment having the vanguard:

Armed men...	186	} 571
Shot .....	385	

The Lord Baron of Dunkellin's regiment having the battle:

Armed men...	165	} 421
Shot .....	256	

Sir Arthur Savage's regiment being the rear:

Armed men...	160	} 504
Shot .....	344	

Summa totalis..... 1,496

Slain and hurt that day at the Curlews:—

Sir Conyers Clifford, Governor,	} Hurt, 17 Slain, 13
Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Colonel.	
his Lieutenant, Serjeant, and	
11. soldiers slain .....	

Of Captain Carie's company.....	} slain, 8 hurt, 8
his Lieutenant hurt, and soldiers.....	

Captain Lister himself and Lieutenant hurt .....	} slain, 1 hurt, 5

Captain Cosby is at the Boyle, and so not known.

Captain Garrett Dillon his Ensign hurt.....	} slain, 3 hurt, 15

Captain Trevor his Lieutenant hurt.....	} slain, 10 hurt, 9

Captain Rotheram his Lieutenant and Serjeant slain	} slain, 10 hurt, 15

The Baron of Dunkellin his Lieutenant hurt.....	} slain, 10 hurt, 18

Sir Edward Wingfield his Ensign hurt.....	} slain, 35 hurt, 4

Sir Thomas Germyn his Serjeant hurt.....	} slain, 25 hurt, 6

Sir Robert Lovell his Lieutenant hurt.....	} slain, 10 hurt, 6

Sir Thomas Burke himself hurt.....	} slain, 3 hurt, 6

Captain Walter Flood.....	} slain, 6 hurt, 5

Sir Arthur's regiment:—

Of the Governor's company his Ensign hurt.....	} slain, 2 hurt, 4



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Sir Ger. Harvey his Lieutenant and Ensign slain...	} slain, 3 hurt, 8
Captain Syms his Serjeant slain.....	} slain, 28 hurt, 4
Captain Guest .....	} slain, 3 hurt, 11
Captain Cooche his Lieutenant slain .....	} slain, 15 hurt, 10
Captain Alley .....	} slain, 20 hurt, 4
Captain Roper .....	} slain, 22 hurt, 7
Captain Oliverus Burke.....	<i>nil.</i>
Captain Thomas Burke.....	hurt, 8
Sir Hugh O'Connor Don .....	slain, 4
Captain Ellis Lloyd, twice hurt .....	hurt, 6
Of the Earl of Southampton's troop.....	} slain, 2 hurt, 1
Sir Griffin Markham himself hurt.	
Hurt in all of soldiers .....	196
Hurt of officers .....	12
Slain of soldiers .....	231
Commanders and officers .....	10."

*Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"This shews how many are slain."*  
*pp. 2.*

Aug. 9.  
Nonsuch.

131. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex and the Council.  
"The letter which we have read this day from you of that Council concerning your opinions for the northern action, doth rather deserve reproof than much answer; and therefore you shall hereby understand that when we examine all parts of your writings, and lay them together, we see nothing but insinuations to dissuade that which should be done in that point of greatest consequence, because we should not find the error of those former courtesies, which have made it now of greater difficulty. A matter which in you (whom we have held worthy to advise in the causes of that kingdom) might seem much more strange unto us than they do, if we could forget most of the examples of your proceedings in former times, which (*sic*) the late Deputies Russell and Fitzwilliams, even when the prevention, or rather absolute cure, of all the maladies in that kingdom was put into your hands. Of which if we had taken straight account in Russell's time, the expense, the danger, and the dishonour succeeding, would not thus have multiplied. But we do see bitter effects of our long sufferings, with which things we could as well in our own natural dispense as any Prince that liveth, because we presume that they proceed, not out of lack of duty, but of circumspection. Yet may not our kingdoms, our honour, and the lives of our subjects, both at home and abroad, be still dallied withall. God hath given us those upon other conditions, and whilst He vouchsafeth to continue us over

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them, we will not be accusable for anything within our power to perform.

"Is it not enough for you of that Council to have been the greatest causes of that corruption in matter of religion (whereof the contagion reigneth in that kingdom) by your former suffering (nay favouring) Popery, and the cause of many disasters to our people, by lack of discipline, order, and direction? but that you must, at the landing of our Lieutenant, who came with no other purpose but to do us service in the place of greatest peril, seek to divert his course, when our army was in greatest strength, by persuading so long a journey into Munster, and leaving that prosecution (for which we have been only drawn on by you all to assent to send over so great forces), but that even now, on the 7th of August, we must receive new arguments framed to keep an army out of the north, thereby to increase the rebels' pride, and frustrate one whole year's charges. Observe well what we have already written, and apply your counsels to that which may shorten, and not prolong, the war, seeing never any of you was of other opinion, than that all other courses were but consumptions, except we went on with the northern prosecution. Do you forget that, within these seven days, you made a hot demand of 2,000 men for this action, and now, before you have answer, send us tidings that this huge charge must leave Tyrone untouched? What would you have us believe, if we did not think you loyal, but that either some of you cannot forget your old good wills to that Traitor, or else are insensible of all things, save your own particulars? For if these courses hitherto taken have well settled any of those Provinces, where your advices have carried our army (though contrary to the opinion of you, our Lieutenant, at your first arrival), then seeing this was also accounted your fittest time, what can be the reason of your stay? If, otherwise, it hath abated our strength, and given more means to the Traitor to fortify himself by all kinds of practice against our army, then must you confess, that these difficulties are not found, but made by yourselves. For we do know it, and must believe it, till we see the contrary proved, that whatsoever was appointed by us for this service hath been more than fully completed. Lastly, for Lough Foyle, which still you ring in our ears, to be the place that would most annoy the rebel, we doubt not but to hear by the next that it is begun, and not in question.

"It remaineth now that we do return to your letter (our Lieutenant) such answer as is convenient, considering the contents of the same, not only that you may see we find the scope of the same, but also that you may know what we resolve. First, it appeareth that all that Council have united themselves to dissuade the northern journey, after they had joined with you seven days before in a request for greater numbers. Secondly, yourself express that you hold it *pro bono augurio* that we so much affect the journey, and that you do desire it, and resolve it, and yet demonstratively point at the danger in the consequence, seeking thereby to shew intention to do that out of obedience, against which, in your ominous parenthesis, you make direct protestations. But



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herein we would have you know, that howsoever we do like obedience as the sacrifice which becometh all good subjects, yet such are, and shall be ever, the rules of our directions in things of this nature, as none that serveth us in that place you do, shall ever win honour by obedience, where our country shall receive harm by our commandments. And where you describe unto us how strangely our Presidents of Munster and Connaught are mastered in those provinces without doing anything upon the rebels; that Offally with 1,500 cannot save themselves; that the northern garrisons are able to do nothing with 3,000 men; that within two miles of Dublin there are daily stealths and incursions; if it grow out of negligence of our Governors, it were fit to know it; if otherwise, then we wish they had occupied fewer numbers, seeing they ran no worse fortune before this great army arrived. And for the places which you have taken, we conceive you will leave no great numbers in them, seeing other provinces where they are seated receive no better fruits of their plantation, nor that we can hope of more success (by the Council's writing) than to be able to keep our towns, that were never lost, and some petty holds of small importance, with more than three parts of our army; it being decreed for the head of the rebellion (as it seems by them) that our forces shall not find the way this year to behold them. What despair this will work in our subjects' minds, that had greater hopes; what pride it will raise in the rebels, that had greater fears; and what dishonour it will do us in foreign parts; we had rather you had prevented, than we had noted. And surely when we fall in this calculation of the numbers you write of, howsoever you seem to apportion the numbers only of 4,750 foot and 340 horse for the journey of Ulster, yet ought you to reckon the greatest part of the forces of Connaught, as one of the portions always designed to correspond that service, to which if you shall add these 2,000, which we have granted you, with such extractions as upon better consideration you may draw both from divers places, that serve rather for protections of private men's countries and fortunes, than for the good of the public cause, besides what you may carry out of the frontier northern garrisons, when you are so near his country; you may not reckon under ten or eleven thousand for that service. All which considered, although we will not particularly enjoin you to this way or that course of undertaking him, if the carriage of your own actions have changed the reason of some former counsels; yet have we thought it fit to make you see that out of your own letters we may sufficiently gather the small success of your painful endeavours; wherein we confess our army hath lost no honour under your person; and that out of our letters you may collect some sufficient matter to prove that we command you no impossibilities. Which being all that at this time we think fit for this letter, we end."—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, August 9. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 177-179. Copy. pp. 4½.*

Aug. 9.  
Nonsuch.

132. Copy of preceding.—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, August 9. *Certified by Windebank. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—*



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"This need least to be read." *Another endorsement says that this letter was in reply to a letter of 3 August from the Lord Lieutenant and Council. pp. 5.*

Aug. 10.  
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133. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex and the Council. "Such letters as we have received from your Lordship and Her Majesty's Council there, we have imparted to Her Majesty, whereupon it hath pleased her to call us all that were here present to consultation. To both which letters, although Her Majesty hath fully answered upon very serious and exact examination of all the parts of the same, yet do we think it our part to make your Lordship a particular answer, and to deliver your Lordship such observations as we have made, using that plainness and freedom, which your Lordship, in like cases, doth and may always take with us, that thereby we may the better contribute each to other whatsoever is in us to advance Her Majesty's service. The first and special imputation which Her Majesty layeth daily to our charge, whensoever things fall not out to her expectation, is the remembrance of our earnest persuasions for the undertaking of this war, whereto as we have no other reply but to profess that which our conscience beareth us witness, that we were fully persuaded that this was the best way for her service, so can we not deny but we did ground our counsels upon this foundation, that there should have been a prosecution of the capital rebels in the north, whereby the war might have been shortened; which resolution as it was seriously advised by yourself before your going, and assented unto by most part of the Council of War that were called to the question, so must we confess to your Lordship that we have all this while concurred with Her Majesty in the same desire and expectation. And therefore, as upon your last letters by Harrison (wherein you moved, together with the whole Council, that you might be permitted to charge the list with 2,000 Irish men, for the better furtherance of the northern journey), no one of us did spare the best of our poor credits to induce Her Majesty thereunto, so must we confess that this sudden change hath brought us into great doubtfulness; for, if there were reason to press it then, and that your Lordship hath since done service in Offally, we do not yet conceive what may be the motive now of this alteration, knowing full well that, if your Lordship had conceived that that journey would have taken time from the main service, you would not have deferred it, nor, if you had not known that the journey into Offally would have been also to good purpose, you would not in respect thereof have lost any advantage. With these things therefore that are past, we will trouble your Lordship no further, but will resort to the considerations now of the present and future.

"First, we must let your Lordship understand that, upon perusal of the places which you have taken, we did apprehend, as there is cause, that Her Majesty's army was master where it went, and had left behind it monuments of his passage, having, as it seemeth, made all those castles of the rebels forts for Her Majesty. This account did much content Her Majesty, until in the rest of the relation, it appeared that, notwithstanding all this, yet neither

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the province of Munster, where you have been, nor any other, was in other state than such as Her Majesty's army must be employed in them for the defensive. For, if 3,300 foot and 200 horse, with as many more in Connaught, can neither win country nor beat rebel, nor the rest in other places save themselves, then doth it appear that the state of that kingdom is little bettered. Hereupon, Her Majesty remembering that always it was set down as a firm ground, that Ulster must be dealt with before any other of the provinces could be reduced, and perceiving now that one of the reasons why you should not go into the north, is by reason that these parts do require so great numbers, Her Majesty, out of expectation of that which should be done in the north, and out of experience of that which now is done elsewhere, resorteth to more mislike still of the time that hath been spent all this while in other places; not that anything by your Lordship hath been otherwise performed than with honour to Her Majesty's army, but that the difficulties of that which remains are made so great and dangerous. In which considerations, because your Lordship, with the same Council, made a request that tended to the advancement of the journey, and now that Council apart have used other arguments directly against that, and forasmuch as you particularly have written in a style rather of obedience than of confidence in the action, we are fallen much in our expectation of the great success which we desired, and must now only concur with Her Majesty's direction that, if your Lordship do not all which you would, yet that some such foundation be laid, whereby the Traitor may see he is not given over, as a person that may not be touched, and the world may see that these charges past have bettered the public state of that kingdom, so as that Her Majesty's great army may not be still required for the defensive, which was wholly intended for suppression of the rebellion in the north; which purpose when it shall be given over, then doth Her Majesty expect to hear from you what abatement shall be of this charge, which if it were not to end the war could not without infinite inconvenience be endured. For the declaration which your Lordship hath made of the numbers that are used in other parts, whereby the body of the army for Ulster is made less, we can say no more than Her Majesty hath written, being for our own parts also of opinion, that now you shall have 2,000 more, and that it was thought fit to tarry till this time, that we shall hear that your Lordship hath used Her Majesty's forces for the suppression of the Archtraitor, and other the capital rebels of the north, that have yet remained untouched, wherein we wish your Lordship the same success which your heart desireth."—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, August 10. [*Postscript.*]  
 "We have thought good to let your Lordship know, that where you mention in your last letter that, in your absence from Dublin, the Council there had advertised us of your success in Offally, we never did receive any such despatch, but only some of us received private letters, which reported particulars. This we write, as fearing some passage may have miscarried."—*Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 179-180. Copy. pp. 3.*

[Aug. 10.] 134. The Privy Council to Sir George Carey. Whereas Her



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Majesty has been certified by him that the allowance of 5,000*l.* per annum for extraordinary charges is insufficient for the defraying thereof, especially in this journey for "the suppressing of the chief and capital Rebel Tyrone," now to be undertaken by Essex, and that the sum of 1,000*l.* more is required for such prosecution, Her Majesty is pleased to grant the said sum, to be taken out of the 7,828*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* remaining in Sir George's hands. Monthly certificates to be sent of the concordatums granted by Essex and the Council. In this journey, however, Essex's sole warrant to be sufficient.—[1599, August 10.] *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 180b, 181. Copy. pp. 14.*

Aug. 10. 135. Instructions [by the Earl of Essex] for Sir Theobald Dillon, knight. To return to Athlone, and there give his best advice and assistance to Lord Dunkellin and Sir Arthur Savage, for the settling of that country, and preventing further accidents, which "this disaster" [*the defeat at the Curlew Mountains*] is like to bring with it. To deal with all the Irishry that depended on Sir Conyers Clifford's purse or favour, assuring them that Essex will supply their loss in all respects. Because Dillon has special interest in Tibbott Ne Longe, he is to write to him, to assure him of Essex's good affection and resolution to protect him and his, and to heap upon him as many favours and benefits as he can, and that Essex will, if it be possible for him to march in time enough after drawing the dispersed troops to a head, go in person and set up his rest for the recovery of Tibbott's brother-in-law, O'Connor Sligo. Dillon is to consult with Lord Dunkellin and Sir Arthur Savage how the places "there" [in Connaught] may be held and virtualled for some good time; "and how as many of those men may be sent away to Mullingar as may be presently spared; for I will never employ them there again, nor in any place where they shall be like to do anything but keep walls. The horsemen that cannot live well there shall be sent to Westmeath, to such places as shall be in your judgment best for them and the service." Essex is to be advertised of all things as often and as speedily as possible.—1599, August 10. *Copy. p. 1.*

[Aug. 10.] 136. Instructions [by the Earl of Essex] for Lord Dunkellin and Sir Arthur Savage. "You shall receive herewith a commission jointly and severally to command the forces of her Majesty in that Province (the forces in Thomond and Clanricarde excepted, which I commit to the two Earls themselves), till a Chief Commissioner of Connaught and Thomond be made. You shall first look that the town of Galway and the castle and town of Athlone have sufficient garrison in them to assure them, that the Boyle and Tusk have sufficient wards to keep them and be provided of victuals for two or three months. You shall also place a sufficient ward at Roscommon, and a garrison of horse and foot, if you find that they may live well there, and that there is any part of the country there not wasted, which deserves the employment of such troops. You shall send away my Lord of Southampton's company of horse, and as many more as cannot be well provided for there. You shall also, when you have appointed sufficient garrisons for



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the places above named, send the rest of the foot to Mullingar, from whence I will send them to keep walls, since they do so cowardly and basely in the field. You shall also deal with all those Irish Lords of countries, Captains, gentlemen, and others, that depended on Sir Conyers Clifford's favour or purse, to assure them I will supply their loss of him, which I have likewise required Sir Tibbott Dillon to certify them; and both you and the said Sir Tibbott shall receive from them notes of all their wants, and what conditions they desire at my hands, to which I will return present answer, and as full satisfaction as they can in any reason desire. And especially you must give this assurance to Tibbott Ne Longe, requiring him to send me present word in what state O'Connor Sligo is, what time he is able to hold out, if he be not gone before the letter come, and to assure him that, if he give me time to assemble an army, I will march in person, and set up my rest to free him, to have a revenge for my worthy friend, and especially to recover her Majesty's honour. You shall in your letters to him also require him from us to have especial charge of the victual at Sligo, because by it we must relieve our army, and perform all the services in those parts. Lastly, you shall require him to advertise forthwith the state of the victual, and of the shipping and troops with him.

"You shall call to council, in all services, Sir Griffin Markam, Sir Gerrard Harvey, and Sir Tibbott Dillon; and, in those things which are not of secrecy, O'Connor Don and McSwyne Ne Doe, and such other principal Lords of the Irish, as you shall have with you; but especially you shall hear and confer with Sir Tibbott Dillon, because he both knoweth the country and the service of it exceeding well, and the late courses of Sir Conyers Clifford, with his designs and instruments, better than any other doth. You shall hold a continual correspondence with the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde, to whom I have given the several charges of the forces in their several countries. Lastly, you shall advertise me from time to time of all your proceedings, and of all occurrents there, as often and as speedily as you can."—*Endorsed*, 1599, [August 10.]. *Copy. pp. 2.*

Aug. 10. 137. [The Earl of Essex] to Sir Arthur Savage. "Besides the letter which my Lord of Dunkellin and you send jointly to Tibbott Ne Longe, you must send a trusty messenger to Captain Coche, who by you must be conjured to look well to the victuals, shipping, and troops of soldiers, if upon this disaster Tibbott Ne Longe should forget his duty. But, upon his head, the messenger must be secret in this, and must charge Captain Coche to be so: and you to acquaint no man with this direction, but the messenger himself. And so I rest."—*Endorsed*, 1599, August 10. *Copy. p. 1.*

Aug. 11. 138. Declaration by Sir Theobald Dillon. "Upon Monday, being the 30 of July, 1599, within two miles of Mullingar, after I had received my dispatch from my Lord Lieutenant, being four companies of foot, and 300 beeves for the victualling of the forces in Connaught, his Lordship spake to me to this effect:—"Commend me to Sir Conyers, and wish him from me, unless he stand

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assured that he may go forward without danger to relieve O'Connor Sligo, that he first let me know with great expedition his let therein, and that he do not venture the breaking of his neck before the army be afoot, at which time I will myself venture the breaking of mine arms sooner than he should miscarry."—THEO. DILLON. "This message I delivered to Sir Conyers Clifford, in the presence of his lady, at Athlone. His answer was, that he had forces enough, and that he would rather hasten, because the northern forces should not join or come to head before his coming.—THEO. DILLON."

*To the foregoing holograph declaration by Sir Theobald Dillon is appended a certificate, signed by the Earl of Essex and the Council, and dated 1599, August 11, stating how Sir Theobald affirmed the said declaration on oath before the Council on the date mentioned. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "Since the overthrow." pp. 2.*

August 14. 139. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council.  
Dublin. "Your Lordships' letter of the 4th of this month we have received by Ed. Bushell, and do offer to the principal points therein contained this our humble answer.

"First, we are right glad that Her Majesty alloweth of our motion for the entertaining of 2,000 Irish during this harvest. And, albeit this disaster in Connaught hath made it an harder matter to levy them than when we made the motion, yet I, the Lieutenant, do hope I shall find all, or the greatest part of the number, and get them to stay with me, until Tyrone and I have once tried what we can do one upon the other. Notwithstanding, if my other forces should once but shake, I should find these new levies not unprovided of a counsel. Secondly, though I, the Lieutenant, confess it to be true that Her Majesty and your Lordships agreed to 1,300 horse but during the prosecution which then was intended to begin in Ulster, yet I must plead that this proportion, and sundry other allowances for this war, depended wholly upon the truth of such declarations as were daily made and presented there to your Lordships. But these being in many points imperfect, and consequently the foundations unsound, nothing that was built upon it can endure. The rebels were in England esteemed some sixteen or seventeen thousand, but their numbers, by the setting down of my Lord of Ormonde, who had the managing of the war before me, was above 20,000, and yet we all of the Council think his Lordship's account was with the least. The goodness of our men was thought to be such that we might give them advantage of place, and that, the war being prosecuted with equal numbers, the rebels would be cut off or reduced. But now our men, if they borrow not more confidence from their Commander than they find in themselves, do run away from equal, and sometimes inferior numbers to themselves. As for the strength of the Irish nobility, gentlemen, and the Pale, which hath been held an especial increase of our force, we find by proof that they all furnish not a man, but for his wages and hire out of Her Majesty's purse. So that now, instead of thinking this a sum-



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mer's work, or an easy task, Her Majesty and your Lordships may believe that this is such a war as, if Her Majesty will prosper in it, she must keep a strong army, with liberal maintenance, and have ministers, which must appear in more brightness than their own by the beams of her favour.

"For the matter of victualling, as your Lordships do send us the books which you received from the undertakers, so we sent your Lordships the declaration which the Comptroller of the Victuals gave us, but if either of them come over, we will make all reckonings even, and send your Lordships a perfect view of expense past, of the present store, and of our opinions what is best for the future service.

"In the matter of apparel, if it would please your Lordships, instead of commanding the providers to make provision here of stockings and shoes, to give leave that the soldier might be his own provider, at the same rate and allowance as the merchants have, the service would be greatly advanced.

"But to come to the main point and life of this service; the concordatums and extraordinaries are already limited, and (as your Lordships say) by Her Majesty will not be enlarged. The causes and occasions of extraordinary expense are not limited, nor can be avoided, unless we will suffer the army to lie still, and never march, the magazines never to be removed, and the garrisons to trust to themselves, and never be supplied. In what a strait and confusion we are, whilst we want authority to make these allowances, and ability to do services without them, it is not hard to judge. The charge of extraordinaries hath grown especially in four natures; for the discharged Captains, for some Irish extraordinary companies, for transportations, and for land-carriages. The Captains are termed in your Lordships' letters, cashiered for offences; but the offence for which they were cashiered was their being in a list which could not bear them; for I, the Lieutenant, found 19,000 in list, having but 16,000 in allowance; and of those that were in list it was more reasonable and more just to cashier those which had been shamefully defeated at the Blackwater, than those which were without touch; and yet, till the day of their discharge, they could not be denied their allowance. The extraordinary companies were such as we of the Council thought not fit to be discharged, for fear of making them rebels, nor yet contained [*i.e.* continued] in the list, we never minding to pay them above one month in four. If there be any allowance for Colonels' or Captains' pays, either it is very small, or must be imputed to the fault of the winter; for very few, and those of small importance, have been given or passed our hands. Only Sir Thomas Gates in Munster, and Sir Gerard Harvey in Connaught, have had allowances as Serjeant-Majors in these two provinces, which kind of offices and allowances have ever been, where such troops have been employed.

"And now, we having answered that which concerneth us all, I, the Lord Lieutenant, for my particular will only say this, to the closing up of your Lordships' letter, that I will be true to my word in troubling your Lordships with no more complaints, and careful



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to yield all due reverence to that honourable Senate. I only described the affections and courses of some men, but the persons or qualities of none, and for my dread Sovereign's, and for my country's sake, will pray that that place may never be profaned with any such as shall agree with my descriptions."—Dublin, 1599, August 14.

[*Postscript.*] Before the perclosing of this letter, Captain Windsor returned from Connaught, who, having been present at the late disaster at the Curlews, and, as a Captain having charge, saw the manner of the action, reporteth that more of the soldiers fell by their Captains and Commanders striving to stay them from routing than by the hand of the enemies; and he affirmeth further that there was a greater number of the rebels hurt and slain there than of ours."—*Signed.* pp. 3.

August 14. 140. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "That, before  
Dublin. your Lordships do counsel Her Majesty how to direct the affairs of this kingdom, you may be informed of the true state thereof, I have thought it requisite, in regard to my duty to Her Excellent Majesty, to send your Lordships this despatch, which shall describe every part and limb of the same. Ulster, which was never wholly in obedience, is now (two or three garrisons only excepted, which, though kept with great charge, are in a sort besieged) wholly in rebellion. In Connaught, Her Majesty holdeth the town of Galway, the castle of Athlone, and the wards of Roscommon, Tusk, and the Boyle; the rest of the province (Thomond and Clanricarde only excepted) lying utterly waste; and even these two countries being subject to the daily incursions of the provincial rebels, besides all such of the Munster rebels as shall pass over the Shannon. Munster hath many towns, the most of them garrisoned; yet neither the army which I found there, nor the increase I left there, make us anywhere in that province absolutely masters of the field; but so soon as the garrisons stir out, the rebels are upon them, though most of the bonnaughts are gone out of the province. In Leinster we keep more of the country in obedience than in all the kingdom besides; notwithstanding the rebels are so strong in this province that everywhere they burn, spoil, and prey, saving betwixt the Liffey and the Boyne. Ulster is the seat of the Arch-rebel, and may not be weakly invaded, garrisoned, or frontiered. Connaught hath lost a valiant, a liberal, and understanding Governor, and cannot by me be supplied with another Conyers Clifford, though he also found too hard an encounter, and perished in it. Munster hath at this time in effect no Governor; the President, by reason of his weakness, being not able to be a director; and his brother (who, saving for his infirmity, might have assisted him) being now as unable as the President himself. In Leinster, when I go out of it, I shall leave my Lord of Ormonde (who will hardly be drawn to abandon the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, and Carlow) and the Marshal, who for a good while will not be able to execute in the field, nor at any time to direct from Dublin, where he wanteth the authority and reputation of a Councillor. In the army, wheresoever I go, I shall have

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but Sir Oliver Lambert and Sir Henry Dockwra that have formerly had any extraordinary commands, unless my Lord of Ormonde will spare me Sir Henry Power. And yet, when I march, I must look to have my vanguard, battle, and rearguard well commanded; and besides must supply the provinces of Connaught and Munster. Her Majesty in her list payeth many, but hath her service followed by few; for every town and place of garrison is an hospital, where our degenerate countrymen are glad to entertain sickness as a *supersedeas* for their going into the field, and every remove of an Irish company is almost a breaking of it, so as we can never make account what numbers we have of them. That the pride of the rebel will be very extraordinary upon this late success against Sir Conyers Clifford, your Lordships may easily believe; but believed it cannot be what baseness and cowardice most of these troops are grown unto. Yet must these rebels be assailed in the height of their pride, and these base clowns must be taught to fight again; else will Her Majesty's honour never be recovered, nor our nation valued, nor this kingdom reduced.

"What strength I shall be able to carry into the field, and in what places, and with what designs I purpose to assail the Traitor, your Lordships by my next shall be fully informed. My journey hath been all this while stayed, by reason that the best companies which I should carry with me are not yet come to me; and there will be no beeves nor carriages gotten yet these eight days. Besides, this whole province did cry out upon me to stay till they had gotten in some corn; otherwise they must either starve, or resolve to run over into England. But within eight or ten days at the furthest, I hope to be marching; howbeit with what disadvantages, wants, and necessities, we shall keep the field, your Lordships may easily judge, when we have no allowance for espials, for practice to effect service, for transportation of victuals or munitions, for rewards to such as shall well deserve, for relief of miserable and unserviceable creatures, lastly, for any extraordinary charges whatsoever; the sum of 5,000*l.* being quite run out, and Her Majesty tying us to that stint. Had I not already, and did I not every day bankrupt myself upon these mercenary Irish, I would myself defray many of these charges without asking allowance.

"At my first coming into this kingdom, the name of Her Majesty's Lieutenant, and that reputation (whatsoever it was), which I had purchased in her services, made me to be sought by some, and respected by all. But that season, Her Majesty's favour, and my comfort, ended all at once. Since, I have sought by all the means that my industry and ability could compass, to put hope and spirit into this army, but it hath drooped every day. Those which go from me will, according to the fashion of the world, lend me charities to excuse themselves. Those who tarry with me do, me thinks, continually upbraid me how much I owe them, that I am not left alone in such a fortune. And the Irish generally profess (at least for ceremony and show) that they would as soon build upon my word as upon any man's living, in all things that are in my power to perform; but till my fortune be as good as



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my faith, they will not rely upon me, nor make me their mediator to Her Majesty's mercy, till I have more evident demonstration of her favour. So that I have no further interest in any of them, than that which I obtain by purchase, nor for longer time than whiles I feed them with money; neither have I any use of them, but when I go myself with them; and those whom yesterday I led to the field, fight against me to-day; and those who shot at me to-day, will come in, and fight on my side to-morrow. Such is the nature of this people, and of this war."—Dublin, August 14. *Endorsed*, 1599, by the Lord Cromwell. *Signed*. pp. 2½.

Aug. 14.  
[Dublin.]

141. List of pledges which certain submittees of the province of Leinster agreed to put in.

Viscount Mountgarrett—His son Edward Butler.

Baron of Cahir—His brother Edmond Butler, or his brother Edward.

Sir Terence O'Dempsey—His son Onie, or his son James; Onie to be sent to Lord Delvin, and James to remain at Dublin at school.

Teig Oge O'Don—His son Edward, to be delivered to Sir Warham Sentleger, to remain at Monasterevan.

Callow O'Molloy—His son Cahir, to be delivered to the Lord Lieutenant. Cahir "is now at school in Dublin."

*This list is signed, as examined, by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who endorses the document with the statement that the promise of the pledges was "not performed."*—[Dublin], 1599, August 14. p. 1.

Aug. 18.  
Dublin.

142. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Mr. [Ralph] Birkinshawe, who has license to repair to England for his private affairs. His good service in the musters. Prays that he may have a private audience of the Queen. The sooner he is returned, the better.—Dublin, 1599, August 18. *Endorsed*, Received at Nonsuch the 25th. *Signed*. *Seal*. p. 1.

Aug. 19.  
Dublin.

143. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "By letters yesternight from Athlone, I hear for certain that O'Connor Sligo is gone to Tyrone, having first taken four pledges for his return into his castle, if he do not agree upon his composition. I hear also, but not of such certainty, that since he is quite revolted, and that Theobald Ne Longe hath betrayed our ships and victuals, which went by sea to meet Sir Conyers Clifford, that the Abbey of the Boyle is likewise given up, and most of that province revolting. Which, if it be true, I must hasten thither, for undoubtedly O'Donnell, in the pride of his success, will follow his fortune, and overrun all that province, if he be not encountered. The amazement of our base soldiers upon the late disaster, and the fear of a northern journey is such, as they disband daily; the Irish go to the rebels by herds; the others make strange adventures to steal over; and some force themselves to be sick, and lie like creatures that have neither hearts nor souls. Yet, by the favour of God, our little army, which will hardly be 3,500 foot, and not much above 300 horse, shall give Her Majesty as good account as ever



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any troop did to their sovereign. I am so distracted with the misery of Connaught, the wants of Munster, the mutiny of Leinster (because I tarry not with them), the want of Governors and men able to take charge, that I protest that, if I did not more for Her Majesty's service and honour bear these scorns of fortune and torture of mind than for any pleasure I take in the world, I should quickly find a fair way to free myself."—Dublin, August 19. *Endorsed, 1599. Signed. p. 1.*

Aug. 19.  
Dublin.

144. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have received at 11 this forenoon your Honour's letter of the 31st of the last, being the time that this bearer, the pursuivant, landed here. When I asked of him Her Majesty's letter mentioned in that of yours, he answered that he had presently delivered it to the Lord Lieutenant, to his own hands; upon which, I think, doth grow this packet, signed by his Lordship, which he sent unto me as I was at dinner, requiring me to send it away with all speed. I humbly pray your Honour to let me know by your next, whether this packet, signed "Essex," be an answer to that of Her Majesty recommended by you to my trust, to the end that, if it do not directly answer that letter, I may press a further answer; for I will rather offend any here, than not to do that which I ought for your Honour's satisfaction, to whom I will not fail to give all faithful and humble correspondency, to the uttermost of my power."—Dublin, 1599, August 19. *Endorsed, By Stillingfleet. Holograph. p. 1.*

Aug. 21.  
Dublin  
Castle.

145. "The opinion of the Lords and Colonels of the Army, dissuading the journey northward."

"We, the Lords, Colonels, and Knights of the Army, being called to a Council at War, the day and year above written, (at what time the Lord Lieutenant, proposing to us his purpose of invading Ulster, as well in regard of Her Majesty's express commandment, as also to pull down the pride of the Archtraitor Tyrone, to redeem the late scorn of the Curlews, and lastly to hold up the reputation of the army, required us to deliver our opinions in what sort a present journey thither might be made,) we, who were then present, being thoroughly acquainted with the state of Her Majesty's forces (as having particular charge of them, some as Colonels over regiments, and some as Captains over companies), after long debating, every one of us having spoken in order, at last by common consent resolved that, seeing the army so unwilling to be carried thither, that some secretly run into England, others revolt to the rebels, a third sort partly hide themselves in the country, and partly feign themselves sick; and seeing that there could be no planting this year at Lough Foyle, nor assailing of the north but one way (the Connaught army, consisting of a great part of old companies, being lately defeated), and that our army, which passeth not the number 3,500, or 4,000 at the most, of strong and serviceable men, should be far overmatched, when all the forces of the north should encounter them; and sithence that it was a course full of danger, and of little or no hope, to carry the army into their strengths, where the rebels

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should be first lodged, and were able to bring 6,000 shot to entertain fight with less than 2,000 (in which places, also, our horse should never be able to serve, or succour our foot); and, further, forasmuch as we could place no garrisons in the north, but such as consisted of very great numbers, and great numbers we could not spare from so small an army, with any likelihood of making a good retreat with the rest (to say nothing of the want of shipping, and especially of victualling, caused by the great decay thereof); and lastly sithence, if we could spare a sufficient number, and could lodge them at Armagh and the Blackwater, it would but tie the army to be ever busied in victualling them, and consequently more incommode us than trouble the rebels (as it appeareth in the former plantations there in the times of the Lord Burgh, Sir William Russell, and Sir John Norreys); in regard of the premisses, we all were of opinion that we could not, with duty to Her Majesty, and safety to this kingdom, advise or assent to the undertaking of any journey far north. In which resolution if any man suspected it proceeded of weakness or baseness, we will not only in all likely and profitable service disprove him, but will, every one of us, seal with his life, that we dissuaded this undertaking with more duty than any man could persuade unto it."—Dublin Castle, 1599, August 21.

This document is signed:—Ed. Wynfield, H. Southampton, Oliver Lambert, Ga. Kildare, W. Mounteagle, R. Dewy, Henry Power, Rich. Castleconnell, Math. Morgan, H. Davers, John Bolle, Fra. Darcy, Henry Docwra, Sa. Bagenall, Edward Herbert, Cha. Wilmot, Tho. Jermyn, and Arthur Champernowne. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, "Sent with the letter of the 27th of August." pp. 2.

Aug. 22.  
Dublin.

146. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council. "In a late joint letter of the 27th of the last month, we were bold (amongst other things) to put your Lordships in mind how infinitely the service of this realm was, and would be, maimed by a limitation of all extraordinaries to five thousand pounds per annum; and that, in such a stint, it was not possible for us to hold up the service without some further enlargement therein." The reasons they used did not work the hoped for effect, as appears by their Lordships' letter of August 4. The extreme urgency for increasing the sum for extraordinary charges. The 5,000*l.* allowed for the same has long since been expended, or at least very little remains. "And yet, lest the army, which is now ready to be employed against the Arch-traitor, or some of his principal confederates, might receive delay, the season and action concurring aptly together, we have adventured to borrow so much money as we can for this purpose, and have put it into the hands of a special paymaster, to issue it by concordatum from me, the Lord Lieutenant, and such of the Council as shall be with me in the field, for such extraordinaries as shall occur in the service, and shall be thought most requisite to be paid." Pray their Lordships' good acceptance of this action, and that they will earnestly move Her Majesty to enlarge the allowance for extraordinaries, if she will



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not set it wholly at liberty, as in other times it hath been. "This intended journey, and the preparations, together with the purpose thereof, and the forces employed, your Lordships shall receive from me, the Lieutenant, by the next, being not able at this instant to satisfy your Lordships so fully therein, as by my next I shall be."—Dublin, 1599, August 22. *Sir Robert Cecil adds to the endorsement about the concordatums*:—"and a purpose expressed to invade the Arch-Traitor, or his principal followers." Received at Hampton Court the 4th of September. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Aug. 22.  
Dublin.

147. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "The news of Tibbott Ne Longe's betraying of the victuals and ships at Sligo (God be thanked) is proved untrue. But O'Connor Sligo is held prisoner with O'Donnell, so that there I am not tied to make a journey for his rescue. I have written to those who command the forces of the province, that they shall not seek to draw me thither, if it be not upon terms of extremity. I have caused Mr. Treasurer to send them one thousand pounds, and have directed them how they shall victual and secure the castles held for Her Majesty there, whereby I conceive good hope not to be diverted from Ulster to those parts. This night I expect my Lord of Ormonde and the Marshal here, with whom I will leave the best order I can for the securing of these parts behind me; and in the mean time I am sending away munition and victuals to Kells and to the Navan; and draw the army into Meath; myself purposing, by the grace of God, to follow at the end of this week; howbeit the poverty or ill affection of this people doth make us want more than half our proportion as well of beeves as of carriages." Prays that he may be borne with for two or three days, when he will send a special messenger to give an account of all his "purposes and conceived abilities."—Dublin, August 22. *Endorsed, 1599.* Received at Hampton Court the 4th of September. *Signed. p. 1.*

Aug. 22.  
Mallow.

148. Captain Francis Kingsmill to Sir Robert Cecil. "The late infinite disaster befallen us by the death of my Lord President and Sir Henry Norreys, one of them dying the sixteenth day of this month, the other the one and twentieth, doth embolden me to write to your Honour something which concerneth the present state of this province, and would more particularly have discovered it to you, had not this gentleman, Mr. Crosby, being now weary of this unfortunate place, been willing to repair to your Lordship with all speed. He is one that, since the beginning of all these rebellions in Munster, hath remained in my Lord President's house with him, and can best inform your Honour of the present state here, and the best means for reducing it to a settledness, of any that I know. My Lord President since these stirs hath used him in many conferences with the chief of the rebels, in which he hath both faithfully and truly performed the part of an honest man, and one that shewed himself very zealous in Her Majesty's service; and by his means both McDonogh, the White Knight, John Barry, the Knight of Kerry, and many that have entered chiefly into these rebellions with the Desmond, and are the principal men, were at this instant upon the point of coming in, whereof some of them



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had taken their oath, so soon as my Lord were recovered, to perform it, and all of them seemed willing in many of their actions. The Desmond also hath lately written to Sir George Thornton, Marshal of Munster, to be a means to the President for a stay of all matters for a month, till he might have some conference, and make his means to my Lord Lieutenant. How this unhappy mischance may alter all, I know not. But if it shall please your Honour to pardon me, I will set down my opinion of the courses to be held here, which otherwise will hardly grow to good effects.

“The extreme exactions of the bonnaught or hired strangers here, maintained by the province, hath so wearied both the gentlemen and generally the churls, as it was assured to my Lord President that, were it not for the desperate courses some few have run, and the ambition of very few others, there could not anything happen to them more pleasing than a (*sic*) assuredness of their estates, and a riddance and release of the extreme charge they are at, by giving pay to these Connaught and Ulster men here amongst them, which have, to the number of four thousand, every man 30s. a quarter, and a milch cow, besides meat and drink, and what they can get from the churls by exacting, and from those that pretend subjection, by force. These insolencies had so wearied those that hired them, as almost all desired to be out of their lives rather than to have endured it; and, if it had pleased God to have spared life to this most worthy gentleman but two months longer, I assure myself there had been very few out in this province; for those men being in, which had desired the Queen’s mercy, there had not one bonnaught dared to stay in Munster, for fear of draughts to be drawn on them by them and their friends. The country of itself is well able to make four thousand more, though they are not so well furnished, nor so good men, all the strangers serving for the most part with pike and shot; and, through the extreme exactions they use on the churls and country people, the weaponed men live with much more abundance and in greater heart than ever they did, and are grown men that will willingly fight when occasion shall be offered them.

“The estate of our army here is far contrary; those that be, rather carrying the shew of men than men fit to fight, insomuch as I do assure your Honour, where five hundred lay in a garrison together, being all old companies and the best in Munster, they are not able to draw out two hundred able men here at Mallow. The rest in all places are, I know, worse; some having fifty, some forty, sick in a company, and few or any that are fit to be carried to any service, by reason they have been eight months here without any kind of relief of clothes; and the two thousand almost ten (*sic*) which came over about Allhallowtide, besides, continually kept to be fed on bread and cheese and butter, which for the better part is so ill, as they are rather poisoned with it than nourished. If there may not be some better course held, both for relieving of them rather before the time with clothes than after, and that seeing we do for the most part live in garrisons, where we may live exceedingly well, having our lendings duly paid us, there may some order be taken for three months’ victuals,

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that is good, and will continue so for a year, if occasion be to use it in any journey into the field; and being here in magazine, that the soldiers' lendings be duly paid them, to hearten and encourage them. Let it not be any marvel if we, as in other places one time or other, happen on a blow, being to fight against men that are generally in all the world reputed valiant, that live in their own country, and in much better estate than ever they did, which carry arms equal to ours, saving the cuirasses only, which the pikemen want, and which, through the want our soldiers have been in many times, had too good fortune against them (*sic*). All which I submit to your Honour's graver judgment.

"I humbly beseech you to pardon me, in that I have written that which is fit, though it may be, it may be thought some presumption in me, whom it less concerns than many here. For any particular thing, this gentleman can well inform your Honour, whom I have stayed here only so long as I could have time to write this letter, being very desirous to take the first opportunity of the wind. My Lord Lieutenant, as we hear, is gone, upon the late news of Sir Conyers Clifford, into Connaught, to whom there is letters gone that way, and others to Dublin, by which he may know how to take a course for this country, which is now in very ill state, being without a head, neither almost a week's victuals for half the army, nor one penny of money this three or four months; but, as we hear, there is some little at Waterford, which my Lord President before his death sent to the Mayor, to send up with the first wind. This also is one of the principal misfortunes we are tied to here in this province; that whatsoever is employed for the service here comes not directly from Bristol, but must have six winds to blow before we can receive it. I do not doubt but my Lord Lieutenant, if he be in Connaught, will either come this way, or give present order for the government here; but, because I think the settled Governor must come by order from Her Majesty, I thought it my duty, if it shall please your Honour to pardon me, to let you know the general hope of (*sic*; ? that) all, both subjects and soldiers here, live in, that once again one of that honourable race may be sent hither, which, by his own worth and the good opinion conceived here of the name, is able to do the Queen more service here than any [that] can be sent; which I submit also to your better direction. I humbly beseech your Honour, as you have continued always favourable to this most honourable gentleman now departed, so you will remain to his poor son, who is left ten thousand pound in his estate worse, than he was likely this time twelve months, besides the loss of as good a father as lived; and for myself I must intreat your honourable favour, that you will be pleased to let me be paid money due to me from Her Majesty, which I was a long suitor for at my last being in England, having now lost both Sir John Norreys and this my last friend, by which means I have more need of it than ever."—Mallow, August 22. *Endorsed, 1599. Holograph. pp. 4.*

Aug. 25.  
Dublin.

149. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, the Earl of Ormonde, and Sir Robert Gardener, to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the corn



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claimed by Lady Burgh (*with marginal notes in behalf of her Ladyship*).—Dublin, 1599, August 25. *Signed.* pp. 2½.

Aug. 25.  
Limerick.

150. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his coming into Ireland, has endeavoured to follow Her Majesty's service as much as lay in his power, both in Munster and in the county of Clare, which he found for the most part possessed by the enemy. Has reduced that county to Her Majesty's subjection, although it was very much wasted by the rebels. At his coming out of England, was appointed second in command in Munster. Hopes that he may be thought worthy to be Governor there, now that Sir Thomas Norreys is dead. Has sent the bearer, his Lieutenant, who can discourse to Sir Robert of the disaster to Sir Conyers Clifford, the death of Sir Thomas Norreys, and the state of Connaught and Munster, where he has served many years with the writer.—Limerick, 1599, August 25. *Endorsed,* By his Lieutenant, Mr. Norton. Received at Richmond, 25 October. *Signed.* p. 1.

Aug. 26.  
Dublin.

151. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges the receipt of the Privy Council's letters of the 18th of August, and of Sir Robert's of the 19th of August. Has performed their commands to disburse 1,000*l.* more for extraordinaries. Was the more willing to do this, as he would give some small assistance to Essex in his journey northward, "for I see little prosecution and little good success, but when his Lordship is in person." A long time has been spent in debating this journey, "every man in general protesting against it. The army is exceeding weak; for, either through the corruptions of the victuals, or of this cursed climate, or of both, the soldiers fall sick exceedingly, [so] that I assure your Honour that, though Her Majesty's pay at this present in list [is] after the rate of 17,000 or 18,000, yet is there not in this kingdom 10,000 strong; so that your Honour may guess that the companies, which now shall go with his Lordship, can be but weak, and the numbers but small. And it is to be feared that, more towards winter, the soldiers will fall sick in far greater numbers. I would oftener write to your Honour, but our late evil successes doth discourage me to be the messenger of evil news. Sir Thomas Egerton, my good friend, is lately dead, and so is Sir Hewett Osborne, and divers others sick."—Dublin, 1599, August 26. *Endorsed,* By Sir William Lovelace. Received at Hampton Court the 5th of September. *Holograph. Seal.* p. 1.

Aug. 26.  
Dublin.

152. Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. Acknowledges the receipt of their letters of the 18th instant, wherein they command him to issue 1,000*l.* for the extraordinary charges of the journey northwards, out of the 7,828*l.* remaining in his hands. Though, at the end of the six months ending 15 August, he had in hand very nearly 10,000*l.*, yet, by their Lordships' direction, the list is increased 2,000, so that the payments are greater. Yet, as he was desirous to advance Her Majesty's services, and to obey their Lordships' commands, and also to supply all wants to the uttermost of his small power, he borrowed 1,000*l.* for the extraordi-



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naries, and delivered the same to Mr. Beverley, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to furnish his Lordship in this journey. Has also appointed 4,000*l.* to pay the army which is now to go with Essex; 1,500*l.* to be sent into Munster; 1,000*l.* into Connaught; 1,000*l.* to Newry; and 1,000*l.* to Carrickfergus. The rest, which is not 2,000*l.*, remains at Dublin to pay the garrisons in Kilkenny, Leix, Offally, Kells, Dundalk, Navan, and other places; so this proportion will not suffice till the middle of September. Reminds their Lordships that, at Michaelmas next, the Officers of Justice in Ireland, the Governors of Provinces, Patentees, Pensioners, Warders of Castles, and others, must be paid; all which amounts to 20,000*l.* per annum. "What Her Majesty's receipts of the revenue of this kingdom will be this half-year ending at Michaelmas (and which will not be paid before it be near Christmas) I know not; but I do assure your Lordships on my faith that the last half-year's receipt was not above 1,400*l.*" Has, according to directions, made payments for the 2,000 extra men during harvest time. Asks for Her Majesty's promised warrant for the same, as also for the extraordinaries.—Dublin, 1599, August 26. *The letter is addressed by Sir George but is unsigned. Sir Robert Cecil endorses it, "He forgot to set to his name;" and his Secretary has put, "By Sir William Lovelace." Seal. p. 1.*

Aug. 27.  
Dublin.

153. The Earl of Essex and the Council to the Privy Council. Essex, by virtue of his patent, has, on the petition of the inhabitants of Athlone, and by the advice of the Council, passed an incorporation, under the name of the Portgrave and burgesses of Athlone. Pray that their Lordships may be a means to obtain from Her Majesty further franchises and liberties for the town, and some help towards the building of its walls. "The place of our own knowledge is a chief frontier town upon many rebellious septs, and, in the late confusions of this kingdom, hath been specially and most maliciously shot at by them, the rather for that it is a thoroughfare town between the provinces of Leinster and Connaught, and hath from time to time given great relief to all Her Majesty's armies and garrisons, as they had occasion either to pass or reside there; and, being holpen with Her Majesty's grant of liberties and freedoms, it would be far better enabled to bear out the heavy burdens of the time, and much advance the future services of Her Majesty in those parts." The bearer, Richard Nolan, is the chosen agent for the town.—Dublin, 1599, August 27. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Aug. 27.  
Ennis in  
Thomond.

154. Gerrott Comerford, Attorney-General of Connaught, to Sir Robert Cecil. "The manifold favours extended towards me by my very good Lord your father urged me, in acknowledging my love to him and duty to your Honour, to impart unto you the distressed state of this province of Connaught and Thomond, whereof I am Her Majesty's Attorney. The last disaster that happened to Sir Conyers Clifford and the army then under his leading, hath so dismayed the faithful subjects, and raised to a height of pride the bad members thereof, that the whole province by that Archtraitor O'Donnell, and Redmond Burke, son to the late Lord Baron of

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Leitrim, is brought in danger to be ru[i]nated. Sir Conyers Clifford, before the arrival of the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex, in hope to appease, and by fair means to draw to obedience, the inhabitants thereof, hath not only bestowed divers gifts and rewards upon them, but also made Captains of divers of them over those that were in rebellion with them, who were by Her Majesty's monition made expert and perfect soldiers, and having remained for a time obedient, in the end divers of them revolted to the enemy, and are in a manner the strongest strength they have against us. And before their revolt, others, of far better desert in their conceit, seeing them thus preferred, repined at their fortune, and, in hope to be rewarded as they were, took an unnatural course, and revolted, whereby most of all the realm were in arms (some of the noblemen, the cities, and port towns, and divers descended of English race, and some few of the mere Irish excepted); and the said rebels, being linked with that Archtraitor O'Neill, who hath, under the cloak and colour of feigned religion, and for divers other wicked respects, seduced and stirred the Geraldines of Munster, the Clancartys, Clangibbons, Clansheehys, the Lacys, the Lord Roche, the Lord of Cahir, the Lord of Lixnaw, the Sullivans, Mullrians, Kennedys, O'Carrolls (Sir Charles O'Carroll excepted), and divers other inferior unto them, to revolt in Munster; and, in Leinster, some of the Geraldines of the county of Kildare, the Burkes, Byrnes, Tooles, Moores, Connors, Kavanaghs, the Lord Mountgarrett, and Dermot McGillpatrick, and others of Ossory, near kinsmen to the Lord of Upper Ossory, and divers other inferior septs. In Connaught and Thomond, divers of the Brians, Burkes, Clandonnells, Connors, Kellys, Malleys, Flaherties, McSwynes, Clandonoghs, Doudyes [O'Dowdas], and divers other inferior unto them, revolted; the realm being thus in an uproar; the Earl of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Her Majesty's army, having had his hands full only to defend the cities, towns, and forts of Her Majesty, and from time to time, as occasion was offered, to victual them. In the execution whereof, divers notable good services were effected by his Lordship, as well in winning of Ballyne, a strong manor warded by the Lord of Mountgarrett, as in killing of a most dangerous traitor Lysagh O'More, and divers other notable rebels at sundry times, and in well victualling, guarding, and defending the cities, towns, and forts, who (*sic*) were distressed, and especially Kilmallock, the fort of Leix [Maryborough], the fort of Offally [Philipstown], and other weak corporate towns dispersed over the kingdom. Upon the arrival of the Earl of Thomond, Thomond for the most part being [*sic*, ? was] in arms, and joined with his Lordship's second brother Teig, who upon his Lordship['s] coming was so 'freighted' [frightened] and forsaken by the inhabitants of Thomond, that he was enforced to be a petitioner to the Lord Lieutenant of the army, before the coming of the Lord Lieutenant General, to receive him, and the rest of his confederates, to Her Majesty's mercy; whereby the Earl of Thomond hath appeased, by hanging of divers principal ringleaders to mischief of Thomond, the rebellion of Thomond,



and brought that country to a full subjection, some few of the Briens and McMahons, who are joined with the supposed Desmond, excepted.

"The Lord Lieutenant and Governor-General, after his arrival at Dublin, having consulted with the Lord Lieutenant of the army, and the rest of Her Majesty's Privy Council of this realm, what course to take, have (*sic*) resolved to draw first to Leinster and Munster, being the heart of this realm, in hope to appease the rebellion there, and after all to set upon Ulster, who (*sic*) is the well-spring of all mischief; in performing whereof the Lord Lieutenant General, having rested at Dublin some few days, marched to the Naas. The Lord Lieutenant of the army met his Lordship by the way beyond the Naas, and brought him the Lord of Mountgarrett and the Lord of Cahir, who promised the delivery of their castles and strongholds to his Lordship, and so conditionally they were received; and therehence (*sic*) marched to McThomas's country, and intending to lay siege to Ballahy, McThomas, a principal gentleman and inheritor of great territories there, submitted himself to his Lordship; and therehence marched towards Kilkenny, where the Moores in our way skirmished with his Lordship in a pass, with mountains and bogs on either side of it; and having galled and killed divers of the enemy, with few lost and some galled with shot of our side, we marched to Beallaraged, one of my Lord of Mountgarrett's principal manors, which was yielded up by him to the Lord Lieutenant, where his Lordship left Captain Folliott and his company; and therehence marched to Kilkenny, where his Lordship remained two days, and understanding that the Cahir, a principal house of the Lord of Cahir, was warded, and not in point to be yielded, his Lordship sent to Waterford for a cannon and a culverin, and in his Lordship[s] way intended to lay siege to the Castle of Derynlare, within two miles to Clonmell, who (*sic*) was, before the assault, yielded up to his Lordship and warded by his Honour; and marched therehence to Clonmell, and from Clonmell to the Cahir, having the Lord Mountgarrett and the Lord of Cahir in the Marshal's ward. The ward denied the yielding up of the Castle of the Cahir. The cannon and culverin being mounted, the Castle was assaulted; and, in the space of four days, a great breach being made, the ward by night attempted to fly away, and some twenty two of them were slain, and the rest 'scoope' [escaped] by reason of a deep river that was near the castle. His Lordship having left a ward there, the castle being wardable, the Lord Mountgarrett was put at liberty, and therehence [the Lord Lieutenant] marched to Limerick, and at Caherconreogh, Thomas Burke, brother to the Lord Burke, submitted himself; and at Limerick, Sir Conyers Clifford met the Lord Lieutenant, and from thence I was directed to this province to my charge, where I remain, not without the eminent danger of my life. His Lordship marched through the province of Munster, where the enemy durst not meet his Honour, but in places of advantage skirmished with his Lordship and were put to flight; and soon after his Honour made a journey to Ferekall, where Sir Conyers Clifford met his Lordship; and, in



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his way, the castle of Ballaboye was yielded unto him, being situated for service, where a strong garrison was left. And his Lordship having preyed, burned, and killed divers of the rebels there, marched backward to the English Pale.

The Earl of Ormonde, the 11 of this instant, came to Ormonde, and laid siege to Balleneclohye, a strong castle, and won it, and had the killing of divers of the Kennedys, and took pledges for the loyalty of divers of the inhabitants of Ormonde. The 18 of this instant, Redmond Burke, the supposed son of the late Lord Baron of Leitrim, with some five hundred men, entered into the fastness of Clanrickarde, I being then with the Earl of Clanrickarde, by reason that the rebels were fortifying near Thomond. I came to the Earl of Thomond, to give his Lordship notice thereof, his Honour having newly come from Munster, after the burning of divers villages, and spoiling and burning of certain corn there, and killing of some of the enemy, who maintained a hot skirmish with his Lordship. His Honour assembled the inhabitants of Thomond together, and joined them with his own company, and some few of the garrison of Limerick, and marched towards the enemy, they being environed round about his Lordship of one side, and the Earl of Clanrickarde of the other side. The Earl of Clanrickarde having skirmished with them near their fastness, and putting them to the worst, the rebels, understanding of the Earl of Thomond's approach near unto them, by night went away, expecting the coming of the Arch-traitor O'Donnell to their aid, who threatened daily to overrun this province, prolonging his time to hearken after what course the Lord Lieutenant will hold, in making a road to Ulster or to Connaught. O'Donnell may not well be interrupted from coming to this province till Sligo be fortified, and a stronger garrison there placed, which by sea may be relieved at all times.

"It is credibly given out that O'Connor Sligo and Tibbott Ne Longe Burke (*sic*) are joined with O'Donnell, and O'Connor sent to the Archtraitor Tyrone. O'Connor was in great distress in the castle of Colownye, five miles from Sligo, and was enforced, for want of relief, to yield up his castle. This untimely accident, that happened to Sir Conyers Clifford, was for a desire he had to relieve him. If our shipping and preparation then sent to Sligo were yielded up to O'Donnell, whereof I can learn no certainty, but by report that they were delivered up, it will greatly avail him and hinder the future service. The Lord Lieutenant is expected to be at Athlone speedily. If his Lordship will attend the service of Leinster and Munster this season, and make a defensive war upon Tyrone and O'Donnell, there is great hope conceived of the quieting of both provinces. Albeit that there are divers unstaid people and young imps there dwelling, whose desire is more to have war than peace, and that divers of our soldiers are weak, and cannot brook the travel and diet of this country, yet consid[ering] that the enemy always have had the worst, and were driven to fly to the woods and bogs, where the Lord Lieutenant was in the field, if his Lordship could attend the service of Munster and Leinster, and ..... them in by the sword, or good pledges for their loyalty

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hereafter, Ulster would, in time s..... by sending of a strong army to Lough Foyle." Cannot write more certain[ly] of O'Connor Sligo, by reason that his [the writer's] messengers and spials are daily intercepted by the enemy. Craves pardon if he writes aught amiss.—Ennis in Thomond, 1599, August 27. *Signed. Endorsed.* Received at Richmond, 25 of October, by Mr. Norton. *pp.* 3½.

Aug. 28.  
Dublin.

155. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "I am even now putting my foot into the stirrup, to go to the rendezvous at the Navan; and from thence I will draw the army so far, and to do as much, as duty will warrant me, and God enable me."—Dublin, August 28. *Endorsed*, 1599. By Mr. Lovelace. Received at Hampton Court, 5 September. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Aug. 28.  
The Bawn.

156. Richard Weston to the Earl of Essex. Came yesternight from Tyrone, who is now in camp near Mokeno, with not 500 men, for he gave all his men license to go about their harvest, and now he cannot gather them together. He has made proclamation that, upon pain of death, they be with him presently. He has sent for O'Donnell, O'Rourke, and Maguire, to come as speedily as they can. The number of their forces is as follows. Tyrone has cessed upon O'Cahan, Sir Arthur O'Neill, Cormack, and upon all his own men, 2,300 foot. Then he has some risings out upon the country, which will amount to 300 foot and 300 horse. The Mahons will make some 400 foot and 100 horse; Magennis, 100 foot and 20 horse. O'Hanlon and all his people, with 100 of Tyrone's foot, stays to keep towards the Moyerie. Brian McArt stays in Clandeboy with all his forces to keep there. Maguire, if he come, will bring with him 400 foot and 30 horse. O'Rourke, if he come, will bring 400 foot and 30 horse. If O'Donnell come, he will bring 1,000 foot and 60 horse. James McSorley Boy is not sent for at all, for Tyrone is offended with him for causing Shane McBrien's coming in to Knockfergus. Knows not whether he [McSorley] will send any or no. O'Connor [Sligo] is fully agreed with O'Donnell and all the rest.

"Tibbott Ne Longe was within with O'Donnell, and O'Donnell did send out of him as pledges O'Dogherty, and two other pledges, the best of his country. I heard Tyrone himself say they are agreed, but they will not have any to know it. Tyrone will gather his forces to Mockeno, and there to (*sic*) be ready to meet your Lordship, wheresoever you go. My opinion is, that the sooner you go forward, the better it will be, for he will have the less people. He has trenched very much betwixt the Blackwater and Armagh. He did write to McMahan to cut and trench some way, that is, betwixt the Brenny and Moneasvane. There is no news there of no shipping. There came no news from Scotland, not in these fifteen days, but a fifteen days ago there came a letter out of Scotland from one, but Tyrone brake the man's name that sent it. The effect was that there was some bickering betwixt them and the English, and that they expected help very shortly; and wrote that Tyrone should write to him of all news from him, and that he



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should have all intelligence from him of that party. He wrote in the last of his letter that your Honour was mightily crossed in England, since you left it, and did think that you would make no great stay here. Here is no other news at this present, but that I pray God send you a prosperous journey. My good Lord, if that you think that I may do your Honour any service in these intelligences, be assured your Honour shall have them truly. But I thought good to advertise your Lordship that my warrant is near out."—The Bawn, Wednesday, 28 August, 1599. *Holograph. pp. 2½.*

Aug. 30.  
Ardbraccan.

157. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "I do send by this bearer a list (*wanting*) of the army I carry into the field, as also of all the rest of Her Majesty's forces in the kingdom, and of the officers set down in both the establishments. I have also sent such letters as are come to my hands of the successes of Her Majesty's troops in several quarters.

"If in all particulars my despatch do not satisfy Her Majesty and your Lordships, I must pray your Lordships to consider what small assistance I have; how infinite my cares must be; and how little should be expected from a man that hath no constant health, and no comfort from thence.

"I have dismissed the poor Marshal maimed, fit now to serve Her Majesty with his prayers, his limbs being gone, and his service in Council forbidden by Her Majesty. I have with me none fit to succeed him, but must myself do his office and mine own. The charge of Leinster in mine absence I have committed to my Lord of Ormonde, who might have had more men of me, if he had not thought the army too weak which I go withal. I hear even now that Tyrone is coming into the Brenny, and hath sent for all that he can make in the world; bragging that he will do wonders. But if he have as much courage as he pretendeth, we will on one side or the other end the war." [*Sir Robert Cecil underlines this last sentence, and writes on the margin:—"Here was no sign of a parley toward."*—Ardbraccan, August 30. *Endorsed, 1599. Received by Mr. Cuff at Hampton Court. Signed. p. 1. Encloses,*

157. 1. *The Earl of Clanrickarde to the Earl of Essex.* "Since my last letters written to your Lordship, touching Redmond Burke and such traitors as did accompany him into the fastness of this country, having skirmished with them at the first, much to their discomfort, where divers of them were slain, and many hurt, we lodged ourselves so close to them that they were neither able to send away their hurt men, nor get themselves any relief. And perceiving that we were not about to dally with them, they undertook to go away by night, through woods and bogs, leaving many of their hurt men in their camp, having cut the passes behind them betwixt us, where no horse could pass, nor foot could serve at night. We perceiving their going away about midnight, by one that brought intelligence, I sent my son with companies of horse and light foot to follow them a great way about, which pursued them all night and the next day so



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hard, and followed them myself with the rest of the force, so as they were driven to disperse themselves in the woods, where a hundred of them were lost, and one of their chief leaders, being of the principallest traitors of the county of Mayo, named Riccard Oge McJonyn, was taken prisoner; who is executed with divers others of them which were taken. And immediately upon their pursuit, [I] followed them to the fort, which was fortified by them upon the Shannon, in an island, which ten men might keep against a thousand. And upon my coming, my son, with certain of our companies, entered into the island in quotts [i.e., cots, or small boats], and, upon his entrance where the fort stood, the ward, with the rest of the traitors which fled thither for refuge when they were broken, made all the shift they could to fly away, as well in their cots as by swimming, having left a prey behind them in the island. And certain of themselves lost, and the fort destroyed by us, understanding that the said Redmond and his men were fostered at Meelick ["Mylycke"] by a base sister of mine, which is married to one John Moore, my son hath dispossessed him of the house, and left a ward therein, being the fittest place of service betwixt Athlone and the city of Limerick upon the Shannon, and one of the principallest places in this province to annoy Her Majesty's subjects, if it were left for want of looking to it. If it had come to the enemy's hands, it would be hard to recover it, and would stop the passage of any boat betwixt Limerick and Athlone; and, in my opinion is most necessary to be kept for Her Majesty's service, during the wars, for the safety of this province. I cannot but remember Sir Robert Lovell, knight, who deserved exceeding well at this service, and Captain Syms and Captain Hugh Mostyn were with me, and hath (sic) both done very well. I hope these traitors, being so dispersed, will not soon gather again so strong to annoy us, and our only expectation is to be hurted by O'Donnell's forces, who doth daily threaten to come to this part of the province."—*Leitrim*, 1599, August 25. Signed. pp. 2.

Aug. 30.  
Dublin.

158. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 28th of this month, the Lord Lieutenant began his journey towards the borders of the north, and hath directed the army to meet him this day at Kells, from whence I think his Lordship's first march will be to the Cavan, to see if he may take in that country, and so to pass to Monaghan, which is the next adjacent country to the Cavan. If his Lordship do draw in these two countries, it will greatly secure the English Pale towards the north, and not a little weaken the Archtraitor Tyrone, by having two such principal limbs cut from him. His Lordship hopeth, by attempting these two countries, to draw Tyrone to some manner of fight, a matter much desired by his Lordship, and I doubt will be as much avoided by Tyrone, unless it be in passes, or other fastness, where the advantage will be his, and the disadvantage ours. For the proceedings and accidents in this undertaking northwards, I know nor shall know nothing, other than by the market, for that I am still left at home, as I have been in all journeys since his Lordship entered into charge; which being so thought good by his Lordship, it is my part to use obedience, and to carry my comfort in silence, till my

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twenty years' service be thought worthy of better measure. And in the meanwhile my love and duty to run and rest where it ought."—Dublin, 1599, August 30. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Aug. 30.  
Garnet's  
Buildings,  
Temple Bar,  
London.

159. Richard Hadsor to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour, the Queen, the 10th of May, the 29th year of Her Majesty's reign, granted by letters patent, under the Great Seal of England, all the castles, manors, lands, tenements, rents, and hereditaments, in the country of Tyrone, to the traitor Tyrone for his life, the remainder thereof to each of his two sons, by their several names, and to the heirs male of each of their bodies begotten, successively, the remainder in tail to the said Tyrone and to the heirs male of his body begotten, the remainder thereof, for default of such issue, to his brother Cormack, and to the heirs male of his body begotten, to be held of Her Majesty *in capite*, without rent. So that he hath the freehold of all the country of Tyrone and the inhabitants thereof, but (*sic*) his tenants at will to be removed, and taxed at his pleasure. And after, it was agreed by indenture, dated the 13th of the said month, between Her Majesty and Tyrone, amongst other matters, that the Judges and Her Majesty's learned counsel, with the assistance of his learned counsel, should lay down some good course in law, for the reviving of such rents, customs, and services, as were due and formerly paid by the said inhabitants to his ancestors, to the end he and the said patentees might have the same according to Her Majesty's said grant. By which it appeareth that Her Majesty's gracious intention was, that he and his heirs should have the ancient rents of the said country, and that the inhabitants should have the inheritance thereof, to be divided according to each man his quality, and his accustomed portion of the said country; for that Tyrone cannot have all the freehold of the said country and the ancient rents thereof at one time. And now seeing as I do understand, that he makes some offers of submission to Her Majesty, if it be Her Highness' good pleasure to accept thereof, and to extend her gracious clemency towards him, it is therefore necessary, in my simple opinion, which with your Honour's good favour I presume to deliver, that he may be drawn, upon his submission, to yield that Her Majesty's meaning in the said indenture may be accomplished, by settling of an estate of inheritance in the possessors of the lands of the said country by division according to each man's calling, leaving certain demesne lands to the seats of each of his manor houses, to be holden by the said inhabitants and their heirs of Her Majesty, so long as Tyrone and his brother Cormack shall have heirs male of their bodies, yielding certain rents and services to Her Majesty, and paying to Tyrone and his brother Cormack and their heirs, according to the intent of the said indenture, such lawful rents, customs, and services, as their ancestors have had out of the same; which will not be so burdensome to the same inhabitants as his intolerable cuttings and taxations are, they bearing his whole charge, be it never so riotous or great, in time of peace and war; which estates and rents may be established by Parliament. Whereby Her Majesty shall draw unto her the dependency of the same inhabitants from Tyrone, cut off the absolute



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power which he hath now in peace and war to dispose of them and their goods, which is the ground of his strength and wealth, increase Her Majesty's revenue, and encourage them having estates of inheritances in their lands, to build and settle themselves, as the inhabitants of the English Pale do. By which also Her Majesty shall have the wards and escheats of their lands upon their deaths without heirs, and by their attainders of felony or treason, which escheated lands may be inhabited with English; whereas otherwise it will rest in Tyrone covertly to incite any of the same inhabitants to rebellion, or to rob the English Pale, as formerly he hath done when he was a reputed subject, and to advance their posterity, notwithstanding their attainders for such offences. The necessity also of the effecting thereof is such that Her Majesty's laws cannot be otherwise duly ministered in that country, for that no matter of land, contract, or wrong between party and party in that country, where the matter in question, or the damages to be recovered for the same, shall be of twenty marks value, can be tried by a jury, unless each of the same jurors have forty shillings freehold by the year; nor no office can be taken for Her Majesty but by such jurors; so that the said inhabitants being Tyrone his tenants at will, as now they are, they cannot be sufficient jurors for the trial of causes by course of law. And so, being as willing to yield my best furtherance in advancing in my profession Her Majesty's service, as my grandfather, being an Englishman, and my father, were in spending of their blood voluntarily in the field therein, having my patrimony wasted by the northern rebels these four years since my father's death, craving pardon for this my boldness, I humbly take leave. From my chamber in Garnet's Buildings, near Temple Bar, in London, the 30th of August, 1599." *Signed.*  
pp. 1½.

Aug. 31.  
Ardbraccan.

160. The Earl of Essex to the Privy Council. "I have forborne to advertise your Lordships anything of my negotiations with the rebels of these parts, because I still looked to [have] had a full conclusion with them. But since I must draw away before I leave the business perfect, I will acquaint Her Majesty by your Lordships how far I have proceeded.

"First, I have been particularly sought by all with whom I have had to do, and have sought none. Secondly, I have accepted of none that hath not made an absolute and simple submission, without any condition whatsoever. And lastly, I have required pledges of all them that have come in, for their loyalty hereafter. Donnell Spainagh hath made such a submission upon his knees in Her Majesty's presence chamber at the Castle of Dublin; and he brought with him Brian McDonogh and others of the principal Kavanaghs. He doth undertake for all the Kavanaghs, and he puts in one pledge, and Brian McDonogh another. Onie McRory, chief of the Moores, hath first solicited a truce with the Marshal before his hurt, and since hath written to myself by Hugh Boy McCallogh, the chief of the gallowglass, and Her Majesty's pensioner. Whereupon I gave leave to Sir Terence O'Dempsey and Hugh Boy to parley with him. Upon which parley I received



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from him this day another letter, wherein he desires me to send him a protection for a month; at the end of which term, or when I am returned into the Pale, he offers to come to me, and to bring in Feagh McHugh's sons, the Connors, the O'Molloys, the McGeoghans, the Omalaughlins, the Keatings, the Dunns, that are out, and all those of Ossory; and in the meantime, if I grant him protection, he protesteth that he and all those of Leix will not offend any subject. Of this, by the advice of the Council that are here with me, I have taken hold for these reasons. First, because it will be more advantage to Her Majesty than to the rebels, that there be no prosecution of either side in mine absence, the rebels being without all comparison masters of the field. Secondly, this rebel is not known, nor taken to be, so false as the rest, but holdeth some reputation for keeping *\*his word and oath with all that deal with him. And lastly, he is undoubtedly able to bring them all in if he list, he being the valiantest rogue, and having the most commanding spirit of them all.* And yet I have observed two cautions; the one, that he shall take his corporal oath to observe what he hath undertaken before he receive protection; the other, that there shall be force ready to assail him, if he should break. Phelim McFeagh was with the Marshal at Reban, while he lay hurt there; and doth profess himself ready and resolved to come in; but he only carries for Onie McRory. The gallowglass of the mountain, Walter McEdmund, hath upon his knees submitted himself, and doth serve Her Majesty with an hundred men; *\*the same men that overthrew Sir H. Harrington, and have been bonnaughts with Phelim all this year. With these men, if I could have stayed in Leinster, I should have brought that province to a good state; but the speech of my going northward hath drawn Tyrone with his forces to the frontier; and the season of the year is so far gone that, if it be not now done, I must not look upon him this year. In this forwardness I have left things with my Lord of Ormonde, and given him commission to go on with them in my absence.*—Ardraccan, August 31. *Endorsed*, 1599. By Mr. Cuff. *Sir Robert Cecil has written on the back*, "This is worth your reading." *Signed.* pp. 1½.

Aug. 31.  
Ardraccan.

161. Sir Warham Sentleger to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have understood by some of my good friends that your Honour had conceived some hard conceit of me for a message that I should bring from one of the Queen's maids to Sir Thomas Jermyn, the truth whereof I have already written, and likewise by speech delivered, to such of my honourable friends, as I hope have, long ere this, fully satisfied your Honour; of which to hear I do much thirst.

"My poor estate doth enforce me again to send over this bearer, to follow some business of mine, and to let your Honour understand that for the last five months, to the coming of my Lord Lieutenant, I have been unpaid for the lendings for any entertainment. The cause that there is no more lendings due to me, is an unjust check imposed by the Comptroller of the Musters, by answering of munition received, and defalcations for my rent out of lands that I hold,

\* The italics appear to be Sir Robert Cecil's,

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utterly wasted by the iniquity of the time. The remain of that entertainment I have no means to come by here, for that the late Treasurer's heir affirmeth that the now Treasurer hath received that money that should have answered us, which was by Sir Henry Wallop disbursed for March and April last; and now Sir George Carey will not repay it. I am therefore humbly to beseech your Honour to further this my reasonable request. I find likewise that my Lords of the Council have found fault with some concordatum granted to me since my Lord Lieutenant's coming hither." Explains how the same arose.

"Now, Sir, what to write to your Honour I protest I know not, touching the estate of this kingdom; only to excuse me thus far, that I never was of opinion that the war was to begin in Ulster, and I would in England have more spoken against it, but that I was assured that my Lord, at his arrival here, should have been enforced to take the course that he hath now done. And, under your Honour's favour, I dare boldly say that these preparations for a northern journey have lost the opportunity for the recovery of the rest, especially Leinster, which by this time would have been even in a manner recovered; and now the traitors have and will not only reap their own harvest, but most of the subjects, I mean of the King[']s and Queen's County (*sic*), a place well seated with English gentlemen; in which countries, as likewise some other adjoining, no subject can keep his house without immediate means from Her Majesty. But now his Lordship is on his journey to the north. The God of heaven speed him well. His army is small, and his other means not great; the traitors strong and in pride; and, although I fear not an overthrow where he himself is, yet I know the decay of the army will not be small in a northern journey; my experience hath often seen that one army will do little or no hurt to those traitors."—Ardraccan, 1599, August 31. *Signed. Seal.* pp. 3.

Sept. 4.  
Armagh.

162. The Earl of Essex to the Council. "I have received yesterday, in my march, the letter which your Lordship and the rest of my fellow Councillors wrote unto me. I hope my brother of Ormonde will be with you, and look to those quarters behind, and that speedily; for I fear more what may be attempted there than against myself. I can send you no news but that yesterday Tyrone and I looked one upon another from two hills; but the river and his fastness was (*sic*) betwixt us. He sent down horse and foot with Ever McCooly's sons, to keep my soldiers from cutting wood, but I sent a guard of horse and foot with my wood-cutters, and saw none of his people on this side of the river. After my men went down, I lost not a man; and yet all the river side the rebels entertained a skirmish, and I had one horseman shot, but he is little the worse. I am now going towards Louth, where my victuals do or should come to me."—Armagh, September 4. [*Postscript.*] "Till I hear whether Onie McRory hath taken his oath not to offend Her Majesty's laws or her subjects in my absence, I know not whether he be protected or not, for I sent the protection conditionally. If Sir Terence O'Dempsey have not already sent unto you, I pray you



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require him to send the account of it, and for whom Onie McCrory undertakes. I hear he should come to Tyrone, who hath sent for all he can make in the world." *Copy by Sir George Carey, who adds a few lines of his own* :—"I am advertised by a friend of mine out of the camp, that the rebels are 8,000 foot and 700 horse. And my Lord Lieutenant is not strong above 3,200 foot and 360 horse. God bless us with good success."—[1599.] pp. 1½.

Sept. 6.  
Dublin.

163. Sir George Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "I humbly thank Almighty God Her Majesty's treasure safely arrived at Dublin the 4 of this present; which came in very good time, for I had issued forth to my paymasters almost all the former treasure which remained in my hands. Mr. Constable, who was mustermaster of Connaught, is lately dead, and one Mr. Argall placed in his room; so that I humbly beseech your Honour to hasten away Mr. Birkinshawe, to receive in Mr. Constable's books. Considering the last disaster at the Curlews, and such as daily die with sickness, the companies grow weak, and therefore the checks are carefully to be looked unto, for Her Majesty's profit. And for my own part, I am also very desirous he should return hither before the end of this present September, to perfect the checks when the Captains are to finish their accounts for the half-year past.

"The soldiers fall sick and die fast, and therefore, since my Lord's departure, I have freighted two or three barks, and have sent into England, out of this town, almost 300 sick, hurt, and unserviceable men, thereby to ease Her Majesty's charge, and free this town, which is much infected with sickness, and whereof many do daily die; and yet there remaineth here six or seven score sick.

"By letters from your Honour and the rest of the Lords, I delivered 1,000*l.*, which I borrowed to defray the extraordinaries in this his Lordship's journey towards the north, as also for the raising of 2,000 men more above the list, during the time of harvest, most humbly beseeching your Honour to be the means for me to her Highness, that I may receive Her Majesty's warrant for the same, and I shall acknowledge myself much bounden unto you for the same. I also fear to trouble your Honour in a matter, which perhaps may come in question before your Honour now upon the death of the Governor of Connaught; who, upon my first coming into this kingdom, made very great means unto me, to have a substitution from me, as formerly he had from Sir Henry Wallop, my predecessor, for the receiving of the impost and composition money, and other Her Majesty's revenues, within the province of Connaught. Which I utterly refused, saying that it were requisite that Her Majesty's receipts and payments were to be distinguished apart. He should receive his due for his lendings, and likewise his entertainment as Governor there, and myself, that was charged with the revenue, impost, and composition money, would receive the same, and so yearly yield an account for the same. Sir Henry Brouncker being Her Majesty's farmer of the impost, his agent, as it seemeth, hath paid half-year's rent to Sir Conyers without my privity, and before his day of payment, and would willingly put over the bills unto me; which I have utterly refused to receive,



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assuring him that, if the money be not paid on the day, I will put the bonds in suit for the Queen, for I have full paid Sir Conyers during my time for all his entertainments. And, if the money fail to be paid now at the half year's end, when officers of justice, patentees, pensioners, and warders, are to be paid, and were wont to receive their entertainment out of the revenues (which now, by reason of these troubles, are very small), they then must be paid out of the treasure appointed for lendings of the soldiers, and then there will be a great want. It is said that Sir Henry Brouncker will obtain so much favour, that those bills made by Sir Conyers shall be put over unto me, and so Her Majesty shall receive great loss, for Sir Conyers Clifford in my time was full paid. I suppose the like matter will fall out upon the death of the President of Munster, who hath made no account of his receipts this three years, as I am informed. I beseech your Honour let there be a perfect account, before the Lords yield too far to their requests."

Begs leave from Her Majesty to go to England for "some six weeks," for the better settling of his estate. Has lost his only son, and has now but two daughters left, "some others of my name, that are next, not taking such courses as I wish. Your Honour knows what I mean."—Dublin, 1599, September 6. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Sept. 8. 164. "Journal of the Lord Lieutenant's proceedings in the North, from the 28th of August till the 8th of September."

The 28th of August, the Lord Lieutenant departed Dublin with 100 horse, and having appointed all the companies of horse and foot, that were to go into the field, to come to the Navan and Kells, he lodged himself at Ardbraccan, a house of the Bishop of Meath's, betwixt the two towns. And because the companies came not in till the 31st, his Lordship gave rendezvous to all the army on the hill Clythe, half a mile from Kells towards the Brenny, and encamped that night at Castlekeran, two miles beyond the hill. There also his Lordship was fain to stay one whole day, till his victuals that came from Dredagh overtook him. But that day he spent in viewing the Lord Dunsany's country, and part of the Brenny, and appointed certain Commissioners to view all the companies of horse and foot, that he might know the true strength of his army, and dispose them into regiments accordingly. This day also his Lordship debated it in council, whether it were fit to place a garrison in the Brenny or not? and if in any part of that country, where was the fittest place? It was concluded that no garrison could be placed in any part of that country. First, because both about the Cavan, and betwixt it and Kells, the country is all waste, so as there is nothing beyond Kells to be defended, nor to relieve the garrison. Secondly, because all the county of Cavan is so far within the land, and hath no port or navigable river nearer than Dredagh; so as all the victuals that are sent to a garrison there must be carried on garrans' backs, which will be very difficult, and subject to a great deal of hazard, the Pale being not able to furnish men [and] carriages, and the rebels of those quarters being very strong. And the third and last reason was for that Tyrone was lodged in Ferney with an army, and prepared to enter into the

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Pale, and to have burnt and spoiled to the gates of Dublin, as soon as the Lord Lieutenant was gone as high up as the Cavan. And therefore it being resolved that Kells should be this next winter our frontier garrison towards the Cavan, the Lord Lieutenant marched with his army towards Ferney, and lodged between Robertstown and Newcastle the second of September. The third he went from thence to Ardolph, where he might see Tyrone with his forces on a hill a mile and a half from our quarter, but a river and a wood bewixt him and us. The Lord Lieutenant first embattled his army, and lodged it upon the hill by the burnt castle of Ardolph; and, because there was no wood for fire but in the valley towards Tyrone's quarters, his Lordship commanded a squadron of every company to go and fetch wood, and sent 500 foot and two companies of horse for their guard. Tyrone sent down some foot and horse to impeach them and offer skirmish; but after directed them not to pass the ford, when he saw our men resolved to dispute it. Some skirmish there was from one side to the other of the river, but to little purpose, for as they offended us little, so we troubled ourselves little with them. The next day the Lord Lieutenant marched through the plain country to the mill of Louth, and encamped beyond the river towards Ferney, and Tyrone marched through the woods, and lodged in the next wood to us, keeping his scouts of horse in sight of our quarter. At this quarter the Lord Lieutenant, being driven to stay for a supply of victual from Dredagh, consulted what was to be done upon Tyrone's army, or how his fastness might be entered. It was protested by all that our army, being far less in strength, was not to attempt trenches, and to fight upon such infinite disadvantage. But a strong garrison might be placed at Louth, or some castle thereabout, to offend the bordering rebels, and defend the whole county of Louth; and since we were there, we should one day draw out, and offer battle with our 2,500 foot to their 5,000, and with our 300 horse to their 700. According to which resolution, the Lord Lieutenant first viewed Louth, and found it utterly unfit, there being no fuel to be gotten near it, nor any strength to be made in short time. And the same day, being the 5th of September, he had a gentleman sent unto him from Tyrone, one Henry Hagan, his Constable of Dungannon, and a man highly favoured and trusted by him. This Hagan did deliver his master's desire to parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which his Lordship refused, but told Hagan that he would be the next morning on the hill between both the camps; and, if he should then call to speak with him, he would be found in the head of his troops. With this answer Hagan returned, and the next morning, being the 6th of September, the Lord Lieutenant drew out 2,000 foot, and 300 horse, leaving a Colonel with 500 foot and 20 horse to guard our quarter and baggage. The Lord Lieutenant first embattled his men upon the first great hill he came to in sight of Tyrone, and then marched forward to another hill, on which Tyrone's guard of horse stood, which they quitted, and there our army made good the place, till it was near three of the clock in the afternoon. During which time Tyrone's foot never shewed themselves out of the wood, and his



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horsemen were put from all the hills, which they came upon between us and the wood, by which occasion some skirmish was amongst the light horse, in which a French gentleman of the Lord Lieutenant's troop, and an English gentleman of the Earl of Southampton's, were all that were hurt on our side. After this skirmish, a horseman of Tyrone's called to ours, and delivered this message, that Tyrone would not fight, nor draw forth, but desired to speak with the Lord Lieutenant, but not between the two armies. Whereupon the Lord Lieutenant, towards three of the clock in the afternoon, drew back again into his quarter, and, after his return thither, placed a garrison of 500 foot and 50 horse at Niselerathy, half a mile from the mill of Louth, where there is a square castle and a great bawn, with a good ditch round about it, and many thatched houses to lodge our men in. The commandment of this garrison was given to Sir Christopher St. Lawrence. The next morning, being the 7 of September, we dislodged, and marched to Drumconragh, but, ere we had marched a mile, Henry Hagan comes again to the Lord Lieutenant, and, in the presence of the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham Sentleger, and divers other gentlemen, delivered this message: that Tyrone desired Her Majesty's mercy, and that the Lord Lieutenant would hear him, which, if his Lordship agreed to, he would gallop about and meet his Lordship at the ford of Bellaclynthe, which was on the right hand by the way which his Lordship took to Drumconragh. Upon this message, his Lordship sent two gentlemen with Harry Hagan to the ford to view the place. They found Tyrone there, but the water so far out, as they told him they thought it no fit place to speak in; whereupon he grew very impatient, and said, 'Then I shall despair ever to speak with him'; and at last, knowing the ford, found a place, where he, standing up to his horse[s] belly, might be near enough to be heard by the Lord Lieutenant, though [he] kept the hard ground. Upon which notice, the Lord Lieutenant drew a troop of horse to the hill above the ford, and seeing Tyrone there alone, his Lordship went down alone; at whose coming Tyrone saluted his Lordship with much reverence, and they talked near half an hour together, and after went either of them to their companies on the hills. But within a while, Con O'Neill, Tyrone's base son, comes down, and desired from his father that the Lord Lieutenant would let him bring down some of the principal men that were with him, and that his Lordship would appoint a number to come down on either side. Whereupon his Lordship willed him to bring down six, which he did, namely, his brother Cormack, Magennis, Maguire, Ever McCooly, Henry Hovenden, and one Owyn, that came from Spain, but is an Irishman by birth. The Lord Lieutenant, seeing them at the ford, went down, accompanied with the Earl of Southampton, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir Henry Davers, Sir Edward Wingfield, and Sir William Constable. At this second meeting, Tyrone and all his company stood up almost to their horses' bellies in water, the Lord Lieutenant with his upon hard ground. And Tyrone spake a good while bareheaded, and saluted with a great deal of respect all those that came down with the Lord Lieutenant.



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After almost half an hour's conference, it was concluded that there should be a meeting of Commissioners the next morning, at a ford by Garrett Fleming's castle, and so they parted, the Lord Lieutenant marching with his army to Drumconragh, Tyrone returning to his camp. The next morning, the Lord Lieutenant sent Sir Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir William Constable, Sir William Warren, and his secretary, Henry Wotton, with instructions, to the place of meeting. Tyrone came himself to the parley, and sent into Garrett Fleming's castle four principal gentlemen as pledges for the safety of our Commissioners. In this parley was concluded a cessation of arms for six weeks, and so to continue from six weeks to six weeks till May-day, or to be broken upon fourteen days' warning. It was also covenanted, that such of Tyrone's confederates as would not declare their assents in this cessation should be left by him to be prosecuted by the Lord Lieutenant, and that restitution should be made for all spoils within twenty days after notice given. That for performance of the covenants, the Lord Lieutenant should give his word, and Tyrone his oath. This being concluded on the 8th day of September, on the 9th the Lord Lieutenant dispersed his army, and went himself to Dredagh, and Tyrone retired, with all his forces, into the heart of his country." pp. 44.

Sept. 9. 165. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. Send the bearer, Nonsuch. Mr. Darrell, to satisfy his Lordship as to the victualling. Requests of Essex concerning the same, when he left England, granted. Desire the speedy return of the bearer.—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, September 9. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 9. 166. Copy of the preceding.—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, Nonsuch. September 9. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 181.* p. ½.

Sept. 10. 167. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your Honour's Dublin. packet of the 25th of the last, I received here the 5th of this month, together with a letter inclosed to the Lord Lieutenant, written from the Lord Chamberlain, as you note in yours. This letter I dispatched towards his Lordship within an hour after I received it; and this day my messenger is returned, assuring me that he delivered it to his Lordship's hands, being then in camp near Louth, upon the borders of Ferney. The messenger assured me that his Lordship and Tyrone are within two miles one of another, with their forces; only a water and a bog are between them. What this will bring forth, either to war or peace, will not be known, till the stroke be stricken, the one way or the other, neither can I give you any guess, because, being left at home, I have no knowledge of their proceedings. But in reason I say, that the forces lying so near, it cannot be long before somewhat be attempted, though I doubt not but Tyrone will as craftily seek to eschew the fight, as his Lordship, out of the greatness of his courage, will press him to it." Great lack of Parkinshawe for the

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musters, otherwise Her Majesty's profit in the checks "will go down the hill more and more."—Dublin, 1599, September 10. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Sept. 12.  
Nonsuch.

168. The Privy Council to Sir George Carey. The excessive charge of Her Majesty in Ireland. The need of vigilance and discretion. The demands of such Captains and soldiers as are seldom satisfied with moderation. "The payment of the army we know to be a thing so necessary as without the same we are sure the service cannot subsist, for the which you have hitherto received such large and loyal proportions as never army had the like." The army fully paid up to the 12th instant. The want seems to grow in respect of extraordinary charges, and of the late levy of 2,000 new men. For the former 5,000*l.* were allowed, "the which being intended for a whole year, seemeth hard unto us to be expended in less than six months." As for the 2,000 men, their pay for three whole months amounts to but 2,548*l.*; by the Lord Lieutenant's demand, they are not to be continued forty days. "Neither may we forbear to tell you that many payments are made under titles not proper for concordatums; so as, if new employments be found for the money appointed to concordatums, it is neither five [n]or twenty thousand pounds that will serve the turn." Victual, to the value of 29,500*l.*, sent into Ireland. Money defalked for the same remaining in Carey's hands. Sir Robert Cecil's "often letters" for the more careful issuing of the victual in time, since by long keeping it began to decay. The soldier to have half lendings and half victual. The profit on the checks, "except Her Majesty be too injuriously dealt with by the musters, howsoever it may be coloured that many are in being, but sick and weak, as who should say that none are dead, or those, that are daily reported from thence by your own letters to be run away daily were still supplied; and considering also that by order there established, growing to a certainty, by retaining from every band, in respect of checks, forty shillings weekly, great surplusages are in your hand, wherein are not to be forgotten defalcations for the proportion of swords, at one time amounting to a thousand pound[s], besides all other for arms and munitions, together with such sums as are due to Her Majesty for the imposts, which is 12,000*l.* yearly by Mr. Brunckard, besides some other revenues, which cannot all be lost, nor never were, when Her Majesty had no such armies to preserve it. It cannot be denied but these do rise to some good portions surely, when we cannot see any sufficient reason why you should pretend so great want, as you are fain to borrow a thousand pound[s], to furnish the Lord Lieutenant with extraordinaries for this last journey of his. And therefore we must plainly say, that you should much better both satisfy us and the duty of your place, if, instead of these general complaints for money, we might receive at every two months' end, as you were commanded, particular estimative accounts, as well from yourself as from the Comptroller of the Victuals, the Muster Master, and Master of the Ordnance, of all receipts, issues, and remains within every of your several charges, for thereby might we be able to satisfy Her



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Majesty with the true state of her expenses and charges there, which now we can in no sort do, but are forced to walk in darkness and confusion, and no ways able to render that account to Her Majesty, which our duty and desire doth move us to do."

Have given order for another whole month's pay to be sent to him, but straitly require him to issue it according to Her Majesty's list and establishment, and not otherwise. Direct a careful course for the future. If any lack be found for the present, in respect of the fees due to great officers and others, it will be very fit that the army be first satisfied.—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, September 12. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 181 b-182 b. Copy. pp. 3.*

Sept. 14.  
Nonsuch.

169. The Privy Council to the Earl of Essex. "We have imparted to Her Majesty such letters as we have received both by Mr. Cuff and others, whereunto your Lordship shall receive so full answer by Her Majesty's own letters to you and that Council, as we have thought it needless to reiterate the same, having found it Her Majesty's pleasure of all particulars by her own hand. Concerning the journey which your Lordship hath undertaken, we doubt not but your Lordship assureth yourself that we do wish you all happy success which your own heart desireth, out of your duty and affection to Her Majesty's service; so can we not hide from you, that we are sorry to find, after the motion made by your Lordship and that Council to increase the army to 2,000 more, for which Her Majesty would never have assented, nor we durst to have advised, but with opinion of your Lordship's purpose to do somewhat on Tyrone, there should arise so many impediments now, still one after another, as that by every despatch your Lordship and that Council do declare the difficulties, nay rather the impossibilities, of the same. Concerning the two points of which your Lordship maketh mention, the one for warrant for 1,000*l.* taken up for concordatum, and the other for pay of those 2,000 men, the Treasurer shall have warrant to be allowed it. For the second point, we must also say this to your Lordship, that having been desirous to find what may be the reason of the weakness in Her Majesty's army, which must arise either by sickness, death, or other deficiency, and why, the same being so weak, Mr. Treasurer should insist so much upon lack of so small a proportion of treasure, in respect of providing for these 2,000 men, we called unto us Mr. Birkinshawe, by Her Majesty's direction, and have seen a declaration of some checks made by him in July, by which he shows that before the last 2,000 arrived in July, that there was so many wanting, as those supplies could but make up the whole list of 16,000, so as there must be of necessity good sums of money for checks in his hand. For we do find that Birkinshawe's check in July last was 920 men in 80 companies, and he declares also that 130 sick men were discharged, so as in those 80 companies there was a check of 1,050, before the 2,000 arrived. Now when we consider that there remain 50 companies more unviewed by him, which could not but be greatly defective; and when we consider that the last troops sent over were but 1,800 heads, it appeareth plainly that as, at their arrival, there was a remain in



his hands for checks, so, since their arrival, there must be now also some moneys defalkable towards this new levy, before the 2,000 Irish were put in charge. For it is not unknown that, by the defeat of Sir Conyers Clifford, there must be a diminution, besides the daily running away of soldiers (whereof your Lordship daily complaineth) in great numbers, to which consideration adding the number of sick men sent away by 300 at a time, the natural death of men in such a great army, and the leave given to divers to come from thence, all these being laid together, we see not why Mr. Treasurer, having continually had treasure complete, should be now in such scarcity as to borrow 1,000*l*. Of these things thus particularly are we driven to inquire and write to your Lordship, both because Her Majesty is still advertised by all those whom you send how small numbers you have; and yet by us, that labour still for supplies, she is still importuned for sending over full payments. Wherein we must let your Lordship know, that it is oft in Her Majesty's remembrance, that you were wont to say, that errors in musters were to be imputed always to lack of care in the Generals. Lastly, Her Majesty having heard of these traitors that are upon terms to come in, as Onie McRory, Phelim McFeagh, and others, she hath commanded us to remember to your Lordship that you well know, that it hath ever been the fashion of these nettv rebels, when they see that her army is not able to continue in the north, but rather shall be employed upon them, to make some formal composition, either for themselves as chiefs (and so to protect all their followers), or else in some more ample sort, whereby they may be free till it be resolved again to pass towards Ulster, at which time they will never fail to use all means possible to work new diversion, except sure hold be taken of them. Of this, Her Majesty saith, your Lordship hath so often told her, and have (*sic*) so much spoken against pardons, when they are granted upon single pledges, as she doubteth not but you will use great providence and judgment in prevention, as much as may be, of any such notorious advantages as they will labour to make, and not to suffer them to find that they may hold out as long as they will, and be taken in (when they see their best commodity) upon too weak conditions. Further, Her Majesty saith, that she observeth in your writings that you report that you do take in all traitors upon simple and absolute terms, but Her Majesty saith, if you do afterwards give them large and unsafe conditions, it comes all to one reckoning; so as she hath looked still to have heard, not only upon what terms they yielded, but how you have dealt with them after, as namely, Cahir, Mountgarrett, Donnell Spainagh, and others."—The Court at Nonsuch, 1599, September 14. *Entry Book*, No. 204, *fos.* 182 b-184. *Copy.* pp. 3.

Sept. 14.  
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170. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Essex. "Having sufficiently declared unto you before this time how little the manner of your proceedings hath answered either our direction or the world's expectation, and finding now by your letters by Cuff a course more strange, if strange may be, we are doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to build upon your writing unto

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us in any thing. For we have clearly discerned of late, what you have ever to this hour possessed us with expectation (*sic*), that you would proceed as we have directed you; but your actions always shows (*sic*) the contrary, though carried in such sort, as we were sure to have no time to countermand them. Before your departure, no man's counsel was held sound, which persuaded not presently the main prosecution in Ulster; all was nothing without that; and nothing was too much for that. This drew on the sudden transportation of so many thousands, to be carried over with you; and, when you arrived, we were charged with more than the list on which we resolved, by the number of 300 horsemen above the thousand, which was assented to, which were only to be in pay during service in Ulster. We have been also put in charge ever since the first journey, the pretence of which voyage, [as] appeared by your letters, was to do some present service in the interim, whiles that grew more commodious the main prosecution. For which purpose you did importune with great earnestness that all manner of provisions might be hastened to Dublin against your return. Of this resolution to defer your going into Ulster you may well think that we would have made stay, if you had given us more time by warning, or if we could have imagined, by the contents of your own writing, that you would have spent nine weeks abroad, and your return when the third part of July was spent; and that you had understood our dislike of your former course, and made your excuse of undertaking it, only in respect of your conformity to the Council's opinions, with great protestations of haste to the north. Then we received another letter of new reasons to suspend that journey yet awhile, and to draw the army into Offally, the fruit whereof at your home coming was nothing else but new relations of further miseries of our army, and greater difficulties to perform the Ulster wars. Then followed from you and the Council a new demand of two thousand men, to which if we would assent, you would speedily undertake what we had so often commanded. When that was granted, and your going onward promised by divers letters, we received by this bearer new fresh (*sic*) advertisement, that all you can do is to go to the frontiers, and that you have provided only twenty days' victuals. In which kind of proceeding we must deal plain (*sic*) with you and that Council, that it were more proper for them to leave troubling themselves with instructing us by what rules our power and their obedience are limited, and bethink them of the courses that have been only derived from their counsel, and how to answer this part of theirs, to train us into a new expense for one end, and to employ it to another, to which we never would have assented, if we could have suspected it should have been undertaken before we heard it was in action; and therefore we do wonder how it can be answered, seeing your attempt is not in the capital traitor's country, that you have increased our list. But it is true, and we have often said, that we were ever won to expense by little and little, and by protestation of great resolutions in generalities, till they come to particular execution, of all which courses whosoever shall examine any of the arguments used for excuse, shall



find that your own proceedings beget the difficulties, and that no just causes do breed the alterations of lack of numbers. If sickness of the army be the reason, why was there not the action undertaken when the army was in better state? if winter's approach, why were the summer's months of July and August lost? If the spring were too soon, and the summer that followed otherwise spent, if the harvest that succeeded were so neglected as nothing hath been done, then surely we must conclude that none of the four quarters of the year will be in season for you and that Council to agree of Tyrone's prosecution, for which all our charge is intended. Further, we require you to consider whether we have not great cause to think that your purpose is not to end the war, when yourself have often told us that all the petty undertakings in Leix, Munster, and Connaught, are but loss of time, consumption of treasure, and most of all [?] of our people, until Tyrone himself be first beaten, on whom all the rest depend. Do not you see that if this course be in all parts by his sinister seconding all places where any attempts be offered, who do not see that if this course be continued, that it is like to spend us and our kingdom beyond all moderation, as well as the report of their success in all parts hath blemished our honour, and encouraged others to no small presumption? We know you cannot so much fail in judgment, as not to understand that all the world seeth how time is delayed, though you think that the allowance of that Council.

"How often have you told us that others, that preceded you, had no judgment to end the war, who often resolved us [that], until Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon were planted, there could be no hope of doing service upon the capital rebels? We must therefore let you know, as it cannot be ignorance, so it cannot be want of means; for you had your asking, you had choice of times, you had power and authority more ample than ever any had, or ever shall have. It may well be judged with how little contentment we seek this and other errors. But how should that be hid which is so palpable?

"And therefore to leave that which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy matters of weight hereafter, rather than to fill your papers with impertinent arguments, being in your general letters savouring still in many points of humours that concern the private of you, our Lord Lieutenant, we do tell you plainly, and you that are of our Council, that we wonder at your indiscretion to subscribe to letters which concern our public service, when they are mixed with many matters private, and directed to our Council table, which is not wont to handle things of so small importance.

"To conclude, if you say that our army be in a list nineteen thousand, [and] that you have them not, we answer then to you, our Treasurer, that we are evil served, and that there needs not so frequent demands of full pay. If you will say that the muster-master is to blame, we much muse then, why he is not punished. We say to you, our General, if we would *ex jure proprio judicarie*, that all defects by musters, yea though never in so remote garrisons, have been affirmed to us to deserve to be imputed to the General. For the small proportion you say you carry with you of 3,500 foot,



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when lately we augmented you 200 [*sic*; error for 2,000] more, it is past comprehension, except it be that you have left too great numbers in unnecessary garrisons, which do increase our charge, and diminish our army; which we command you to reform, especially since, by your continual report of the state of every province, you describe them all to be in worse conditions than ever they were before you put foot in that kingdom. So that whosoever shall write the story of this year's action, must say that we were at too great charge to hazard our kingdom, and you have taken great pains to prepare for many purposes, which perish without undertaking. And therefore, because we see now, by your own word, that the hope is spent of this year's service upon Tyrone and O'Donnell, we do command you and our Council to fall jointly into present deliberation of the state which you have brought our kingdom unto, and that by the effect which this journey hath produced, and why these garrisons which you will plant so far within the land, in the Brenny and Monaghan, as others we have written, shall have the same difficulties. Secondly, we look to hear from you and them jointly, how you think fit that the remain of this year shall be spent and employed, in what kind of war, and whose and with what numbers; which being done and sent hither in writing with all expedition, you shall then understand our pleasure in all things fit for your service; until which time we command you to be very careful to meet with all inconveniences that may rise in the kingdom, where the evil-affected will grow so insolent upon our evil success, and the good subjects grow desperate, when they see the best of our defending them. We have seen a writing, in manner of a catalogue full of challenges, that are impertinent, and of comparisons, that are needless, such as hath not been before this time presented to a State, except it be done more with a hope to terrify all men from censuring your proceedings. Had it not been enough to send us the testimony of the Council, but that you must call so many of those, that are of so slender judgment and none of our Council, to such a form of subscription? Surely, howsoever you may have warrantable, we doubted not but to let them know what belongs to us, to you, and them. And thus, expecting your answer, we end, at our manor of Nonsuch, the 14th of September, 1599." *Copy. pp. 4.*

Sept. 14.  
Limerick.

171. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. Received the enclosed advertisement (*wanting*) from the Attorney-General of Connaught. Thought good to send it, to the end that some order for prevention of the wicked enterprises of the rebels may be considered of.

The Malleys and Flaherties, with five or six galleys, and many boats, are now arrived within this river of Limerick, with resolute purpose to stop the passage of the river, annoy Her Majesty's good subjects, and (at their pleasure) to transport and carry the rebels, their munition, and other necessities for their relief, by sea out of Ulster into Munster, and thence to bring advertisements to the traitors in Ulster.

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The townsmen of Limerick, in this present time of necessity, will give no furtherance to Her Majesty's service, having of their own ready, within the town quay, sufficient barks and boats for the purpose, whereby Her Majesty's service could be effected, and themselves profited for clearing the river. This, though earnestly requested by himself, Sir Francis Barkley, and the Captains in the town, they refused to do for this time. They have also slain outright and maimed divers of the soldiers lying in garrison at Limerick. How dangerous this is, he refers to Sir Robert's honourable censure. It is needful to have some shipping of Her Majesty's in the river, to prevent these inconveniences, and to do other services upon the sea coast.

At his last meeting in England, he obtained letters for passing to him the fee simple of Ardmolchan and Haristowne Barrett in the county of Meath, with a reservation of 39*l.* per annum to Her Majesty thereout. In consideration of a defalcation of 615*l.* from his entertainment, and for other causes moving Her Majesty, she was pleased to direct her letters to the late Lords Justices to pass the said lands in fee simple. Misunderstanding as to the effect of these letters. Sends the bearer, his Lieutenant, with certain papers. "The same land is now altogether ruinous and waste, without any inhabitation thereupon; myself, in like manner, being now, by reason of these troubles and the incursions of the rebels bordering in these parts, not worth one hundred pounds of revenue by the year, as now the same falleth out. Yet I thank God the same country is in better subjection to Her Majesty than any other in this realm."—Limerick, 1599, September 14. *Signed. Endorsed.* Received at Richmond the 25 October. *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 15. 172. "Articles agreed upon by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Earl of Tyrone, the 15th of September, 1599, in the new style."

1. That all the Earl's confederates may enjoy what they have now quietly during the cessation.

2. That no garrisons be placed in any place now in the hands of the Earl's confederates during this cessation.

3. That all men of either side during the cessation may have free passage to pass and repass in any place or places within this kingdom.

4. That the Lord Lieutenant do give present intelligence of this cessation to all Her Majesty's garrisons within this realm.

5. That the Lord Lieutenant shall give assurance unto the Earl under his handwriting for performance of his side of all such articles as upon this cessation are agreed upon.

6. Item, inasmuch as the Earl of Tyrone hath appointed as Commissioners upon the borders; Tirlogh McShane O'Reilly, for the Brenny; Tirlogh McHenry, Ever McCooly, and Henry O'Hagan, for the next parts joining to the Pale; that the Lord Lieutenant shall likewise appoint Commissioners on his side, to satisfy any harm that shall be done to the Earl's adherents.

7. That the Earl of Tyrone shall undertake for all those that are joined with him, that for the space of six weeks, beginning



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at the day of the date hereof, there shall be a cessation of arms, and that in the remote parts of this kingdom the cessation shall begin as soon as knowledge shall be given of this agreement, and if any that are now joined with the Earl of Tyrone shall refuse this agreement, they shall by him be left to be prosecuted by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

8. That it shall be in the power of either side to continue the cessation from six weeks to six weeks till May day, or to break it upon 14 days' warning.

9. That for all spoils that are committed during the cessation there shall be justice done, and restitution made within 20 days after knowledge given.

10. That the Earl of Tyrone shall take his oath for the performance of all the articles. *Copy. pp. 14.*

Sept. 20.  
Dublin.

173. Sir George Carey to the Privy Council. Received on the 16th instant their Lordships' letters of the 14th. Confesses the receipt of the seven months' pay to the 12th of September, and that Her Majesty's charge is exceeding great. This must needs be, considering the greatness of the army, and the occasions daily required. Nothing is expended but what is necessary for the service. And although their Lordships rightly allege that he has made many payments by concordatums not proper thereto, "yet the State here thought it requisite to yield to a further charge than they were willing unto, until the list of all the bands were perfected, and the companies reduced unto a certainty. And, under your Lordships' good favours, I must say that, either there must be some allowance for extraordinaries in causes necessary, or else the service will be much hindered." Their Lordships estimate that the charge of the 2,000 men raised for three months will not exceed 2,548*l.* What companies were raised, when they entered into pay, and what the charge is, they will know by the enclosed schedule (*wanting*). The great sums they state to be remaining in his hands. Some ground for their opinions, but, considering "that there is now one month more expired sithence the 12 of September," that 2,000 men were increased in the list for two months and more, that by their Lordships' commandment he "laid forth" 1,000*l.* for extraordinaries in the Lord Lieutenant's journey towards the north, and that, looking, by their Lordships' direction, for the victualling of Her Majesty's ships and repairing of her storehouses, he has disbursed 1,000*l.* over and above his receipts, whereof the Lord Treasurer has received the account, reminds their Lordships that, at his first coming into Ireland, he was to pay all the Officers of Justice for their fees due at Lady Day, which were 5,000*l.* per annum, and likewise patentees, pensioners, warders, and other chief officers, according to the old establishment, which was 15,000*l.* per annum. Now the half year is come again, and he has as yet received no rent. For the first half year he received only 1,600*l.*; what he will receive this half year he knows not. Touching the 2,000*l.* he should receive from Sir Henry Brouncker for Her Majesty's impost, as his agents here have not accounted for the half-year's receipts before Carey's time, so their



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meaning is to pay nothing unto him, as formerly he wrote to the Lord Treasurer and Secretary [Sir Robert Cecil]. For Large, Sir Henry's principal agent, is suddenly gone, it seems, for England; he is not to be found in Dublin. Cannot now, at the day of payment, certainly advertise their Lordships what deductions have been made for victuals, armour, and checks, because the same cannot appear before the finishing of the Captains' accounts ending the last of September. These rest now chiefly upon the return of Birkinshawe to make up the books of the checks.

Their Lordships do not more desire the state of the accounts than he himself does, for he ever trembles at the burden thereof. Presumes the deductions are not greater than his disbursements. Assures them he has no money left. Prays for more. Begs their Lordships to bear with him until the accounts are perfected. In the meantime, as he has banished all worldly pleasures, so he chiefly desires to do Her Majesty true and faithful service. If, at the year's end, he gains not Her Majesty as much as, or more than, his entertainment comes to, he will never ask her for one penny. "If every one do so, it will not do amiss."—Dublin, 1599, September 20. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

Sept. 22.  
The Court.

174. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "Although I doubt not but my Lord Lieutenant may have from you, that are Her Majesty's Secretary, all particular memorials of such things as have been handled in the times of treaties with Tyrone and other Her Majesty's rebels, yet hath Her Majesty commanded me, for his Lordship's better information of some such humble forms of submission as was then used when he came in to Sir John Norreys, not only to write to you to seek out those papers for his Lordship (having been yourself an actor in that treaty), but also, for more surety (if happily Sir John Norreys his papers be not forthcoming), to deliver his Lordship this copy of his subscribed submission, as so commanded by Her Majesty, whereof his Lordship may peradventure make some use at the consummation of that work, which will be most happy, if it once can bring Her Majesty any reasonable conclusion of these miserable wars."—The Court, 1599, September. *Endorsed, 22 September, M. to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Holograph draft. p. 1.*

Sept. 24.

175. Form of commission left by the Earl of Essex, constituting the Lord Chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carey Lords Justices of Ireland during his absence from that kingdom.—[1599, September 24.] *Copy. One sheet.*

Sept. 24.

176. Copy of the preceding. *pp. 3½.*

[Sept. 25.]

177. List of questions on military procedure, chiefly as regards absences and checks.—[1599, September 25.] *Rough draft. p. 1.*

[Sept. 25.]

178. "The particulars of the Lady Bridget Norreys'[s] petition to the Lords of the Council," concerning monies received by, and due to, her late husband, Sir Thomas Norreys, President of Munster.—[1599, September 25.] *Copy. p. 1.*

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Sept. 26. 179. James Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. His services. The  
Moymet. greater part of his lands wasted by the rebels. Prays that his 25  
horse, which he still upholds, may be continued in Her Majesty's  
pay.—Moymet, 1599, September 26. *Signed.* p. 1.

Sept. 29. 180. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Sir George Carey, Lords  
Dublin. Justices of Ireland, to "the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant General  
of Her Majesty's realm of Ireland." "Your passage being so fair  
as (God be thanked) it was, we hope you are by this time arrived  
at the Court, and proceeded in your affairs to your own desire.  
Wherein, as we do by our prayers wish your Lordship all  
honourable and happy success, so are we humbly bold to beseech  
your Lordship that we may hear from you as often as your more  
weighty occasions will afford you time.

"The Thursday next after your Lordship's departure hence, the  
Earl of Ormonde came hither in the afternoon, and this morning  
we assembled with the rest of this Council, and then acquainted  
him with what had been done by your Lordship touching this  
government during your absence, and that you have left him in the  
self same state, both for place and authority, as he was before your  
Lordship went; wherein, and for all other matters tending to Her  
Majesty's service, we told his Lordship we would be always ready  
to win and concur with him to the uttermost of our endeavours.  
All that then he acquainted us with was, but (*sic*) that the bridge  
of Laghlin was in such decay as it was not like to stand, which  
would greatly hinder the service, and that the fort of Mary-  
borough was likewise in such ruin as it might easily be endangered  
upon any attempt. Hereupon we gave present order to take both  
the one and the other in hand (till better opportunity may serve),  
to do some good upon them, and have now given warrant for the  
delivery of money to special persons appointed to oversee the  
repairing of those two places, and making an iron grate for that  
castle of Maryborough, as also for the repairing in some good sort  
of the castle in Her Majesty's fort of Philipstown, which was  
likewise in very much need thereof.

"We do send to your Lordship hereinclosed a pass from Tyrone  
for a messenger of his to Sir Gerrott Moore, the copy of a letter  
from O'Connor Sligo to the Countess his wife, and also a report  
of a message from the said O'Connor sent hither by one James  
O'Crean, which O'Connor (as the messenger saith) durst not  
commit to writing.

"This is all that, since your Lordship's departure, hath happened  
worth the advertising, and, as any other occurrents shall arise, we  
will not omit any opportunity to acquaint your Lordship with  
them.

"The 26 of this month Sir William Warren went forward in  
his negotiation, as your Lordship appointed him, and hath  
promised that within nine days we shall hear from him. The  
Earl of Ormonde is this afternoon gone homewards again."—  
Dublin, 1599, September 29. [*Postscript.*] "This letter from Sir  
Francis Barkley (*wanting*), directed to me, the Chancellor, was by  
me imparted to my fellow in authority, and by us both thought



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meet to be sent your Lordship to be considered of, as in your grave wisdom shall be thought best." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond 15 October. pp. 2. Enclose,*

180. I. "O'Neill" [*Hugh, Earl of Tyrone*] to Sir Gerrott Moore. "*I pray you see this bearer sent safely to Dublin, and that no man may do him wrong by the way, as you know is agreed upon betwixt the Lord Lieutenant and me in our truce taken the other day, that all men might safely pass and repass without any stay or molestation, and so I commend me heartily to you. From Dungannon, this 4 October [September 24—October 4] [15]99.*" [*Postscript.*] "*I pray you send me the saddle and the furniture as soon as you may.*" *Signed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"Here shall you see what a passport O'Neill gave within five days after the Earl came to this Court."* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

180. II. Donogh O'Connor Sligo to his wife, Eleanor, Countess of Desmond, at Dublin. "*On Thursday last, O'Neill and O'Donnell did meet within 12 miles of Liffer, and brought me to that place, where O'Neill said he was glad to see me brought to that place, whereby I might become O'Donnell's prisoner. At their departing, O'Neill desired O'Donnell to let me come with himself for a while, and that he would send me safe to him again. O'Donnell did yield to that with much ado, and sent, to guard me, one of his gentlemen, with some horsemen, fearing that O'Neill would not be careful of my keeping, seeing that O'Neill, with his forces, goeth forth towards Dundalk this week. Therefore I thought good to write these few lines to you, to let you understand that I received no answer of the last letters I sent you by Mulrony Oge. If you thought it good, I would have you to get my Lord of Essex his leave to come to me, whereby I might confer with you of matters that I dare not write, fearing of the way. You may give trust to this bearer, James O'Crean, of anything he says.*"—Dungannon, 1599, September 15. [*Postscript.*] "*I do send you a ring that a gentlewoman bestowed on me, and I pray you send me such things as I write in a little note which I send you.*" *Copy.* p. 1.

180. III. Account of the messages brought by two men sent to the State by O'Connor Sligo.

On the 6th of September there came Mulrony Oge, who said that O'Connor demanded of O'Donnell what ransom he would take for him. O'Donnell asked who would ransom him. O'Connor answered, the Queen and the Lord Lieutenant. O'Donnell replied he would not take the chamber, wherein they were sitting, full of money. O'Connor answered that he had not hindered O'Donnell so much. "You have," said O'Donnell, "for I never slept quietly since you came into Ireland, for fear of you and your draghtes (sic)." "Notwithstanding," said O'Connor, "I hope you will use me better than so." "I will," said O'Donnell, "if it please you not to hinder me nor any of mine; and I will give you all your lands, and Ballymote withal; I will build up Sligo for you, and will besides give you horses, garrans, cows, and other cattle, with corn and all other necessities, to inhabit your country, and relieve yourself and tenants.



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*Otherwise, if you be not contented with this my offer, you shall be sent to an island, called Loughbache, where you shall remain prisoner during your life."*

*Notwithstanding this resolution of O'Donnell, O'Connor sent by Mulrony Oge to his wife, the Countess of Desmond, four blank sheets signed with his name, asking her to signify in each of these that he was not allowed to write anything himself unknown to O'Donnell, and desiring license to go to him, that he might the better impart his mind to her. These sheets were for the Lord Lieutenant and others. Mulrony durst not tell the cause of these blanks, for lack of a trusty interpreter both to the State and to O'Connor, and again, because most things done by the State were known amongst the enemy. All these causes being considered, O'Connor prayed that he might temporise with the enemy, so that hereafter he might be the better able to serve Her Majesty in heart and mind, when time served, or else to know the State's full resolution for his indurance.*

*On Thursday last, the 27th of September, another messenger, called James O'Crian (of special trust with O'Connor), came with a letter to the Countess of Desmond from the said O'Connor. This letter, already delivered to their Lordships, will partly shew O'Connor's mind. James O'Crian agrees in every point with the first messenger.*

*O'Crian further says that many of O'Donnell's country would join with O'Connor against O'Donnell, if O'Connor were free, and the Queen's forces landed at Lough Foyle or Lough Swilly. Likewise O'Connor willed O'Crian to signify that it will be easier to overcome the enemy there in winter than in summer, because they hope Her Majesty's forces will winter in their garrisons. Also, the enemy will put from them their bonnaught men till summer time. Further, O'Connor learned that there came letters from the court of Scotland to O'Neill and O'Donnell, declaring that certain of the Spanish fleet came to the Low Countries, expecting the arrival of a greater company, meaning to arrive in an island in the south part of England. O'Donnell, when he came to O'Neill after the peace, was very angry because of the cessation, saying that O'Neill promised King Philip not to make peace without his license. O'Neill answered that O'Donnell must observe the cessation during his pleasure. Also, O'Donnell demanded license of O'Neill to make a journey into Connaught. This he utterly denied him, because of the cessation. Notwithstanding, O'Donnell has 1,600 men ready, to the end that, after the cessation, he may meet the pretended Earl of Desmond at the Shannon side, near Limerick. To prevent this, O'Connor prayed that more forces might be sent into Connaught for its defence. Last of all, O'Donnell said that, were it not for O'Neill, he would burn all the English Pale to Dublin. O'Neill answered, "You shall not; for, if it were done, the spoiled men of the English Pale would devour our country by begging and otherwise." If this were known to any but their Lordships, it would come to the ears of O'Neill, who has many friends about the State, and O'Crian would surely hang, and O'Connor be greatly hindered, perhaps to the loss of his life. O'Crian says that O'Donnell's mother has been two months in Scotland. She went thither to hire a thousand Scots, and, when*

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*O'Donnell took O'Connor, he sent to stay them. Signed by James O'Crean. pp. 2.*

Sept. 30. 181. Paper endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "30 7bris 99. A relation of the manner of government of the kingdom of Ireland, as the Earl of Essex left it, and hath now delivered it under his own hand."

"I left with the Justices, as also with the Earl of Ormonde, order to keep this cessation precisely, and yet to stand upon their guard in every quarter; and in this cessation to see all Her Majesty's forts and garrisons victualled for six months, they being most of them victualled for a good time already, and they having means left for the present supply to that proportion expressed. The authority of the Justices is expressed in the commission, whereof I here send a copy. It was drawn by Sir R. Napper and Sir A. Sentleger, according to the very words of the warrant. The authority of the Earl of Ormonde is the same it was before my going into Ireland, though he have no new commission; but as, while I was present, he was my Lieutenant-General, so now he commands the wars in chief.

"I used in the treaty with Tyrone, Sir Warham Sentleger, who is now sent into Munster; Sir William Warren, whom I sent to Tyrone at my coming away (the copy of Warren's instructions is amongst my papers, and the original was shewed to the Justices), Sir William Constable, and H. Wotton, my secretary, who both are come over with me, and H. Wotton hath both the articles of cessation, signed by Tyrone, and the instructions I gave to treat, and is best able to deliver all circumstances, the whole business being chiefly left to Sir Warham Sentleger and to him. The conditions demanded by Tyrone I was fain to give my word that I would only verbally deliver, it being so required of him before he would open his heart; his fear being that they should be sent into Spain, as he saith the letter with which he trusted Sir John Norreys was. I already told Her Majesty and the Lords where the knot is, which, being loosed, he hath protested that all the rest shall follow. But with those that have heretofore dealt with him, he protested he would not deal in this free manner, nor by his will in any sort whatsoever, since he had no confidence that they could procure him that which would only satisfy him, or performance of all that was agreed on.

"The chief commander in Connaught is Sir Arthur Savage; in Munster, Sir Henry Power; in Ulster, Sir Samuel Bagenall; in Leinster, Sir Oliver Lambert; but all to give account to the Earl of Ormonde, and to use the advice of such Colonels and principal Captains as were their assistants in their several charges. The government of Connaught I have assigned to Sir H. Dockwra, but would not place him in it, but brought him over to be confirmed, or otherwise bestowed, as shall please Her Majesty. Munster is governed by a commission to the provincial Council, to which I added Sir Warham Sentleger. Amongst my papers there are copies of all these directions.



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"To make a more full declaration of all things without help of my papers I am not able, being in that state of body that this which I have written is painfully set down. But I promised to send over daily advices and directions, as soon as I had spoken with Her Majesty and my Lords, and to give directions also and comfort to such of the Irishry as were principal instruments for Her Majesty in that kingdom, and to return with all expedition. If only by my coming away and Tyrone's perfidiousness, any disaster had happened, I would have recovered it, or have lost my life, for I have a party there for Her Majesty besides her army. But now when they shall hear of my present state, and shall see no new hopeful course taken, I fear that giddy people will run to all mischief." *Holograph.* pp. 3.

[Sept.] 182. Certificate by the Earl of Essex in favour of McSwyne Ne Doe.

"I must confess that Sir Conyers Clifford, when he presented McSwyne a Do unto me in Fercal, reported McSwyne's great persecutions by O'Donnell, as is set down in the petition. Whereupon, and for the trial he had of McSwyne's faith and constancy in Her Majesty's service, he promised to procure to the said McSwyne the lands in McSwyne's country, and pressed me to confirm his promise, which I did; and do think it for Her Majesty's service that such letters patents be made unto him, as are demanded in the petition. Also, that letters be granted to him, to Tibbott Ne Longe, and all those Burkes that are in obedience, and are joined with Tibbott Ne Longe, that they hold good correspondence with McSwyne, and give him their best assistance. For numbers of men, or other means out of Her Majesty's purse, I can only say this, that he is very valiant for his own person, and, if either Sir Convers Clifford had lived or I stayed in Ireland, we had both employed him, and given him part of such means as we had."—[1599, September.] *Holograph.* p. 1.

Sept. 30. 183. Note of munition issued out of the store at Newry, from 1 March to 30 September, 1599, by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant. pp. 2.

[Sept.] 184. Objections to Sir Henry Wallop's accounts.—[1599, September.] *Copy.* pp. 2½.

Sept. 30. 185. Certificate of the extraordinary charges of Ireland, defrayed in the late joint government between 1 October, 1597, and 30 September, 1598. Signed by Sir James Ware, Auditor, and Philip Hore, late deputy to Sir Henry Wallop. pp. 3.

Sept. 30. 186. Money paid out of the Receipt for the lendings, victuals, and apparel of the army, from Michaelmas, 1597, to Michaelmas, 1599. Total, 202,445*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* *Copy.* pp. 1½.

Sept. 187. (a.) "What the rebels of Munster have done to get Moghelly Castle, since the beginning of their rebellion."

At the first rebellion, albeit Desmond, when he departed from his castle of Conoghe to join with Onie O'More, commanded those



he left there not to meddle with his neighbours of Moghelly, yet, presently after, the White Knight and others took from them 42 English cows, 60 oxen, 230 Irish cows and steers, 600 sheep, 70 mares, geldings, and colts, 30 or 40 English swine, above a thousand barrels of corn, 150 loads of hay, and burnt two fair barns, with divers other houses, to the value all of 1,800*l.*; which they did to famish above 200 English persons that were in the castle. And a while after, they murdered treacherously 14 of the warders, thinking thereby so to terrify the rest, that they should yield the place; and kept it so straitly besieged four months or more, that none without danger could stir out of the gates for water or any other thing; after which time they approached the walls with an engine and ladders, thinking to have made breach, scaled, and entered with 600 men, under the leading of Redmond and William Burke, who undertook the winning of the castle for 600*l.* and the spoil thereof, which was promised them. They were repulsed with the loss of their engine, ladders, and some of their best men.

Having a little before taken the Constable of the castle's brother, they brought him bound to the place, and there threatened to hang him, if the castle was not forthwith yielded. If this were done, they offered a safe conduct to all that were in it, with their goods, to Cork or Youghal, and to restore and pay for the stock they had before taken; further, that they would not burn or spoil the castle, but keep it until the wars were ended, and then surrender it. When they perceived that all their threatenings, and what else they had done, would not prevail, and knowing that the place was so provided with men, victuals, and munition, that they could not get it by force, they laid two ambushes for the Constable, who, four days after the cessation had been proclaimed at Cork (supposing the rebels would have kept it), went with a small company to Lysfinny Bridge for salt and other provisions sent from Youghal. The Constable escaped with the loss of only one horse. The rebels, being demanded why they broke the cessation, said that they knew of none; and, if any were, they were sorry for what they had done. Immediately after, they secretly commanded that none, upon pain of death, should sell any victuals to the ward of Moghelly. Then they fortified the woods for the space of a month or more, keeping at work 400 axe-men to plash underwoods, and felled above 3,000 timber trees, and expressly forbid any of the warders of Moghelly to come over their fastness, which they had made about five miles in length.

At two several times, when Captain Flower came with the forces of Youghal to prey upon the Blackwater, and to burn corn, Moghelly furnished him with 16 horses. The rebels, understanding of this, offered that, if Henry Pyne would forbear to assist Captain Flower with his horse, they would not molest him any more, and would let him have beeves and corn.

John McRedmond, a chief leader of Desmond's, understanding that the ward of Moghelly was cased, hath for these three months continually been about it in ambushes, seeking to take the prey, castle, and such corn and other victuals as hath been provided for the ward: and hath now again offered that, if Henry Pyne would

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promise to forbear victualling Lysfinny, and not seek to molest him and the rest in their strengths, nor draw any drafts upon them, he would not only give over attempting anything against him, but also assure him that no others should; and when any foreign forces should come into the country, he would give him warning thereof beforehand, and would give him subjects of good calling, to be bound for performance thereof.

The White Knight and Piers Lacy, perceiving the fortification of Moghelly to be such that they thought it impossible to take it by force, concluded that the only way was to have Pyne's life; which presently after they put in practice by hiring two to kill him. The White Knight's chiefest reason for it was that, if Pyne were taken away, the State would be careless of the place, and, in process of time, they would famish it, as they had done Castlemaine. Whereunto one (misliking that course) replied that, if Pyne were killed, the charge of Moghelly would quickly be given to another. To whom the White Knight said, "Whatsoever he be, he shall want the favour of the Council of England and the Governors here, as also [of] the nobility of Munster, which he [*i.e.*, Pyne] hath so firmly gotten to himself, as that, notwithstanding what we can do, they will still victual him."

Since the State has dismissed this and other wards, the rebels hold it for one of their greatest arguments, that it is impossible for Her Majesty long to continue the wars here, for want of money. And what proof (say they) can you have better than the cassing of wards, especially Cahir and Moghelly, they being of so great importance.

The 8th of July, John McRedmond, having gathered to his help divers protected men of the White Knight's, Garrett FitzJames, Thomas FitzJames, and James Galls, laid three ambushes to take the castle and prey, and, by the negligence of those that kept the prey, took it, *viz.*, 53 cows, 18 oxen, and 14 horse and geldings, all which the next day he offered to restore, if Pyne would yield to his former request. He refusing, they now threaten to bring with his oxen and horses the ordnance of Cahir Castle, to batter the walls of Moghelly. Means being taken in order to ransom the prey, the rebels utterly refuse to forego one head thereof, in respect of the assured hope they have shortly by famine to get the castle, and that Pyne shall not be able henceforth, for want of oxen and horses, to fortify any more, or to manure his ground, or bring in his harvest or wood into the castle.

The White Knight, since he took protection, caused one Thomas Spanyagh (an old soldier lately come to Tyrone out of Spain, and sent by Tyrone to him) to view Moghelly. This he did secretly, and said it was impossible to take it, except with ordnance or by famine. Whereupon they have now again prohibited, upon pain of death, any victuals being brought to Moghelly, or any one to converse with the ward; and will force all Desmond's tenants and other protected men to forsake the place, and to bring all their harvest and goods into the rebels' fastness; otherwise they will burn their corn upon the ground.



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(b.) "Causes to continue the 50 warders, placed by the late Lord President, and after continued by the Lord Lieutenant, at Moghelly."

Sir Thomas Norreys, late Lord President of Munster, knowing of what importance Moghelly was, by reason of the situation of the castle so near to Drumfinny woods (which woods always are, and have been, the only receptacle of malefactors and fastness for rebels), did, at the beginning of Desmond's rebellion, place fifty men in the castle, and continued them until the Lord Lieutenant's coming thither. His Lordship well allowed thereof, and commanded the continuance of the same, and, at his departure from Ireland, gave special charge to Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power to supply the said castle and others with what they should want.

Moghelly is in all respects better provided than any other castle in Ireland (kept for Her Majesty) for lodging 300 men, and, upon occasion, a greater number, in regard of the buildings and intrenchings lately made, and, bordering as it does upon Barry's country, Imokilly, and the countries of Roche, Condon, the White Knight, and Decies, and (*sic*) may be the bridge and key of most of them. It has always victualled itself and Lysfinny in extremities, and is easier to be victualled than many others. It has forced all Desmond's tenants in Kinaltalon (who had forty ploughs going) to forsake him, and to take protections, and thereby hindered him of such cesses and revenues as he formerly had out of those lands. These, since his rebellion, were above 500*l.* yearly; and when, in the time of cessation, he came to take them, all his tenants refused to pay him any, and fled with their cows, to the number of above 1,500, under the walls of Moghelly, where they were in safety, and kept from him. When Tyrone came into Barry's country, to spoil the same, there were above 2,000 cows of the Lord Barry's followers saved at Moghelly from the rebel forces.

In February last, Captain Flower, with 300 foot and 25 horse, being sent by the Commissioners to Drumfinny woods, the White Knight, John FitzThomas, and Piers Lacy, having intelligence thereof, entered the said woods with 800 men, thinking to have defeated the English, which they might easily have done, had they not with their companies and horse withdrawn themselves under the walls of Moghelly, where they remained 12 or 14 days. All this time they were there victualled and safe, in spite of the rebels, which so discontented the White Knight, that from that time he began to dislike Desmond for not taking Moghelly at the first, when Onie O'More was in the country. They both complained, the one of the other, to Tyrone; Desmond accusing the White Knight of cowardice in letting Captain Flower and the rest escape, and he excusing the matter, saying that, if Desmond had pleased, Moghelly might have been taken with the rest at the first, but that now it was not to be dealt with, for it had been so provided and fortified by Pyne, that they would of necessity be forced to quit Drumfinny woods and the Blackwater, for Moghelly would be a scourge to them all.



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The chiefest reason Lord Barry gave Tyrone, when he came into Munster, for not joining him, was, that there were four places kept for Her Majesty which commanded his country, viz., Cork, Youghal, Mallow, and Moghelly.

When the rebels in the time of cessation (notwithstanding the same) had forbidden all men, especially Desmond's tenants, to bring or sell any victuals to Moghelly, they rather chose to take protections and supply the castle with victuals, than to obey the rebels, in regard of the great fear they had of the ward of Moghelly.

When any preys are taken from the borders of Youghal, Imokilly, or Barry's country, by the rebels, they having no other way to return into their fastness with their preys than by Moghelly or Lysfinny, if there were strong garrisons in both those places, they might easier rescue such preys than the garrisons of Youghal or Cork be ready to pursue them, the one standing at the receipt and the other forced to follow; besides, the rebels hitherto have never gone into any of those places (nor well can) to get preys, but those of Moghelly have had intelligence thereof, and have oftentimes sent notice to Youghal of their coming, whereby they have saved their prey. [1599, September.] *Unsigned. pp. 3½.*

Sept.

188. Captains brought over by the Earl of Essex.

"The Earl of Southampton.—A private Captain; came over to see if there would be a conclusion of the wars; which, if it fell out, he purposed to sue for leave to seek some other war.

"Sir H. Dockwra.—Nominated to the government of Connaught, but to be allowed, or otherwise employed by Her Majesty.

"Sir H. Davers.—For his private state and great wound in the head comes to seek remedy.

"Captain Thomas Williams.—Married a rich man's daughter in London; pretended long absence, and his undoing, if he had not leave to settle his estate here.

"Captain Thomas Lee.—Because Sir H. Lee was in great bonds for him, he desired to come over to speak with him.

"I remember these pretence[s], and the persons that made them, and gave them leave during this cessation. The rest that came over with me are discharged and cashiered, as far as I remember, to whom I could not deny passport.

"The Earl of Ormonde hath no other entertainment than he had while I was there. The Justices have the same they had before my coming."—[1599, September.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "E[arl] E[ssex's] report what Captains he brought over." Holograph. p. 1.*

[Sept.]

189. Account of the state of Ireland, addressed to [the Earl of Essex].

"The estate of this poor country of Ireland (most honourable Lord) is so torn, desperate, and miserable, that to seek remedy for it, every loyal mind can endeavour his thoughts to no better purpose than to devise the speediest way (most easeful to his country) for the subversion of the great injurious causer of it, the rebel Tyrone. And, though the loss of it were the greatest dishonour to

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our State, and touch unto our politic government, that ever happened, yet were it much better so to be, than to maintain it at this infinite charge, prospering no better withal than now it doth. I do wish that it may with a joined mind be looked unto. If it were for the gaining of a new kingdom, striving for rule might carry good colour of honour; but not to suffer the regaining of a lost kingdom, God will curse it, and posterity cry out upon it. Therefore (my most honoured Lord), if it be so (as the world takes notice of it), that crosses of others have constrained yourself to leave this enterprise, which you most nobly begun, notwithstanding cease not to patronize it, which in my poor opinion your Lordship may do, remaining yourself at home, employing some other brave gentlemen of yours assured, to be here your Lieutenant. Not that (I protest) I think any man living can, in wisdom, valour, industry, and knowledge of the war, come near your Lordship, if it might be that your Lordship were here, as you ought and would be; but, since by experience you have found the contrary, your remaining there where you are, besides your own private (*sic*), your presence will be such a backing to him that by your direction shall be here, that there is no question but matters may be well compassed in some reasonable space of time, which honour must be yours (he doing nothing but by your especial appointment), since the means from your Lordship wholly proceeds. And (my Lord) lest I be thought too busy, let me humbly crave pardon (since it is with a willing mind to do my Sovereign, country, and your Lordship service,) if I deliver my faint opinion concerning the managing of it."

The least number of men to be employed is, 17,000 foot and 1,000 horse; Tyrone only to be prosecuted, and other places to be on the defence. To the north, 12,000 foot and 650 horse must be appointed, to be distributed as follows:—Ballyshannon, 2,000 foot, 100 horse; Lough Foyle, 3,000 foot, 150 horse; Knockfergus, 1,000 foot, 50 horse. These are all places that from time to time may be relieved from the sea, without any further hazarding of armies to relieve them. Besides, they so confront Tyrone and O'Donnell (O'Donnell especially), that he will be clean taken away from any more succouring the Earl, of whom he has continually been the greatest help. No time should be lost in the settling of these troops. The beginning of April is a very fit time for them to be there. Those appointed to Ballyshannon and Lough Foyle should land at the same time, so as to cause the enemy to disperse to both parts.

After the above garrisons, there are left, for the general prosecution of Tyrone, 6,000 foot and 300 horse. The rest of the horse shall be needfully determined of hereafter. What time this army should invade him, and where a magazine may fittest be placed for its relief, remains now to be thought of. For when Tyrone is once attacked, he must not be speedily left.

First for the place of store. Armagh seems the most suitable. There much victual should be laid ready beforehand. Thinks that in the middle of May an army of 3,000 foot and 200 horse will be perpetually going, and for no other service but to convey from the



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Newry to Armagh the general store, till the army's coming. For still to go back unto the English Pale for relief, were to give Tyrone too much rest, and to consume our army with too many travels. The storing at Armagh may be the more easily done, since the garrisons of Lough Foyle, Knockfergus, and Ballyshannon, being settled, may at that instant be active and stirring, whereby Tyrone will be constrained to bend much or the most of his forces upon them.

The soldiers for the frontier garrisons should all be, or the most part of them, the soldiers that now remain in Ireland, and shipping should be sent to Ireland to convey them to their places. Ample supplies should be prepared for such garrisons. The army to attack Tyrone should be on his frontiers by the first of July, and dwell there till November, never going back further than Armagh, and some part of it always stirring. Likewise the garrisons of Lough Foyle, Knockfergus, and Ballyshannon are never in this time to be idle, for their force will very well afford them means to make incursions for 3, 4, or 5 days, and to return safely.

For other parts of Ireland, as Munster, Leinster, and the rest of Connaught, there need only be a defensive war against those enemies, "for they be but branches, that spread and flourish from the root, which being plucked up, they must of necessity perish, since their nourishment is gone." It was never heard that Tyrone ever received succour from any of them, but from O'Donnell. When the above garrisons are planted, O'Donnell will be rather ready to crave help of his neighbours, than voluntarily (as he hath done) to assist others. Nor would Tyrone himself have stirred, and been able to maintain this great party, if he had been at any time but closely followed. Our idleness hath given him more fortunes than ever he at the beginning aspired to, and let us be assured that, till he be in such violent course prosecuted, we shall never see the end of the wars of Ireland. But abate him never so little, his ruin will follow; for if his means, only of relieving others, were but taken away, you would quickly find him left of the most and the best that now are with him; which will never happen whilst he himself is left to spare his means to others.

Some may say, that to make a defensive war in all other parts were to resign them over into the enemy's hands, and so hereafter hardly again recover them. But what parts is Her Majesty now possessed of, the towns excepted? and some few other places, which ought not to be left without striking a blow, may be got again, if occasion should so happen, that we should be put to it; which will not be, the causer being once taken away.

Others may think it very strange so rawly to leave those that stand well affected. But "the poor English are, as it were, depopulated"; for the means they had are utterly taken away. The few that remain (having anything left) are dwelling in the towns, which are kept by Her Majesty. They must of necessity have patience, what course soever shall be taken, till the wars be ended; therefore to them it can be no hindrance. And for the Irish, we have none at all with us, that will find means to defend themselves with any continuance. If they should patch and agree, one with another,



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let it be winked at, and not seen. If they should absolutely combine with the chief rebel, upon whom would they make war, since they have, every man, his land in possession, and from it, notwithstanding our present force, they are little hindered? Her Highness's revenues are long since taken away. So neither Her Majesty nor any of her English subjects can be hindered by the course proposed, and it will save her the expense of 10,000 men for two thoroughly undertaken.

Besides, this scope of ease, every man to enjoy what he can, will shortly grow so sweet unto them, that the first thing they will do, when they see but few forces upon them, will be to expel all strangers from other parts, who, not being able to live at home, come to offer themselves to those that have need of them, as the Connaught men have done in great numbers in Munster. There, upon occasion of the late cessation, they were glad to be eased of them, and put most of them away.

How will these parts, being now left to themselves, employ "these wasteful persons"? It is likely they will join and cut them off, or the persons themselves will be constrained to lay down arms, and work to live, for they will find few that need to entertain them. Tyrone and O'Donnell both have already as many as they are able to keep, or know how, in their own country, to employ; and the country will not keep them, having so little occasion to use them. This may be a great cause of the laying down of arms in all other parts of Ireland, and of employing themselves to labour. If they again fall to this, Tyrone being once subverted, Her Majesty shall have them upon their knees compound with her.

Although so great numbers are appointed to the north, other parts must not be abandoned so utterly that they shall not be able to keep those places of which Her Highness is already possessed, and which are defensive enough to their near neighbours. To that end there should be appointed, for the defence of the English Pale, 2,500 foot and 200 horse, which men should be those that laboured before for the planting of the magazine at Armagh. This would be a great refreshing to them after their travail, and a sufficient assurance to those of the Pale, they having no cause to fear Tyrone. To Munster should be appointed 1,000 foot and 100 horse; to Leinster, 1,000 foot and 100 horse; and to Connaught, besides Ballyshannon, 500 foot and 100 horse. These will be in large measure enough to defend what the Queen in those places holds.

"The true honour wherewith I serve your Lordship makes me bold, though my advice be poor, to wish that by no means you suffer this enterprise to pass out of your appointment. Since at the first you entered into it, persevere unto the end of it. For I do assuredly believe that the matter will not be found so hard, as hitherto it hath been held. One fortune bred him [Tyrone] his fame, when he was not alone, but had helps of others, availing as much as his own force, which by this former spoken of course he is bereft of. Never any yet was in his country; why then should they speak so fearfully of him, whom they never attempted? Besides, letting of it pass, if any envious or malice-bearer will

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oppose himself against your Lordship, he that by their direction undertakes it, he will assuredly carry it, if the means of England will do it, in that your Lordship hath been heretofore in it, and hath now left it. Therefore, in an humble regard unto your Lordship, I could wish (presuming not to advise) it should rather go forward with this little force (your greater demands not satisfied) by some brave Lieutenant of yours, than to permit any other to take the name of it."—[1599, September.] *Unsigned. pp. 6.*

October 2. 190. Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, to the Lord High  
York House. Treasurer [Buckhurst], the Lord High Admiral [Nottingham], and the Principal Secretary [Sir Robert Cecil]. "I send you hereinclosed [*wanting*] the Earl of Essex's answer to the points contained in your Lordships' last letters, which I received sithence dinner, [and] which he dispatched presently upon understanding Her Majesty's pleasure therein."—York House, October 2. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "2 8bris 99. The Lord Keeper to ye Lords, with the Earl of Essex his answers." Holograph. Seal. p. ½.*

Oct. 3. 191. Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper, to the Lord High  
York House. Treasurer, the Lord High Admiral, and Sir Robert Cecil. "Immediately upon receipt of your Lordships' letter (which was at ten of the clock yesternight), I dealt with the Earl of Essex as your Lordships directed. He hath set down in writing his answer to those particular heads which you propounded, which I send to your Lordships hereinclosed [*wanting*]. For Captain Thomas Lee, the Earl saith that he gave him express commandment that he should repair to Sir Henry Lee, and to stay with him for dispatch of his private business, and not to resort to London or the Court. Notwithstanding, I will inquire for Lee, and, if he be found in London, will give him such charge as your Lordships direct. If he be not come hither, then I think it convenient that letters be presently dispatched to Sir Henry Lee to that effect which you write, submitting my opinion to your Lordships' grave consideration.

"The servants the Earl desireth may have access unto him for his private business are Ed. Reynolds and — Cuff. His disease continueth still, and besides he findeth the state of his body disposed to a fever, as he saith. In respect whereof he humbly desireth that Dr. Mounford, his physician, who attended him in Ireland, and knoweth best the state of his body, may also have access unto him for his health. This which he hath written he did write in his bed, and, by reason I called upon him hastily for speedy dispatch, he could not keep any copy of it, as he desired; and therefore his humble suit to your Lordships is that a copy may be sent unto him, which his suit he entreated me very earnestly to make known unto you."—York House, 1599, October 3. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "2 [error for 3] 8bris, 99. The Lord Keeper to the Lords." Holograph. Seal. pp. 1½.*

October 3. 192. Paper endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "3 8bris 99. A memorial of certain points to which the Earl of Essex is to deliver



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his opinion. This was when he had been called before the Council."

What are the particular offers that Tyrone did make unto his Lordship?

"Whether was it for himself, or whom did he include within his offers?"

"Whether had his Lordship any more offers made after Tyrone's return from O'Donnell, than he had at his first speaking with him?"

"What were they, and who was privy unto them, and what hath his Lordship in writing to prove the same? And within how many days after his first speech with Tyrone was it that Tyrone returned?"

"Whether did he find by him that he would defer to conclude for himself (and those of Ulster and Connaught), till the Munster and Leinster men were also compounded withal, or no?"

"What was it that he expected from the Queen in respect of his submission."

If his conditions were such as his Lordship would have advised the Queen to take (now upon his coming over), whether did he mean that when Her Majesty should have accepted them, she should have kept the army, or abated it? And, if she should have abated it, to what number should she have reduced it, and to what places?

"Whether doth his Lordship find by Tyrone that he resolved, if Her Majesty would pardon him, to make claim to those whom he still termeth his uriahts, or to relinquish them?"

"Whether will he be content to have any garrison in his country, as before time he was, and to admit the Queen's justice to be executed in any of those territories?"

"To these points Her Majesty's pleasure is to receive direct answer, because she may judge whether that overture which he cometh to make were fit to be accepted, considering that one of these things must follow:—

"If Her Majesty pardon Tyrone, as Tyrone desireth, and keep her forces there, then she reapeth no fruit by this conclusion.

"If she do dissolve her forces, and have not good surety by his yielding more safe conditions, then shall it be easy for the traitor, when he seeth his best opportunity, to prejudice her estate there.

"These things being duly considered, Her Majesty is pleased that his Lordship do set down what advice it was he meant to have given her at his coming hither, all which, being set down under his hand, will be more free from mistaking, than when Her Majesty hath it by report." *Draft. pp. 2.*

Oct. 3.  
Dublin.

193. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to the Earl of Essex. "Since your departure, we have dispatched Sir Samuel Bagenall, Sir Matthew Morgan, and Sir Charles Piercy, to their several places of charge, and have given them commissions of authority according their several limits prescribed by your Lordship. And now we are in hand to send the Marshal into Offally, who had been ready to march three or four days past, were it not for the backwardness of the country to bring in carts to carry victuals for the companies, and garrans for portage of lime to repair



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the Toughor, with munition to answer that service. For which purpose the Sheriffs had warrant upon Thursday last, being the 27th of the last month, to furnish these provisions, and have not as yet answered the full proportion, though we have given out second warrants, and employed a pursuivant to the Sheriffs for more expedition. We have likewise given order for assembling some of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, both to set down rates for the horse troops, such as may be indifferent, as well for the soldier as the country, and also to consider of some course to revive Her Majesty's composition within the Pale, which hath long run without any certain reckoning or account made to Her Majesty. For this cause we have prefixed several days for the appearance of the country here, according the distance of the several counties.

"We have not as yet heard anything of the pledges which the Viscount Mountgarrett and Lord of Cahir, with other submittees of Leinster, promised to put in before your Lordship and [the] Council long since; and for the Lord of Cahir, we have not seen him since your Lordship's departure, neither do we know in what sort he was dismissed; whether by license from your Lordship, or by his wilful absenting of himself. Neither have we heard anything from himself of the manner of his going away, which may make us the less confident towards him, if we thought your Lordship had not taken some good assurance of him. Only from the Viscount Mountgarrett we have received a letter directed to your Lordship, and, in your absence, to such others as should have charge here, wherein he desireth us to be a mean to your Lordship for restitution of his house of Ballyragget, alleging many inconveniences and outrages done by the soldiers. The like doth also James FitzPiers for his house of Woodstock. But, for that they are places stayed in Her Majesty's hands by your Lordship, it is not for us to make any alteration, but by direction from your Lordship. Only we make bold to put your Lordship in mind, that this failing to send in their pledges, and their pressing to have their castles redelivered, is no good sign of their conformity, and the continuance thereof; being men (as your Lordship knoweth) but newly recovered, in whom time hath not yet made proof of what hearts they are towards Her Majesty and her government." Will be glad to hear from Essex.—Dublin, 1599, October 3. *Addressed to Essex at the Court. Endorsed, Received 20 October. Signed. pp. 2.*

Oct. 4.  
Dublin.

194. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Earl of Essex. "By the joint letter, your Lordship may see what hath passed in this State since your departure, so as there is no cause to trouble your Lordship further with the general proceedings; only, in particular, I make bold to put your Lordship in mind that, the time of the cessation being to expire about the last of the month, it is requisite to be enlarged further, which cannot be done but by your Lordship, or some others specially sent from you, authorised and instructed.

"Tyrone holdeth as yet good quarter for Ulster and borders of the North, insomuch as the passage between Dundalk and the Newry is now as free and safe as it was before the rebellion; which

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I understand by Mr. Ersfield and other gentlemen late come from the Newry, who passed single through the Moyerie without hurt, or any attempt made to impeach them. Magennis, likewise, and the woodmen towards Clancuboy, keep good peace, and begin to renew traffic and neighbourhood with the poor subjects inhabiting those borders.

"For O'Donnell, I hear nothing of his doings, other than that a composition is passed between him and O'Connor Sligo, but with what limitations and conditions is not known. Yet it is like that O'Connor, being under the tyranny of the other, will think any bargain good for him, if it bring assurance of life and recovery of his lands; though for such contract as he shall make with O'Donnell, he may think to use it but as provisional, till he may be otherwise countenanced and established by Her Majesty. The Countess his wife hath made suit to be licensed to go to him, under pretence to give him advice, and to hold him sound in heart to the State, howsoever the poverty of his case and the power of his adversary may draw him to dissemble outwardly. But, for some reasons of State, it is resolved not to give her leave; and yet, as well to comfort O'Connor Sligo, as to consult with him, it is thought requisite to let slip the Bishop, his uncle, who hath been always fast to the State, and may do there good offices to his uncle [*sic*; ? nephew], and serve Her Majesty's turn by discovering O'Donnell and his doings, according such advice and instructions, as he shall receive here.

"Some of the rebels of Leinster, specially the O'Moores, O'Connors and O'Byrnes, take liberty by the cessation to come into the Pale, and exact meat and drink of the subjects, making their excuse that they have not as yet taken notice from Tyrone how far they were tied by the cessation; and forasmuch as they extend not their outrages further than the taking of victuals, the garrison have hitherto forborne to run upon them, expecting that by Commissioners, or some message from Tyrone, they will be kept in better terms, without hazarding of new stirs. I hear of no hurt done of late in Munster nor Connaught, whereby may be gathered that those two provinces have taken with the cessation, but I understand of no chief rebel there returned to obedience, nor of any inclined thereunto, which makes me think that they all await what will be the resolution of England for war or peace, wherein I pray God inspire Her Majesty's heart with the choice that at least may give some breathing time to this sore overpressed kingdom, until by a further time it may receive a more thorough settling. The work is great; God prosper your Lordship in the solicitation."

—Dublin, 1599, October 4.

[*Postscript.*] "Since the signing of this letter, Sir William Warren returned from Tyrone, and made his report of his proceedings with him. It will be hard to discern Tyrone's mind, touching the keeping or breaking of the cessation, till his next meeting with Sir William Warren, and then, if he be curious to enlarge the time further, it is long of O'Donnell, who ever hath seduced him from peace. But some special man sent to Tyrone from your Lordship will do much to work him to what you will in



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that point." *Signed. Endorsed, Received 20 of the same. Addressed to Essex at the Court. pp. 2.*

Oct. 4.  
Dublin.

195. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to the Earl of Essex. "Sir William Warren being returned yesterday from Tyrone, and delivering to us a report of his proceedings, we willed him to set it down in writing under his hand, to the end we might transmit it to your Lordship, which accordingly we have done herewith. Your Lordship may see by the declaration that there is an agreement of another meeting appointed near Dundalk within five or six days, at what time it seemeth Tyrone will be prepared to make a more thorough answer to the matters proposed to him by Sir William Warren by your Lordship's direction, having returned by this but doubtful and uncertain answers, such as in our conceits do carry evasions and dilatories (*sic*), and small ground of good meaning in him, to enlarge the cessation to a further time, as your Lordship did prescribe to Sir William Warren.

"And for that the time of their next meeting is so short, and that by his answers then we shall be able to judge better how he is affected, and particularly what he will do touching the cessation, we forbear in the mean while to write at large to your Lordship what we think of him in that point, leaving that matter till our next despatch, after the return of Sir William Warren, though we find cause by his present course and some speeches of Sir William Warren, that his mind is far from that conformity which is to be expected of one in his condition.

"We forbear by this despatch to write of these matters to the Lords of the Council, awaiting what will be the issue of this second meeting, humbly praying your Lordship, for our discharge, to impart to their Lordships these first proceedings of Warr[en, and], upon his next return from Tyrone, we will more amply advertise [their] Lordships according such matters as we shall find. We have also sent [your Lordship] herewith a declaration of a merchant of Wexford (*wanting*), lately arrived there [out of] Spain. But for Mallone, mentioned in the declaration, he is not as y[et] landed here, so as, till he come, we cannot send to your Lordship such further matter as he hath touching Spanish intelligences. The passage being ready to depart, we forbear to trouble your Lordship further at this time."—Dublin, 1599, October 4.

[*Postscript.*] "Sir William Warren hath now promised unto us to send to your Lordship Tyrone's own letter directed to your Lordship, as also a special letter to your Lordship from himself, but what he will further impart to your Lordship privately than he hath already done to us by his general declaration, we know not." *Addressed to Essex at the Court. Signed. p. 1. Enclose,*

195. I. "A declaration of the journey of Sir William Warren to Tyrone, viz.:—

"The said Sir William came to Armagh the last Friday, being the 28th of September. From thence he sent a messenger in the night to Tyrone to Dungannon, signifying his coming to Armagh as



aforesaid, and that the next morning he would meet Tyrone at the fort of Blackwater, where accordingly the said Tyrone met with him, and the said Sir William dealt with him according to such instructions as he received from the Lord Lieutenant. The said Tyrone would not agree to any further time of cessation, until he had first spoken with O'Donnell, because, said he, that O'Donnell was very much offended with him for agreeing to the last cessation, until he had been made acquainted therewith.

"Tyrone hath appointed the said Sir William Warren to meet him on the borders by Dundalk, where he hath promised that then the said Sir William shall understand and receive his full resolution, as well concerning a further cessation, as also to such other instructions as the said Sir William had from the Lord Lieutenant to deal with him; and that their meeting is appointed to be within ten days after their last meeting, which was on Saturday last, the 29th of September. By way of conference with the said Tyrone, and the report of others, the said Sir William did conceive a disposition in Tyrone to draw up all the forces that he could make to the borders, as near Dundalk as he could, and all his creaghts to bring thither with him, which maketh the said Sir William to doubt of any good or conformity to be looked for at his hands.

"By further discourse the said Tyrone told to the said Sir William, and delivered it with an oath, that within these two months he should see the greatest alteration and the strangest that he, the said Sir William, could imagine, or ever saw in his life; but, what his meaning was thereby, neither did he declare the same to the said Sir William, nor could he understand it, more than that Tyrone did say that he hoped, before it were long, that he, the said Tyrone, would have a good share in England. These speeches of the alteration Tyrone reiterated two or three several times. Tyrone did tell to the said [Sir William]\* that there [were Spaniards already landed in the Isle of Wight].\*

"The said Sir William did understand amongst them that they expected a Cardinal to come over presently, to settle religion amongst them in this country, and that they do daily expect the coming of the said Cardinal.

"Touching the building of the Togher Croghan, the said Tyrone stood upon it, alleging that it was in the hands of the Connors of Offally, and that they were in possession of it before the cessation was agreed upon; and did not yield his consent to the building thereof.

"The said Sir William doth further affirm that the said Tyrone told him that another cause why he deferred this second intended meeting of theirs for ten days, was for that he received notice from O'Donnell that McWilliam was besieged by Tibbott Ne Longe, and that the said O'Donnell was himself to go and remove that siege. Likewise the said Sir William doth affirm that, he having acquainted Tyrone with the disorders and spoils committed by the Connors in Offally since the cessation, Tyrone answered that he would write to

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\* These words in square brackets are struck out in the original.

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them in those matters, and that if they did refuse to perform the conditions of the cessation, he said he would (if he might be licensed by the State) come into that country himself, with three thousand men, and compel them to make restitution to the least (sic) farthing; to which end he had written his letters to the Connors aforesaid, and also to the Moores in Leix to the like effect, and sent a messenger of his own with that letter in company with Sir William. But a secretary of Tyrone's, meeting the boy with the said letter, took the letter from him and tare the same, saying that it should not be delivered until he had spoken with his master Tyrone. He saith also that the said messenger had letters to the Moores in Leix, importing that they should suffer the fort there, and the castles, to be victualled; but for furnishing them with wood, Tyrone said that the woods were in the possession of the rebels of that country before the cessation was agreed upon; and he saith that the said letters to that effect was permitted by the secretary aforesaid to be carried forward to them in Leix."—1599, October 3. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "3 Octobris. Sir W. Warren his relation what had passed between him and Tyrone. This came with the letter of the 4th." Signed. pp. 24.

Oct. 5.  
Dublin.

196. Sir William Warren to the Earl of Essex. "I returned from the Earl of Tyrone the third of this instant October; and upon my coming to the Lord Justice Treasurer, he took me with him to the Lord Justice Chancellor, before whom jointly I delivered Tyrone's answers to my instructions signed by your honourable Lordship, and all other circumstances which passed between us by way of discourse, which their Lordships did put in writing, and caused me to set my hand thereunto. The copy whereof I send unto your Lordship hereinclosed [*marginal note, by Sir Robert Cecil*]:—"This is the writing inclosed of the 3 of October"], together with a letter from Tyrone, who hath appointed me to be at Dundalk about the 12th of this instant, where I shall receive his full resolution. And although it will appear, by his letter to your honourable Lordship, that the day of meeting should not be in twenty days after, yet I assure your honourable Lordship that the day of meeting was mistaken by his secretary, and his letters being sealed, he understanding that Tibbott Ne Longe had besieged the supposed McWilliam, at which he was very much moved, and therefore unwilling to write again the said letter, yet afterwards his agreement and appointment was with me as aforesaid. Your honourable Lordship will conceive more by my declaration made to the Lords Justices, unto which I most humbly refer your honourable Lordship.

"As occasion shall be farther ministered, I will not fail but with all speediness advertise the same to your Lordship. If in these proceedings I have failed in any material points which your Lordship expected, I most humbly crave pardon that the same may be attributed to my lack of judgment, and not for want of any willingness, having devoted myself altogether to your Lordship's disposition. By your honourable Lordship's next letters, I shall understand your Lordship's farther pleasure, which I will



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observe as far as my life will extend."—Dublin, 1599, October 5. Signed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "5to Octobris. Sir W. Warren to the Earl of Essex; with a declaration of his first parley after the Earl left Ireland." p. 1. Encloses,

196. I. "A declaration of the journey of Sir William Warren to Tyrone." [Duplicate of No. 195 I.]—1599, October 3. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "This was sent from the Justices." Copy. pp. 2½.

196. II. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Essex. "My Lord, I understand by Sir William Warren that you are suddenly gone for England. I have appointed him to meet me within twenty days, and then shall he know my resolution. So I pray God have you in His keeping. From the Blackwater, this 9 October [September 29-October 9] 99." Signed. p. ½.

Oct. 5.

197. Memoranda by the Earl of Essex on the state of Ireland.

"That word 'ever' should have been 'usually;' which may be understood from the beginning of Her Majesty's reign till Sir William Fitzwilliams' time, who by his new exactions drove divers into rebellion. Those English which hold their castles shall not be impeached by the Irish. Those which have lost their castles by force, or by treachery of their servants, for anything I can find by Tyrone, shall not be sought to be disinherited of their lands, or the possession of them injuriously gotten to be stood upon. But for those which without cause, and for fear and cowardice, did run away [and] abandon both lands and castles, he thinketh their states forfeited, and hopeth out of them Her Majesty will have gracious consideration of the Irish gentlemen; but all this is to be referred to [a] Commission.

"I did so insist in making one principal rebel an example, and did shew him how proudly and factiously James Fitz Thomas had written to Spain, making his person equal with Tyrone's, and his ability to do service to the cause greater, as I found in his heart he could be well content to let him run any fortune; and the rather, if Her Majesty would set up young Desmond in the Tower against James Fitz Thomas, by which means the followers of the house would be drawn away, and the Irish well satisfied.

"That Her Majesty will give me her princely word that, upon Tyrone's true penitency and dutiful endeavours to do service hereafter, she will forgive him in her heart, as well as in parchment and by an open pardon. And that Her Majesty will command or allow me to deliver it to him by my word and protestation as Her Majesty's faithful messenger; wherein it is to be understood that it is no assurance but Her Majesty's word which will be taken.

"I persuade myself he will stand more for matter than form; but he must, as he saith, shew to have care of them to the world, else he shall grow odious to his own party, and they will cut his throat, and set up a more malicious and dangerous head. Also, in the other treatises he did still protest that, though Her Majesty would have him speak but for himself, yet, if the rest were not



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agreed withal in like manner, he would never hold himself tied; which Sir Warham Sentleger and those which were employed in the former negotiation do confess.

"If Her Majesty will not in this sort, and with these conditions, compound the troubles of Ireland, I do humbly offer choice of these three ways; either to prosecute in Ulster this next spring, which will not be done with less than 20,000 foot and 1,400 horse; or else to prosecute in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, leaving Ulster only frontiered with garrisons, which is to be done with 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse; or else only to keep the forts and towns, which will be with 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "5 8bre. E[arl of] E[sex]."* *Holograph. pp. 3½.*

Oct. 6.  
Richmond.

198. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council. "You shall understand that, upon the arrival of Essex from his charge, he hath delivered us particular relations of the state of our affairs. First, that he hath left the government of that kingdom to you two, as our Justices, and to you, our cousin of Ormonde, as Lieutenant of our army, of which distribution we do allow, and hereby do confirm the same in manner and form as he left it, by virtue of our commission. Secondly, he did impart unto us many particulars of the courses which our forces held, and of the ill success happened in his time to divers ill guided and conducted troops of ours; wherein we took occasion to expostulate with him [on] his long tergiversation in the northern action, whereby all opportunity was past, our army weakened, and the rebels grown strong and increased in their pride, and so our whole year's charge consumed to no purpose. He did plainly answer us, that, whatsoever he did in that point, he did it contrary to his own proposition and desire, rather choosing to assent to so general a contestation in all you of the Council who dissuaded it, than to venture to be taxed for a singularity in a matter whereof the success was doubtful. Lastly, he declared that, upon a meeting with Tyrone, he had found in him an internal desire to become a good subject, and that he had made divers offers and petitions, whereupon to be received to our grace and favour; which being examined by him, and appearing in many things unreasonable, he would no way conclude until our pleasure were first had; but suspended all final answer therein, and yielded to a cessation from six weeks to six weeks, if fourteen days' warning were not given; which in effect is but an abstinence for fourteen days. And therein also we do note, that it had been an argument of more duty in Tyrone, to have submitted that condition to a less equality, seeing he is to win our grace by lowly and humble conditions, and not by loftiness. Nevertheless, for that point of the cessation, our pleasure is that you do no way break it; for in whatsoever any word is passed from him that represents our person, we will have no pretext to warrant any violation of that which we have ever held so precious.

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“And yet to you we cannot hide that we are displeased that our kingdom hath been so ill ordered, as that we must accept of such proceedings, before the rebel had tasted somewhat of our power. Neither could we like his judgment in coming over so suddenly to us in person, knowing well that, upon this abrupt departure, every ill spirit would fashion sinister conjectures; some, that the State was desperate; others, that himself, upon whose judgment it was likely that we would rely, would imagine it fit to have his offer taken in all points, or else that he would rather have written than come. In which consideration, to the intent that no man hereafter should leave such a charge so suddenly, without making any end one way or other, we could do no less than sequester him from our presence for some time, into the house of one of our Privy Council, as an argument of our dislike thereof. For, although it be known to us that the treaty set on foot between the King of Spain and us taketh away any doubt that he will now give any succour to those rebels, yet was it more than he knew, but that the remain of the forces at the Groyne, being frustrated of other attempts, might have been sent thither; which, if it should have happened during his absence, could not but have wrought confusion in that State. Of this much we think fit that you be informed, lest it might be conceived that we misliked to hear of any submission, or that the Traitor might think we meant to reject him. And, therefore, we would have him understand from you, our cousin of Ormonde, that, although we dislike divers particulars in his offers, yet do we both allow of his desire to be forgiven, and are resolved (if the fault be not in himself) to restore him to our grace and favour. But forasmuch as his petitions consist of many considerable circumstances, wherein we must have regard to our honour above all things, we will defer our final answer for some few days, and then return to him our pleasure under our hand by some so confident personage, as, when he looketh down into the centre of his faults, and up to the height of our mercy, he shall find and feel that he is the creature of a gracious sovereign, that taketh more contentment to save than to destroy the work of our own hands. If you shall think good to choose our Secretary Fenton, with some assistant, to deliver them this much, and thereby to see how he stands affected, we shall well allow that election, or of any other that you shall think fit for our service, if sickness or any other sufficient cause do hinder his employment.

“It remaineth now that we command you, the Justices, to forbear making knights, granting of leases, wards, pardons, or pensions, and forthwith to advise us what is the state of our army and of our treasure, and what accidents have happened since Essex his return; and, whensoever you shall have heard anything from the Traitor, to certify that also to our Council here. And where we have heard that some of our Council there are desirous to come over for their own private business, our pleasure is that you do not license any of them, until you receive further order from us, or that we shall have, with some further time, settled a



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more certain course in that State.”—The Court at Richmond, 1599, October 6. [*Marginal note in Entry Book*:—“This letter of Her Majesty’s was sent by post to Holyhead, and, lest it should miscarry, the copy thereof was sent in this letter following, by the way of Chester.”] *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 184-185 b. *Copy*. pp. 24.

Oct. 7.  
Richmond.

199. The Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst], the Lord High Admiral [Nottingham], and Secretary [Sir Robert Cecil], to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, the Earl of Ormonde, and the Council. “You shall understand by this inclosed [*copy of the preceding letter*] of what importance it is that you may be acquainted timely with the substance of this despatch, whereupon dependeth the main points of such proceedings as you are to hold, to whom the trust of the kingdom is jointly committed. Her Majesty hath with her royal hand signed word by word the despatch, whereof this is the copy. That despatch was sent yesterday to Holyhead. This we have directed by the way of Chester to this purpose, that we may be sure, if the one miscarry, the other may yet be delivered. And therefore, as your Lordships know the cause of our sending, and now perceive the effect of Her Majesty’s commandments, we do hereby deliver unto your Lordships and the rest precisely, that, if this copy do arrive before the original, you shall pursue all parts thereof, as if you had it signed under Her Majesty’s own hand. Wherein, to give better credit to this, which is but a copy, we three do assure you the same to be in all points agreeable with the original; and, for testimony thereof, we have here set to our hands.”—The Court at Richmond, 1599, October 7. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fo. 185b. *Copy*. p. 1.

Oct. 8.  
Athlone.

200. Sir Arthur Savage to the Earl of Essex. “Sithence your departure there is nothing happened more worthy to be advertised of than the report of O’Donnell’s coming hither, which is so confirmed from all parts that it maketh our honestest neighbours to draw back and seek how to make their peace with him. John Burke’s son with Tyrrell and some thousand of the Connaught rebels now in Munster are appointed to meet him in Clanricarde, which is the place they chiefly aim at. It falleth out very unfortunately for the relief of the Boyle; for, whereas I intended to put in victuals now in this time of cessation, for a good time, by defect of my Lord’s horse, who can now not spare them, it is very likely to be lost; for without sufficient convoy I dare not undertake it, and we have no convoy sufficient, wanting horse. There were in it four pledges, which I presumed to have victualled it with upon an exigent, being of the best of that country, but they have newly made an escape, whether by wilfulness or negligence I know not, but I think rather wilfulness. The Constable sent one of the ward to advertise me of their wants, who was slain in his coming up; and so they have divers other, and committed many more outrages sithence this cessation than before.

“Your Lordship [was] pleased, by your letter at your going, to enjoin me to stay here to direct this business, till the coming of



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some other man to undertake it, when, it should seem, your Lordship intendeth to withdraw me, and in the mean time, as I am informed, have made grant of my company to be divided between one Trevor and another Captain. It is true, my Lord, that, for some private business of mine own, I do desire your Lordship's favourable leave for two months into England; but, if my condition must be so hard as to leave mine entertainments, I will rather with patience endure to remain here, how directed soever. But, in the mean time, your Lordship may please to remember that, to regain your Lordship's good opinion, I offered my service unto you, and left a company of 200 without any manner of satisfaction, and have meekly borne this heavy burden, almost insupportable, saving that I assure me, when your Lordship hath examined your own conscience, and the truth of that which may be imputed against me, your Lordship will be as ready to ease me, as I have been willing to bear that which by your Lordship only hath been laid upon me; and hold me an honest man unto you, howsoever by suggestion you have been laboured to withdraw your Lordship's favours from me, having never, either by word or deed, sithence my coming hither, done anything to detract from your Lordship; as I will be ready to prove, and to be ever unto your Lordship, so long as you shall please to accept of me, your Lordship's true servant."—Athlone, 1599, October 8. *Signed.* pp. 24.

Oct. 9.  
Cork.

201. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to the Earl of Essex. "From Youghal, with great convoy, I came to Cork the 24th of the last month. Since which time some chief gentlemen and freeholders of this country, upon most humble and absolute submission of life, lands, and goods, to Her Majesty's mercy, have been received in, and a great gaol for this county is delivered, and divers other businesses concerning the state of this province are performed according to your Lordship's instructions. In the due performance of which I could have done little, without the good help and assistance of this honourable knight [Sir Edward Denny], being an ancient Councillor of this province, whose travel from Youghal hither, for the better furtherance of Her Majesty's service, by me requested, was by him most readily yielded unto, whose wisdom and experience have effected many good offices, which, without his presence and assistance here, would have been yet to begin.

"Further it may please your Honour that, in this short time of my being here, I have, partly by observation, and partly by instruction from others of good credit and experience of this country, come to the knowledge of the causes of this rebellion, and means to suppress the same."

"First, the chief rebels of Munster were solicited by the Earl of Tyrone to raise war against Her Majesty; and, to make them forward in this action, Tyrone assured to James FitzThomas the Earldom of Desmond; to Donnell, base son to McCarthy More, the Earldom of Clancarty; to Dermond McOwen, the Lordship of Dualla; to Dermond McCarthy, the Lordship of Carberry; to

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David O'Mahowny and the rest of his sept, the lands of Kinalmeakie; and to divers others of meaner sort such lands as they would challenge, being either in the hands of Her Majesty or any of her loyal subjects. And, to manifest this his purpose, Tyrone sent Onie McRory, Tyrrell, and divers others with great forces to effect his intention, which did confirm in the hearts of these rebels such assurance of his assistance, as presently they joined with him, and entered into this rebellion.

"And albeit some of the Lords and chief gentlemen make shew of subjection, yet their tenants and freeholders (reputed and accounted of like loyalty) are worse than the rebels, for, under colour of subjection, they pass to and fro, furnishing the rebels with all intelligences and other means they can.

"And it is very apparent that divers of the Lords and chief gentlemen themselves are not so loyal as they pretend; for, in Barry's country, John Barry, brother to the Lord Barry, is kept out; in Carberry, Dermond McCarthy; and the said Dermody hath a yearly pension of 13s. 4d. out of every plough-land in Carberry, Ibawne, and Courey's country. And, to prove that the whole province is infected with this rebellion, the rebels have free access through every country, and [are] there relieved and maintained. Neither can any of them that pretend greatest loyalty, vouch any service by any of them done since the beginning of this rebellion, but some small hurt upon Connaught men for private quarrel, and not for Her Majesty, as is informed.

"The inhabitants of the province are grown into such hatred of the English government, that no service can be done by any of Her Majesty's forces, unless they be able to fight as well against the pretended subjects as the open rebels; for, in that action against the English, either they shrink from Her Majesty's forces, and are lookers on, or join with the rebel.

"These mischiefs grow principally by the merchants of the port towns, for they with their moneys repair into England and other places, and bestow all they have, or can get upon credit, for swords, headpieces, muskets, powder and lead (no fit wares for merchants to deal in). And albeit the offence herein be very penal both in England and Ireland, yet the gain is so great, as the merchant, stopping the searcher's mouth, maketh treble gain by selling to subjects, and to the rebel, 6d. for a penny. For the reputed subjects of the country buy of the merchants, and sell to the rebels after these rates, viz., they have of the rebels six beeves for a sword, six beeves for a headpiece, six beeves for a culiver or musket, and one beef for a pound of powder, and so from time to time do furnish them, and by the pretended subject the kingdom is put to sale.

"Means to suppress this rebellion.

"First, a garrison of 200 foot and 25 horse to be placed at the bay of Bantry, which may be victualled by sea.

"A garrison of 300 foot and 25 horse in Kilcrea, which may be victualled from Cork.

"A garrison of 300 foot and 25 horse at Mallow, which may also be victualled from Cork.



"A garrison of 400 foot and 25 horse at Fermoy or Glannor.

"These four garrisons will master all the county of Cork, and suppress the rebels there.

"Item, 800 foot and 50 horse to be sent to Kerry and Desmond, with a good commander, well knowing the country, and acquainted with the people, will suppress the rebels there. These may be victualled by sea.

"Item, 400 foot and 40 horse placed in Kilmallock, and 300 foot and 25 horse at Askeaton, and 300 foot and 25 horse at Limerick, will suppress all the rebels in the county of Limerick.

"These garrisons thus placed, and order taken that all such as make shew of subjection be forced to manifest the same by joining with Her Majesty's forces in doing service upon the rebels, or else to be prosecuted as the rebels; and strict course taken that no merchant, or other, bring unto this land any munition of war, to sell the same again, upon pain of death; and that all head officers of corporate towns put in security to Her Majesty's use; [and] that no rebels shall be relieved from out of the said cities or towns, or willingly be suffered to have access to the said cities and towns, will within short time suppress the rebellion.

"A great care must be had that the companies in garrisons be well paid, victualled, and apparelled, for therein standeth the service of the soldier, which hitherto hath been greatly weakened. For, although Her Majesty's allowance of pay, victual, and apparel, be very bountiful and gracious, yet the hard dealing or want of care in the officers of the companies, and the negligence or malice of the officers of towns, hath been such, as the poor soldiers, for want of their allowance, of diet, and apparel, and, instead of bedding, for want of litter or straw, are starved; which groweth to the advantage of the Captain by dead pay, and to the advantage of the rebel[s], who use this abuse as a reason to persuade to join with them; Her Majesty's treasure is consumed, and no service done, and her loyal subjects are slaughtered; and herein Her Majesty greatly abused, that, upon the days of muster, men are hired to fill up companies, but, upon occasion of service of a hundred, scant 60 or sometimes 50 ready for service. And where the poor soldier doth allow, out of his entertainment, 6*l.* by the year for his apparel, and yet wanteth clothes fit for him, forty shillings bestowed here upon this country['s] cloth would furnish him better. And if the soldier were paid by the poll, and not to the Captain in gross, it were a better course. If the composition were left, and the cess renewed, Her Majesty might well maintain two thousand within this province upon the charge of the country.

"And now may it please your Honour to call to memory the common calamity of this poor province, grown through the insolency and greedy humour of a sole Governor, and to consider of the likelihood of a better government by a Council, who, either led by a good conscience of their doings, or restrained by fear of reproach when every of them shall be free to look into another's



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dealing, will be more careful of their charge. I take it, under your honourable favour, it will give good hope of reformation of former abuses, both in civil and martial causes, if this government continue by Council, without a sole or principal Governor, according your Lordship's instructions to me delivered; whereby I will undertake to save unto Her Majesty yearly a thousand pounds, and [to] rectify many disorders. For it is manifest, by late experience, that a Presidency here hath been a needless charge to Her Majesty, a hindrance of justice, and an oppressing burden to the country."—Cork, 1599, October 9. *Holograph.* pp. 4.

Oct. 9.  
Cork.

202. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. His coming to Cork. Divers submissions. Good service of Sir Edward Denny. Recommends the government of Munster by a Council, instead of by a sole or principal Governor.—Cork, 1599, October 9. *Endorsed*, By Sir Edward Denny. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Oct. 11.  
Dublin.

203. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. "Before the Lord Lieutenant's departure into England, his Lordship had many conferences with the Council touching the extraordinaries, both how they increased daily in the government, by several urgent occasions, and how there was no money here to answer them, other than such as I, the Treasurer, by his Lordship's direction, and consent of the Council, did adventure to strain my credit to borrow, for payment of those extraordinaries. His Lordship and the Council here have written often to your Lordships hereof jointly, besides what his Lordship hath advertised by his private letters, and particularly in our two late general despatches of the 17th and 22nd of August, besides a third of the 27th of July before, in all which we were bold to put your Lordships in mind, how infinitely the service of this realm was, and would be, maimed by a limitation of all extraordinaries to 5,000*l.* per annum, and that, in such a stint, it was not possible to hold up the service, and prevent inconveniences, without some further enlargement therein. For, howsoever the allowance for extraordinaries is limited, yet the causes and occasions of extraordinary expenses are not limited, nor can be avoided, in such a garboyled state as this, except we shall suffer the magazines to lie still, and never be removed, and thereby give way to the victuals to run to waste and perishing, in the preservation whereof resteth a great part of good husbandry to Her Majesty. And, for an instance, we are driven at this present to hire ships for transportation of victuals and munition from Knockfergus to Tredagh and Dundalk, for the answering of the garrisons, which want those natures; likewise, from Galway to Limerick; and overland, for dry portage of victuals and munition to the two forts of Leix and Offally, with other castles and places of garrison, which cannot be furnished but by carriage-garrans in great numbers. Besides, the extraordinaries drink up no small sums in rewards for intelligences, for spial money, packet-money,

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reparation of Her Majesty's houses, and bridges for common passage, with such like; for which ready money must be paid, and the charge cannot be avoided, unless the whole service should languish and lie still. And lastly, the exportation of sick, impotent, and unserviceable soldiers, in great numbers, at every passage out of this realm into England, for which ships are hired of purpose, which draweth no small charge out of Her Majesty's purse, besides the common charity of the people. All these expenses, though they may differ in kind and nature, yet being extraordinary, and such as cannot be forborne but with great inconvenience to the whole service, when they are calculated into a reckoning, will rise to great sums, which we have no means to furnish, but by a dangerous hazard of me, the Treasurer, who, by the advice and consent of the Council, do adventure my credit to raise money, to answer that turn; otherwise, Her Majesty's weighty service would be in danger to fall to the ground. In which respect we humbly beseech your Lordships, as we have often done, to be means to Her Majesty that either the limitation of 5,000*l.* for extraordinaries may be set at liberty, or the proportion enlarged, answerable to the actions and occasions of the service; and, in the meanwhile, that it will please your Lordships to furnish us with all speed, with some good portion of money, to answer the present extraordinaries from the time of the beginning of this joint government, without which we know not how to supply the necessities of the service, but must be driven to leave it to hazard.

"It may please your Lordships likewise to remember that in one of your former letters, dated at Nonsuch, the 4th of August last, your Lordships advertised hither that Her Majesty had yielded to the erection of 2,000 foot of the Irish for a time, during the harvest, conditionally that so much should be abated of the 16,000 foot in the months succeeding. In which letter also, your Lordships signified that Her Majesty commanded me, the Treasurer, to make payment of 18,000 foot for that time, for which I should have Her Majesty's warrant under her hand, to allow thereof in my accounts, by the next dispatch. We humbly beseech your Lordships to send away that warrant, for the better surety and discharge of me, the Treasurer, who have answered the pay of the said 2,000, only upon the ground of your Lordships' said letter. And for the abating of so many for the months succeeding, the Lord Lieutenant, before his repair into England, struck off 4,000, and hath reduced the main list to 14,000 foot; and so it continueth at this present. Moreover, the Lord Lieutenant, being to draw the army into the field against the Arch-traitor, about the end of August last, and having no means to answer the extraordinaries of that journey, it was resolved by his Lordship and Council, in a public act, that I, the Treasurer, should borrow 1,000*l.* to answer the extraordinaries of that service; otherwise, the journey could not have proceeded. Which was done, and the money delivered into the hands of a special paymaster, to see it issued according such direction, as his Lordship,



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with such of the Council as were then with him in the field, should give. All which was signified to your Lordships in a joint letter from hence of the 22nd of August last. George Beverley was the special paymaster appointed for this issue, who hath now exhibited his account, which we send to your Lordships herewith (*wanting*), humbly beseeching you that warrant may be procured for that 1,000*l.*, for the discharge of me, the Treasurer; and that from henceforth some settled course may be taken for the answering of all extraordinaries; otherwise, Her Majesty's service will be greatly hazarded and endangered, which we have no means to remedy here."—Dublin, 1599, October 11. *Signed. Endorsed,* Received the 23 of October by Mr. Fortescue. *pp. 2.*

Oct. 11.  
Dublin.

204. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have adventured to write to you, though I can write nothing of the main cause now in question, and of most weight, namely, what will be the issue of the treaty with Tyrone; to whom Sir William Warren hath been now the second time employed, by direction from the Lord Lieutenant. At his first return he brought but uncertain and frivolous answers, such as gave no conjecture what was that traitor's mind to enlarge the time of the cessation, which, it seemed, he put off till the second meeting with Sir William Warren, who is now with him, and his return expected within two or three days. And, till he come, there can be no certain advertisement of the issue and resolution of his proceedings. But for my part, by former experience, I gather that Tyrone's deferring to deal plainly with Warren in this treaty is, to have time to confer with O'Donnell, without whose advice and consent he will conclude nothing. Tyrone holdeth as yet good quarter touching Ulster, by which the poor borderers of the Pale have a breathing time to get in their harvest, and sow their seed. But his limbs in Leinster do not so, for that they deny Her Majesty's soldiers of both the forts to cut wood, to have victuals brought to them out of the country, or to repair the Toughor of Offally, protesting in great pride against all these. Moreover, they fall by troops upon the subjects, exacting meat, drink, and money against their wills, besides making booty of their goods, as they can snatch them, all which is directly against the cessation. So as, howsoever Tyrone in his wonted wiliness doth dissemble a keeping of peace within his own country, yet he suffereth it to be broken abroad by his confederates, as greatly to the impoverishing of the subjects, as if it were open hostility. All these breaches are collected, and delivered in writing to Sir William Warren, to shew them to Tyrone, and to procure reason of them from him. At whose return, your Honour shall know what is done in these and other things handled in the treaty. In the meanwhile, here is great expectation what will be the resolution of England touching these rebellions; whether Her Majesty will be at the charge of another war, to take them down by force, or stay them for a time by pacification, a course which being not well carried, there is danger it may draw Her Majesty to increase the dishonour of a long war by yielding in the end to dishonourable conditions of peace. But



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in this point it is not safe for me to use freedom and plainness; only I wish that what the Lord Lieutenant hath wrought there were hasted hither with all speed; for that the time of the cessation being near expiring, this realm will lie open to new dangers in every part, if there should be a sudden breaking off, specially the Lord Lieutenant being not here to use opportunities, and give order to the best advantage for Her Majesty in so sudden an alteration."—Dublin, 1599, October 11.

[*Postscript.*] "It may please your Honour to return Birkinshawe with all speed to his charge, for the half-year's reckonings of the Captains being now to be made up, it is his particular office to see them passed to Her Majesty's most benefit for the checks; and, he being absent, I have no hope that Her Majesty's profit will be much respected therein." *Signed. Seal. pp. 2.*

Oct. 12.  
Cork.

205. The Commissioners of Munster to the Earl of Essex. Immediately upon their repair to Cork, they assembled such of the Council as were there, to consider the state of the province. First, having sworn the Lord Barry (as they mean to do the rest when they come), they began with Castlemaine, which was in great danger of being lost. The extremity of the ward at that instant required present remedy, and the rather, because the traitors would not let it be victualled. Have sent a gentleman on horseback to know the answer of James FitzThomas, both for the holding of the cessation and suffering Castlemaine to be victualled. Have also adventured two barrels of salt and four beeves, to see whether the passage thereof will be impeached.

Recommend the service lately done by Captains Francis and George Kingsmill, whereof Essex had a letter the day of his embarking. Captain George has asked that his foot company may stand on his own charge, till Essex's pleasure be known. Have granted this.

Pray that such treasure as shall be assigned for Munster may come directly from Bristol to Cork, to prevent the great trouble and charge that grow by its coming from Dublin. The money and clothes sent by Sir Charles Wilmot are as yet at Waterford for want of wind, and the need of the soldiers is very great.

Can do nothing at Cork without allowance for extraordinaries, having at this instant at least 300 unserviceable men, discharged from their companies, and no means either for their transportation, or for the relieving of them till they go.

The paymaster refuses to pay Sir George Thornton the 6s. a day granted by concordatum to him as Governor of Kilmallock, and without which he cannot command there, as he has no other entertainment than 2s. a day as Provost-Marshal of Munster.

"There is something that may be disliked of by these townsmen of Limerick and Cork, which we refer to relation of Sir Edward Denny, to whom we have imparted some of those things.

"Lastly, we, Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power, do signify to your Lordship that the Lords Justices, notwithstanding your Honour's direction, have refused to grant any more than 20

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nobles a week for the diet, which is so small a proportion, as in no sort we can maintain a table with any grace to the place.

"Before the sealing hereof, we understood that my Lord of Ormonde hath cut off Richard Butler's company, who were (as is said) ranging up and down Power's country, spoiling and extorting upon the subjects."—Cork, 1599, October 12. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed*, Received by Sir Edward Denny the 30th, at London. pp. 1½.

Oct. 13.  
Dublin.

206. Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays again that he may receive the warrant for the raising of 2,000 men over and above the former list of 16,000; also, the warrant for the 1,000l. for the extraordinaries of Essex's journey to the north. Further, that order may be given for the issuing of such other extraordinaries as the service daily requires; as the removal of victuals and the transportation of sick, hurt, and unserviceable soldiers, of whom there are at this instant above 700 or 800. Necessity for speed. In hope of Her Majesty's gracious favour, adventures daily to lay forth great sums of money for the furtherance of these services, "for miserable is that sparing which breedeth loss." His chief desire is to do true and faithful service, and to husband things as best he may. If he does not yearly gain Her Majesty more than his entertainment, he will never ask a penny from her; "and if every servitor do the like, it will do no hurt." Begs Sir Robert, who was no hinderer of his appointment as Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, that he may not, for want of Her Majesty's warrant, hazard all, though he adventure much. Will expend no more than is absolutely necessary for the service. Sends herewith (*wanting*) a catalogue of the names of all the sick and unserviceable soldiers sent from Dublin, besides those that have been sent from Drogheda, Galway, Munster, and other places, of whom he has not yet received any notice. "It is to be thought that these rebels do prepare themselves to break this cessation forthwith, for they have many meetings, and do gather their forces together. We do victual and man all Her Majesty's forts for four months, and then defend ourselves the best we can."—Dublin, 1599, October 13. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed*, "Received at London the 23 of October, '99, by Mr. Fortescue." pp. 2½.

Oct. 13.  
Dublin.

207. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Earl of Essex. "I thought not to have written to your Lordship by this passage, for, that, Sir William Warren is not as yet returned from his second meeting with Tyrone, so as, till it be seen what passeth between them in this assembly, there is no ground to make any advertisement, certain or conjectural. Only, at the writing of this letter, Sir William Warren wrote hither, that Tyrone and he were to meet yesterday near Dundalk. And, even at this instant, I was advertised from Weston, that the cause of Tyrone's deferring his meeting thus long was, for that he and O'Donnell had spent most part of the week before in conference at Omagh, between Strabane and Dungannon; but with what conclusions he cannot advertise, other than that Tyrone, after this meeting with Warren, meaneth to draw down



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to the borders of the Annaly, to hold a council with the traitors of Leinster. It is one note that Sir William Warren maketh in his letter, that he doubteth Tyrone will be naught; which he gathereth, chiefly, by his drawing of all his forces to a head, to be ready (as it seemeth) to take the advantage to do mischief immediately upon the expiring of the cessation. Sir William Warren's letter is sent to your Lordship now by the Lord Justice Carey, and Weston's letter I send herewith (*wanting*) humbly putting your Lordship in mind still, to dispatch away a gentleman of trust with all speed, to hold Tyrone in good terms, and, if it may be, to conclude with him a new enlargement of the cessation, which will do much to hold the balance even here, until your Lordship by a longer time may work means to sway them either to peace or war, as shall be found best commodious for Her Majesty. Only I wish that this dispatch may be sent away with all speed to prevent the rage of a new breaking out. And it is looked for that your Lordship, upon your first compact made with Tyrone, should be careful not to break with him, either in time or matter, but to contain him by all good compliments and ceremonies you can, till you have wrought the time as much to your advantage, as he thinketh he hath it now at his.

"This day the Earl of Ormonde hath written hither of a reasonable good killing he hath had of a hundred and more loose men drawn into a head in the county of Waterford, part Connaught men and part Ulster men, and all pretending to be of the cashiered company of Captain Richard Butler, son to the Viscount Mountgarrett, whose colours and drum they used in the field against the Earl of Ormonde. The fort of Offally is victualled without any resistance, and now the State is in hand to put victuals into Maryborough, wherein I think the greatest impediment will be the want of this country[']s aids, carts and garrans. Nothing is yet come from Munster, from the two last Commissioners sent up by your Lordships: yet I hear from others that the storm rageth not there, as it hath done. But, as well in that province, as other parts of the realm, the hope of a thorough calm resteth in such resolutions as your Lordship shall procure out of England, wherein the Lord of heaven and earth prosper you to your own honourable heart's desire."—Dublin, 1599, October 13. *Signed. Addressed to Essex at the Court. pp. 1½.*

Oct. 14. 208. "A brief of money issued for charges in transportation of unserviceable soldiers from Dublin to Chester, beginning in May, 1599." Total, 158*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* *Endorsed, 14 October, 1599. Draft. pp. 3.*

Oct. 15. 209. Sir George Thornton to the Earl of Essex. According to his Lordship's direction, repaired to Cork, where having met with the Commissioners and the rest of the Council, they advertised Essex of the occurrences happened in Munster since his departure from Ireland. Otherwise Sir George would have written. Has been licensed to return to his garrison, where he hopes to do better service than he can at Cork.



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Although Essex, by word, signified to Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power that Sir George was to have the first vacant company in Munster, yet they required a written authority. Begs for the same. The paymaster will not pay him the 6s. a day, assigned to him as Governor of Kilmallock, affirming that he has been commanded not to pay any concordatums. Is, therefore, in no sort able either to command at Kilmallock, or to maintain the post. Has no other pay but his 2s. *per diem* as Provost-Marshal. Desires Essex to signify his pleasure to the Lords Justices and Treasurer that he may receive his payment.

"Lastly, I have made humbly bold to advertise your Lordship of my opinion for the holding of the cessation, which, I fear me, will have no long continuance between us and James Fitz Thomas, both for that he hath given public proclamation that the garrison of Kilmallock shall have no wood, either in their woods or in the woods of the subject, alleging that all are under their command; and also, for that he utterly refuseth to suffer Castlemaine to be victualled. Nevertheless, in performance of your Lordship's pleasure, I will use all the best offices of pacification and tolerance that Her Majesty's honour may permit, until I shall have further direction from your Lordship or the Commissioners here." Has sent herewith a note of such bonnaughts as are departed, and of such as remain since the cessation.—Cork, 1599, October 15. *Signed. Seal. p. 1. Encloses,*

209. I. "*A note of such bonnaughts as are in Munster, and of those that keep them.*" Total, 1,500. Also, a note of those that are gone out of the province since Essex's departure. Total, 1,500.—[1599, October 14.] *Draft. p. 1.*

Oct. 16.

210. Memorandum by the Earl of Essex.

"Upon perusal of the despatch, wherein account is given of Sir William Warren's journey to Tyrone, I do acknowledge that the answer he brought back carrieth at the first apprehension show of contradiction to that conformity which I reported to Her Majesty that I found in him. But in truth, if circumstances be weighed, the causes of alteration will appear, and his mind may yet be conformable, though his tongue be vain.

"First, because in my absence I did, and could, look for no better answer from him than that he would inviolably keep the cessation for six weeks, he having protested that he would never have nothing to do with those that are now there chief ministers for Her Majesty, or with any person in that kingdom. [*On margin* :—"My absence, as I intended it, could not have been prejudicial, for I had three weeks' cessation and one day after my arrival at the Court, in which time I might have returned, or have given Tyrone such hope by letter, if so it had pleased Her Majesty, as he would not [have] broken out in a some (*sic*) reasonable time after."]

"Secondly, because I assure myself he could not speak with Warren, but in the hearing of Owen, that is an instrument for Spain, or of Friar Nangle or Chamberlain, that are employed from Rome; before any of which he dare not give the least show of conformity to Her Majesty's obedience.

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"Thirdly, I know him to be so advised and cunning in his own courses, as, till the very instant that he hath assurance of his reconciliation to Her Majesty's mercy, he will never give his followers any suspicion of relenting, but will set on a face of the greatest obstinacy and insolency that can be; else his own people would cut his throat, and set up a new head.

"But my hopes did not absolutely depend upon his conformity, for I made account, as long as I was favoured and any way enabled by Her Majesty, I had a faction of his own countrymen that would plague him more than all the English armies Her Majesty can send, for they will tread the wood and bog as well as his men. And in this point, as well as in the former, I fear my disgrace and ruin may hinder Her Majesty's service, which doth grieve my very soul more than all that can happen to myself. For it is contentment to me to suffer, in hope that my penance hath procured absolution; and my pains and infirmities, which have made me an old man in 12 days, are my comforts, first because both God and the world knows I took the beginnings of them in Her Majesty's service, and now find this extraordinary and incredible increase of them to make Her Majesty see that as *animus agit in corpus*, so she only on earth is able *agere in animum Essexii*." *Endorsed*, 16 October '99. *Holograph. pp. 2½.*

Oct. 16.  
Dublin.

211. Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "Herein enclosed I send unto your Honour such occurrents as I lately received, by which and by other circumstances I gather that this traitor Tyrone hath no intention to continue this cessation long, but of the sudden to take his best opportunity with his confederates to do all the mischief he and they can. And, therefore, we do what we may to put Her Majesty's forces in the best readiness that may be. Sir William Warren, being by my Lord Lieutenant appointed with instructions from his Lordship to go to Tyrone, returned with no resolution, but with an appointment of a further day to meet again, because, as Tyrone did allege, he would first confer with O'Donnell, before he would proceed any further. All which we, in our general letter, did advertise my Lord Lieutenant, and all which I think to be of Tyrone's part but treacherous delays. We have written to the Earl of Ormonde for his speedy repair hither; and we have willed Sir Arthur Champernown, with a Commissary of the Musters, to go and certify the full strength of all the companies of horse and foot that are in this province of Leinster.

"As I was closing up these letters, I received Her Majesty's packets of letters, signifying therein Her Majesty's pleasure, which shall be in all dutiful regard obeyed, and by my will none as yet acquainted with the contents but the Chancellor, the Secretary, and myself, until the coming of the Lord of Ormonde, unto whom we will write again for his more speedy coming. For, if those traitors shall know that Her Majesty hath restrained his [Essex's] liberty, perhaps their insolency will be the greater, and break out of the more sudden.

"The cessation, I assure your Honour, hath been of Her Majesty's part kept inviolable hitherto, and so shall continue,



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except necessity enforce the contrary; though the traitors do daily offer occasions of breach. We do daily expect the return of Sir William Warren from Tyrone, who lies a little beyond Dundalk. What the effect of his negotiation is, your Honour shall be advertised."—Dublin, 1599, October 16. *Endorsed, Received at London the 23 of October, by Mr. Fortescue. Holograph. pp. 2. Encloses,*

211. 1. "*A declaration of Captain Gerrott Fleming.*"

"Upon Saturday last, being the 12 of October, one Patrick McGuy came up unto me from Charles Halpenny, my Constable of Ballylagan, and told me that he and the said Charles being the Tuesday before at Con McCollo's house in Clancarroll, where Ever McCooley, Tirlogh McHenry, and Art Bradagh, Hagan's son, were drinking, they began to use some speeches of my Lord Lieutenant's departure, saying that his going with that expedition was not for their good, but to land forces beneath in Ulster upon them, because he saw he could do no good by going one way into Ulster, and that O'Neill would take his opportunity, and that he would be no longer cosened by the State. And further, Art Bradagh's son said unto the rest, 'You have warning already to provide a month's victual, and let it be done in haste, to meet O'Neill at the end of the truce.' Further, he saith that one Richard Halpenny, one of the said Gerrott's followers, who is most commonly with Tirlogh McHenry and Con McCollo, the next day after the said [Mc] Guy and Charles Halpenny returned to Ballylagan, followed them home, and willed them to be put upon their guard, and to send me, the said Gerrott, word, that O'Neill would very shortly invade the Pale with what forces he could every way, and that their resolution was, that their forces of foot should pass over these bridges of Slane and Kilearn, and that O'Donnell with his forces would come over the bridge of the Grange, and that all their horse should for more expedition pass over the fords, if they were passable. All which speeches the said Richard Halpenny heard spoken by Tirlogh McHenry, and the better sort of them that were then present. This is as much as the said Patrick [Mc] Guy reported unto me, whereunto I called David Hetherington, being then in the house, to be a witness; and this I do declare upon my oath."—1599, October 14. *Copy. pp. 1½.*

Oct. 17.  
Dundalk.

212. Sir William Warren to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. "Your Lordships shall understand that the Earl and I have met this day, and have concluded a further time of cessation for a fortnight more, and withal have altered his course for his market at Faughler, which he intended, whereupon he hath commanded all his people to come to the market of Dundalk, and hath given the townsmen liberty to bring wood, which hitherto they have been restrained of. He hath also written his letters to the Moores and Connors, and to Feagh McHugh his sons, both to observe the truce, and not to suffer their people to take any meat or drink from the subject in this time of cessation; and hath also



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proclaimed it in his camp; therefore I wish your Lordships send away upon sight to all the garrisons, giving them notice hêreof.

I have been very earnest for a longer time of cessation, for which he hath deferred his answer till to-morrow morning, because of O'Donnell's coming, who will also meet me in the morning. There is a report here that the Earl of Ormonde hath killed seven or eight score of Tyrone's men, which is very ill taken, and hath bred me a great deal of trouble; the like I would not undertake to gain a great benefit, for I assure your Lordships he was not easy to be pacified. All which I thought good to acquaint your Lordships withal. The waters were so great here that Tyrone and I could not come together this last night."—Dundalk, 1599, October 17. *Copy. p. 1.*

Oct. 17.  
The Court.

213. Sir Henry Dockwra to Captain Fabian, at Drogheda. "Cousin Fabian, I have promised Mr. Coones, one of Her Majesty's guard, to discharge his son, who is of my company. I pray you, therefore, so soon as you shall receive this letter, let his passport be made, and so sent away. You shall not do amiss to advertise Sir Ralph Lane thereof, that he may confirm the same, so that he find no impediment at Dublin for his passage; or, if there be shipping at Drogheda, you may presently send him away from thence."—The Court, 1599, October 17. *Holograph. p. ½.*

Oct. 18.

214. Notice by the Earl of Tyrone.

"Whereas Sir William Warren hath been employed to me by the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Be it known to all men that I have agreed with him for a further cessation for six weeks more (to begin upon Sunday next,\* being the last day of October, '99), according such articles as are in the former, which are signed by me. In witness whereof I have subscribed my name the 28th [*i.e.* 18-28] of October, 1599." *Signed. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, "This is the cessation which was made since the first of 14 days." *Copy. p. ½.*

Oct. 18.

215. Another copy of the preceding. *p. ½.*

Oct. 19.

Dublin.

216. Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "By Captain Fortescue, within these two days, I wrote unto your Honour. Little other news hath happened but such as by our general letters your Honour may perceive. I do verily persuade myself that this cessation will not hold. The rebel desires rather wars than peace, being 'nusseld' and accustomed to robberies and spoils, and cannot otherwise maintain their rogues and followers. Their combination is general through the whole land, and they were at the first of a conceit that the Lord Lieutenant's departure was not for their good, but to procure greater forces. And therefore they will take their time; and now they are half persuaded he will come no more, which confirms their former purposes, and makes them the bolder. Our commanders here for the martial forces are very

\* October 21 O.S., or 31 N.S., 1599, fell on a Sunday.

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few. The most are in England. If they will or shall receive Her Majesty's pay, it is fit they should forthwith be commanded to their charge. Sir Samuel Bagenall hath been very extreme sick, as [? and] is not at this present without danger. Sir William Evers is lately fallen sick. Sir Charles Blunt is dead. It is meet that presently, upon the coming hither of the Earl of Ormonde, that (*sic*) the Secretary and some other, according to Her Majesty's directions, shall go to Tyrone. But this determination is not known unto any as yet, but to the Chancellor, Mr. Secretary, and myself. Within these four or five days your Honour shall hear further."—Dublin, 1599, October 19. *Endorsed*, Received at Richmond the 25th. *Holograph*. p. 1.

Oct. 21.  
Clonagh.

217. Captain John Lye to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "Upon my coming hither, had I known the danger that I was in [in] coming, and [there] is more like to befall me, I would not have ventured myself as I have done. Sorry news here is, for that all this country is in an uproar, and a bad beginning there is in killing the soldiers upon Thursday last; and now this day there passed from Carberry to the bridge of Johnstown about fifty of the soldiers, or rather more; at which bridge the most part of them were killed and drowned without any fight made by them, nor no stand made, but what the Lieutenant did, till his company forsook him. This country have been so grieved at the abuse of the soldiers, that they have determined not to suffer any soldiers to be among them, or to pass through them. To-morrow those of this country and the Connors do meet, and also to put bonnaughts upon this country, and who will not agree thereto, to camp about them, and to raze their castles that will not yield, and as I think will raze some of their own castles. The choice men that were in Carberry are lost, and those left very feeble. You must send strong companies thither in haste, and elsewhere, otherwise all will be ill; and so certify the Lords [Justices]."

"I beseech you to cause the Lords to give direction to any that comes, to forbear this my poor town of Clonagh, otherwise my ward, and the few poor people that I have here, will utterly forsake it, by reason of the grievous abuses done unto them by the army that went last to the fort."—Clonagh, 1599, October 21.

[*Postscript*.] "I do stay here for some three days, to procure my poor people to bring home some part of my corn, that lies in the fields rotting by means of the soldiers; and then to convey myself away; there be market to use near." *Holograph*. p. 1.

Oct. 23.  
Dublin.

218. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey to the Privy Council. "Since the writing of our last, of the 19 of this instant, we have every day expected the coming of the Earl of Ormonde; and now this morning we received a letter from him, importing that by reason of a very dangerous sickness, wherewith the Countess his wife was visited, he cannot come hither before Thursday next at night, at which time, as his Lordship writeth, he will not fail to be here.



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“And, although we cannot, before his Lordship’s coming hither, proceed fully in the points of Her Majesty’s most gracious letters, by us received the last passage, nor yet advertise your Lordship of the state and strength of Her Majesty’s army and forces, the muster-masters whom we have sent forth to take the musters of them not being returned; yet, Sir William Warren being come back from his second treaty with Tyrone, and delivering unto us a declaration in writing of his proceeding therein, we have thought it our duty to send the copy thereof to your Lordships, because we would not omit any opportunity in advertising of matters concerning the service. Your Lordships shall also receive herewith the copy of a certificate brought by Warren from Tyrone, touching the agreement to a new cessation for six weeks. [*There is no certificate annexed to this letter, but see No. 215, which may, perhaps, be the copy referred to in this passage.*]

“Since the beginning of the first cessation, he hath taken to his confederacy a sept called the Bremichams in the county of Kildare, and intituled one of them, as chief and head of the rest, by the name of McOrish, as in time past they have been called. This Bremicham, called McOrish, is now followed by the most of all the rest of that sept, who have so infected that barony, called Bremicham’s country, which hath always been one of the most civil and quiet places in the county of Kildare, as there are very few in it to be trusted (Captain Henry Colley, and a few others of English nation, excepted). This traitorly Bremicham, ranging in that barony on Sunday last, met with a company of foot under the leading of Captain Lawrence Esmonde, and, after some speeches and promises of safety passed between the Lieutenant of that company and those rebels, they set upon the said Lieutenant and such of his company as then were with him, taking an opportunity as they passed over a wooden bridge upon a river, and, at the first encounter at that advantage, drowned 18 of the soldiers, yet the residue of them, joining themselves again, set upon the rebels, entertained a fight with them, and slew seven of their men, though they trebled them in number, in which fight seven or eight more of the soldiers were slain, and the rest came off. We do not yet understand the ground of this broil, but, against our next despatch, we will examine the same, and advertise your Lordships further thereof.

“And although we must confess that Tyrone, for his own part, in the borders of the north, have kept the peace inviolable, saving for this matter of the Bremichams, yet Donnell Spainagh and that sept of the Kavanaghs, with the Moores, Connors, and others of his confederates in other parts, having no means to maintain their bonnaughts or men in pay, but by the spoil of the country, and therefore more inclined to continue their villainy than to conform themselves, they have come with great numbers, and extorted upon Her Majesty’s poor subjects; but thereof we will have further consideration upon the coming hither of the Lord Lieutenant of the army; and, when his Lordship shall be here, we, and the rest of this Council, will use all the speed that possibly we may, to



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answer and accomplish the several points of Her Majesty's most gracious letters, and acquainting your Lordships with the state and present condition of this kingdom."—Dublin, 1599, October 23. Signed. pp. 1½. *Enclose*,

218. I. "*A declaration of the journey of Sir William Warren to Tyrone.*"—1599, October 3. [Copy of No. 195. I. above.] pp. 2½.

218. II. "*The declaration of Sir William Warren touching my second journey to Tyrone, since the departure of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, according to his Lordship's former commission, viz.*"

"*Upon Tuesday last, being the 16 of this instant, I met with Tyrone three miles below Dundalk, but, through the great rain, the waters were grown so high as we could not come so near as to speak or hear one the other.*

"*Wednesday, the 17, I met him again, and, the waters being fallen, we came together.*

"*I demanded of him what he purposed touching any further time of cessation, whereunto I found him very unwilling to proceed, both by reason that O'Donnell was not then come unto him, and also that he had been advertised that the Earl of Ormonde had slain seven or eight score of his men. But in the end he was content to yield to a fortnight's cessation, and would not conclude upon any further time, until O'Donnell were come unto him; and therefore appointed a meeting between us the next morning.*

"*The next day, being the 18, we met again according to that appointment, and spending some time in conference touching the cessation, I found him very unwilling to yield to any further time than the first fortnight agreed upon the day before; alleging this reason for his unwillingness, that it was now winter time, and our army weak, and therefore he being stronger than we, and able to keep the field, now was the time of his harvest, in which he made no doubt but to get the whole spoil of the country; alleging further that he knew very well the Lord Lieutenant's tarrying in England was but to procure a great army to come upon him on all sides the next spring, and in the meantime, in times of cessation, to strengthen the army remaining here.*

"*In this time of conference, came unto us a messenger from O'Donnell, with a letter or message to Tyrone to this effect, that he should proceed himself in that negotiation, and that although O'Donnell could not then come unto him, yet whatsoever he should conclude in that treaty, O'Donnell would for his part stand unto and observe.*

"*Hereupon we entered into a further conference for a longer time of cessation, and (with a show of great unwillingness) he agreed to a month more, to be added to the former fortnight, making in the whole six weeks, to begin next after the day of the expiration of the first cessation agreed upon with the Lord Lieutenant himself. I then demanded whether his meaning were not, that the whole time of those six weeks should continue inviolable; and he answered it was, unless ourselves should give cause to the contrary.*

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*"In this conference I perceived an intention in him to go within a short time to the river of Shannon or thereabouts, to meet and confer with the supposed Earl of Desmond, and others of his confederates in those parts, and then to understand from them how they were inclined to a peace, and, if they were desirous thereof, then what the conditions would be, that they would stand upon."*—1599, October 20. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, *"This came also from the Justices in their letter of the 23, and is a known hand there."*—Copy. pp. 2.

Oct. 23.  
Cork.

219. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to the Privy Council. According to instructions delivered to him by Essex, he repaired into Munster, and came to Cork on September 24. Within five days after, divers dangerous rebels, and some of them chief gentlemen, came in to Sir Edward Denny and himself with most humble and absolute submission, as others did at Youghal. Hoped by a convenient course with the penitent rebel, and by due justice upon the greatest offenders, to have brought the country into better order. So gave warning of a general session of gaol delivery for the county of Cork, to be holden at Cork, and to begin on October 3. But the course of justice is so interrupted, and the Judges are so contemned, that, for avoiding of further inconvenience, the session must be abruptly broken up, to the great disgrace of Her Highness's authority and the discontent of the country.

Sir Warham Senteleger, lately sent by Essex to Cork, with no greater authority than as a principal Councillor of Ireland, to join with the rest of the Council of Munster, came in time of full sessions of gaol delivery, and presumed to require Saxey to cut them presently off, as he [Sir Warham] was not in that commission, and termed it a disparagement to his place. Thus he stood "more upon terms of reputation than regard of service, which in truth is a disparagement to law and justice, when ignorant men, carried away with ambition, thrust themselves into offices wherein they are able to do no service, who by no better reason can intrude into places of justice, than a man of my profession may into the command of an army. Such would fly before they have wings, and the commonwealth hath just cause to fear their authority without judgment as a sword put into a madman's hand. If the government of Ireland ever prove prosperous, it must begin with imitation of the government of England, whose precedents do justly condemn this presumption; for there no President, no nobleman, no nor Privy Councillor, doth intromit himself in gaol delivery, but the business thereof is committed to the Judges, that can best manage that service." It is absurd that such authority should be committed to "meaner men, who have neither discretion to use it, nor judgment to discern." His delay in complying with Sir Warham Senteleger's unlawful demand, "but then, doubting that this insolent humour increasing might in this broken time have wrought some public jar, to the offence of Her Majesty's service and unquiet of the country, I adjourned the sessions, whereby the trial of divers traitors and murderers" was interrupted,



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and divers causes left undetermined. Thus law and justice are commanded to wait on the proud humour of ambition. Committed one for wilful escape of a murderer, and Sir Warham bailed him out, without Saxey's privity, or his own knowledge why the man was committed. Prays that law and justice may have free course, without check or crossing of such as cannot discern between right and wrong, and that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to (*sic*, ? do) insert in the commissions for determining causes, civil or criminal, none but such as are able to give sufficient reason of their proceedings. Otherwise, prays that he may give over his place.

"If I live a beggar in England, yet I shall enjoy the treasure of a quiet mind, which I never hope for here, except there be more due regard of choice of Governors, Justices, and Councillors of State. For such is the state of this Council now, that a man well affected to the common good, either through insolent crossing may be discouraged to yield his opinion, or fear to speak where he is like to be betrayed, either by such as are suspected to be hollow friends to the State, or such as have intruded themselves into the Council of this State, being thereto neither lawfully allowed nor sworn, whereof I humbly pray further examination."

As to his own estate, it is by this service decayed more than two thousand pounds, which would have been gained by his practise in England; and his estate is "like to continue in declination," by reason of his charge surmounting his entertainment, and through the non-payment of 400*l.* due to him before the time of the new Treasurer, who refuses to pay the same, although it was plainly proved. Is three score years old, has a wife and seven children of man and woman's state, unprovided of such maintenance as the continuance of his former practise as a Councillor might have ministered unto them. This is now defalked by the exercise of a place of Justice. Begg for the payment of his arrears, and for some addition to his maintenance; or that, otherwise, "some other, who hath long time waited on his own gain, may be sent hither to supply my place, and that after these six years' service here to my undoing, I may be called home into England, and spend the residue of my aged years in some other such place of service there, as may please Her Highness to vouchsafe me."—Cork, 1599, October 23. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 3.*

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Cork.

220. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Duplicate of preceding letter.*] *Holograph. pp. 3.*

Oct. 26.

221. The Lord Keeper Egerton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Upon receipt of your letter about 8 yesternight, I shewed the papers to the E[arl], and withal declared unto him verbally the points concerning which Her Majesty's pleasure was he should set down his answer. He desired to have me set them down in writing, which I did, and thereupon he hath written with his own hand his answer, which, together with the six papers you sent, I return herewith unto you.

"For Warren, he saith that he knew how he was employed by



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Sir J. Norreys, and what credit he had with the rebel and his followers, and therefore thought him fit for his employment, which was not to negotiate with the rebel, but only as a messenger to deliver that which was contained in instructions in writing, which were shewed to the Council there, and done by their advice, and after delivered open to Warren.

"This is all I have to write at this time, praying for a good end for Her Majesty's service, and that I may be speedily discharged of my unexpected charge and care."—"This Friday morning." *Endorsed*, 1599, October 26. *Holograph*. p. 1. *Encloses*,

221. 1. *Interrogatories for the Earl of Essex, and his answers thereto.*

1. "To consider how many that had charge are come away from their charges, and to set down what all their entertainments are, and why so great entertainments should be continued there, and so many great officers, considering Her Majesty's army is in garrison.

2. "To set down who your Lordship thinketh are not willing to go back.

3. "Whether the sick soldiers were part of the 2,000 which are cased, or no? And whether those companies, that are mentioned in the other schedule, were of the new 2,000 last increased?"

"To the first. I have no other direction to know who are come away but this certificate sent out of Ireland, in which I find some that were here before my coming, some that came with me, and others that I left there, of whose coming I can give no account. I have upon the list noted their names in these three kinds. Their entertainments will appear by the list and establishment, if they be compared; but I should hardly cast it, though my brains were in better ease than they are. I find never a public officer, but Sir H. Dockwra, who is not Governor of Connaught, till he have Her Majesty's royal assent, and Sir H. Davers, who is Lieutenant of the horse. I must submit the entertaining of officers to Her Majesty, but fear, till things be better settled, there will be few enough.

"To the second. I was assured by all that came with me that they meant to return again with me, how great speed soever I made; but how their minds are altered, or how others are disposed, since my imprisonment I have not known.

[To the third.] "Of what numbers the sick soldiers are, I know not, but I do rather think them to be of such of every company as daily prove unserviceable through infirmities. The 2,000 were of the last increase, or at least the most of them.

"I do humbly beseech your Lordship to excuse my sudden answer, my head having had little respite of pain or ease by sleep these 48 hours." [These answers are in the handwriting of the Earl of Essex.] *Endorsed*, 1599, October 25. pp. 2.

Oct 26.  
Dublin  
Castle

222. The Earl of Ormonde to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. "[Her]\* Majesty having had conference with the Lord Lieutenant since

\* A small portion of the document has been torn away.

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his repair to [the] Court, touching matters passed between his Lordship and you in your [? last] parley, it hath pleased Her Highness thereupon to signify to me a [.....] for a gracious message to be sent to you, to your comfort and good, if [? your] self be not in the fault. Which message Her Majesty's pleasure is [shall] be delivered to you by Mr. Secretary Fenton, accompanied with another assistant, and for that cause they are to repair to some part of the borders, to meet with you in some convenient place near Dundalk or thereabouts, so soon as you shall signify to me the time and place of your meeting. Which I wish you to name out of hand, and to advertise it hither by this bearer, whom I have sent to you of purpose, to bring back your answer with all speed, for that Mr. Secretary, upon his return, will be ready to come up to answer the time and place of the meeting, whereof I wish you to have special care that there be no time delayed."—Dublin Castle, 1599, October 26. *Copy. p. ½.*

Oct. 26.  
Richmond.

223. Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Justice Carey. "I write this letter to you, rather to give you thanks, than that I can at this time yield you absolute satisfaction in your reasonable demands. I have received, once by Mr. Fortescue, and now by the running post, divers letters both to myself and to the Lords. I pray you take this for answer to your desire to receive warrant for that which is past, that it shall be sent you by the next; and for your further demands for extraordinaries, it is reason there be an allowance for it, although it seemeth strange to Her Majesty that so much money hath been issued under such titles as it appeareth hath been done. But we can never make judgment here, what can be sufficient, when as yet we have never a half-year book sent over. Besides, we do hear still of many Irish entertained, even whole companies, wherein we are ignorant how they are included within the list, or paid out of concordatums. Further, it seemeth strange to Her Majesty that when there was but 1,300 horse appointed only to prosecute Ulster, there is 1,200 maintained still, when, longer than the prosecution should have been, there should never have been above one thousand. There are, besides, many allowances by the day, which, being unusual, are also unnecessary, especially seeing the companies are disposed to garrisons. For all which things I find Her Majesty doth repose great trust in your fidelity and discretion, and doth expect that you, the Justices, shall send over some wise, discreet person, well-informed of the state of things presently, to the intent that Her Majesty may know how things are ordered now since this change of government, for which no person is more proper than Francis Stafford, by whom the Queen would like very well to receive present relation. I pray you, Sir, let the Master of the Ordnance know she misliketh that she is no better informed of the issues of the munitions, whereof she would understand what proportion remaineth, seeing there was carried over (besides that which was in the kingdom before) one hundred lasts, with all things proportionable. In this and many other this State was never wont to be so long ignorant, and therefore, Sir, for the love I bear you, now



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that you have two powers in one body, let not your remissness, either in directing or executing, make your friends less confident to mislike Her Majesty's election of you, amongst the which you shall find no man more ready than myself. Other news I have none at this time, only the Earl of Essex remaineth still prisoner at my Lord Keeper's. I pray you believe that these few lines are written rather to give you thanks for your careful writing unto me, than for any matter that can bring you any perfect resolutions."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, October 26. *Marginal note*, "This letter was sent by the running post." *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 185 b-186 b. *Copy. pp. 14.*

Oct. 26.  
Cork.

224. Sir Warham Sentleger to the Earl of Essex. "Since my coming into this province, I have made two despatches to your Honour, one from us all by Sir Edward Denny, the other by Captain Kingsmill from myself. I find by all these fellows in the province that they do wholly depend upon Tyrone, and the most of them desire that they may hold the cessation. Only James FitzThomas, their pretended Earl, hath, ever since my coming hither, been in Kerry, with hope that Castlemaine would yield to him, which, by speech to the Earl of Thomond and the rest at Limerick, he doth refuse to have victualled, as also by his express letter to us, the copy whereof I send your Lordship hereinenclosed. Sir Edward Denny, I doubt not, hath made known how far we have dealt about that, and now we have in a readiness by sea to take the first opportunity that God sendeth by wind; for by land, being utterly without means of victuals, we dare not attempt, without direction from the Lords at Dublin and the Lord Lieutenant of the forces, to whom we have addressed our letters some ten days since. In truth we find not any of this province willing to be wholly drawn from the general combination, so as in my opinion the best course will be to practise with James FitzThomas, whose example no doubt will end all. But the thing that is most dangerous here, no doubt, is the chief cities, as Waterford, Limerick, and this town. For some of the chiefest traitors, being in this town, told openly that there was a thousand gentlemen that had sworn never to submit themselves, till there might be had a general freedom of religion, and replied to him, 'Why, what trouble had you ever for your religion.' 'Nay,' said he, 'but our brethren of Cork and other such places have; which we will have remedied.' Besides, as formerly was made known to your Lordship, Limerick doth keep my Lord of Thomond out of their gates, if he come but with a dozen soldiers for his guard; and this town doth at this instant keep two of our companies out of their gates absolutely, protest[ing] that they will obey no directions for placing of soldiers but such as the Mayor shall be pleased with, and affirming that by charter they are to be commanded not by any but by him that hath the sword. To conclude that point, if it shall please you, there is no fitter course to bring them to conformity than a small citadel, that will not cost the Queen 20*l.*, on any side of the water, which may continually be kept with



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fifty soldiers, and save the keeping of a strong garrison within the town; for, no doubt, upon the first arrival of Spaniards, for my life they will all revolt. We have written to the Lords Justices of their insolences, and have desired that the Mayor, and some three or four of the best of the townsmen, may be sent for to Dublin, to answer their vile insolences. Which course I thought fitter than in this time to breed a hurly-burly in the town, and I hope their Lordships will do something in it." Leaves his private matters to Essex's favour.—Cork, 1599, October 26. Signed. pp. 3. *Encloses,*

224. 1. James [FitzThomas], Earl of Desmond to Sir Warham Sentleger. Received his letter of October 9 on the 13th of the same. As to his not giving notice of his determination concerning the cessation to the Munster Council, states that he parleyed with the Earl of Thomond, and the chiefest, upon the articles of the cessation, and manifested his will unto them, especially as to the victualling of Castlemaine, and concluded that it neither could nor should be victualled, "without breach of the cessation of your part, my garrisons lying in the siege thereof these ten months and more, to my excessive charges, and may not be removed without violence." Will keep the cessation, according to O'Neill's direction, during the time limited. Does not see, nor may gather from the articles, that "such a prejudice should or could be agreed upon, not knowing my intent." If they think otherwise, they may take the advice of the rest of the Council, and he will send to O'Neill to know his determination. "Meantime, my meaning is, not to commit aught against the true meaning of the cessation, but, if violence be offered, constrained I must stand to my defence. And whereas you say, you mean to victual the fort howsoever, I intend to let all our associates to understand your determination, and, trusting in our Lord [and] the justice and goodness of the cause, will do my endeavour. And assure yourself that O'Neill and the rest of our associates will keep the cessation no longer than I will, as by his letters is manifestly declared. And therefore I think it expedient that you send me in writing what time the cessation began here, with sight of your authority to continue the same, from time to time, according the tenor of the articles. Dated at my house of Ilande," 1599, October 15. Signed. Copy. pp. 1½.

Oct. 27.  
Moghelly.

225. Henry Pyne to the Earl of Essex. "Albeit I purposed at your Lordship's departure to have remained at Dublin until your return, yet, understanding the next day after that the rebels, notwithstanding the cessation, had sought to surprise my house, and entrap my men, as they went to guard salt and other provisions sent by water from Youghal, by an ambuscade which failed, and mine escaped with the loss only of a horse, I resolved to repair hither. By the ways I found a general discontentment and grief at your Lordship's so sudden departure in the subject (*sic*), as though your Lordship had abandoned (*sic*) all, and the rebels boldly giving out that they would never submit themselves except to the Earl of Essex. I comforted and assured both with your

Lordship's present return, which although they hardly believed, yet it gave them contentment, and prayed that it might be with speed.

"Here I find Desmond keepeth the peace, standing, he and his, upon their guard, but voweth never to come in, except he may be Earl, and have all the lands that to the Earldom belongeth; and hath taken the oaths of his adherents to join with him therein, and all to stand upon that point and their religion, saying that Tyrone shall make no other agreement for them. How this may stand with Her Majesty's liking to grant, your Lordship best knoweth. Now, for that in my poor opinion (which I the more ground upon the promise Tyrone made unto your Lordship, that he would join with Her Majesty's forces against Desmond, if he would not accept of such conditions as your Lordship should think fit), we are liker here to have wars than peace, I must again put your Lordship in mind of the flat-bottom hoys, fit to be employed upon the river of Shannon, where (and the White Knight's country) all the rebels of Munster strength is (*sic*), and that one or two of those vessels might be sent to Youghal for the better and safer carrying of victuals and munition to the forces that may be employed against the White Knight, which would be those that lie in garrison at Waterford, Dungarvan, Cork, and Mallow. All these, in my opinion, are there to little purpose, except some fifty in Mallow, and it were fitter to place them in Dromany, Lisfinny, Tallow, Kilmacow, and Moghelly, from whence they may easily in a winter's day be in Gibbon's country, and being so placed, with 1,000 Irish under the conduct of the Lord Barry, Lord Poer, Patrick Condon, and David Roche, all to be commanded by the Lord Barry, would in a short time, while cows be poor, either force the White Knight to come in, or waste his country in such sort as that he should be drawn to quit it. And these 1,000 Irish would be placed in Bally Roberts, Castlelyons, Rathcormock, the Lord Poer's three castles; Ballymacpatrick, Carghybrick, Sietrilin, Cloghlea, Cregg, Johnstown, and Glannor; all these places are now well kept by the Barrys, Poers, Condons, and Roches. And at the time that these forces should be so employed, if 15 or 30 flat-bottom hoys might be brought into the river of Shannon, and the rest of the English forces in Munster, with a thousand Irish more, under the conduct of the Earl of Thomond, Lord Burke, Lord of the Muskerry, the three O'Sullivans, and Brian Duff, all to be commanded by the Earl of Thomond, and put into those vessels, which would with great ease carry them and 150 horse, these forces would so spoil and waste Desmond, the Lord FitzMorrice, the two Knights of Kerry and Valley, O'Connor, Thomas Oge, and others, that have their chief strength and provisions upon and near unto the said river, as that they should not long be able to continue. There would be also two cannons shipped in the hoys to batter five or six castles that are upon the river, and not to be taken without ordnance, and armour for the most part of the 2,000 Irish, which should be erected, *viz.*, culivers, swords, head-pieces, and pikes. But before this course should



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be taken, or these Irish employed, here would be your Lordship in person, or a Lord President fit [for] a change of the provincial Council or Magistrates, and a general pardon, as well for the subject as the rebels; for, if I be not much deceived, the one hath as much need as the other thereof, and without it they are not to be trusted.

"In this time of cessation, the Bishop Creagh, Archer, and other priests of that crew, do not cease daily to solicit and persuade those that are subjects or neutrals to take part with Desmond, by persuading and assuring them (now they are in some jealousy of Tyrone) of great matters and aid from the King of Spain and [the] Pope. And according to the old proverb of *de presentibus gaudet ecclesia*, they do as greedily take up all tithes and other duties belonging to the Church, both from subject and rebel, as ever did heretofore the unlearned Bishop of Cork, the Archbishop of Cashel, or their ministers.

"The bonnaughts, to the number of two thousand, are gone into Connaught, and John FitzThomas with them. They are bound, for a yearly hire, which Desmond promiseth them, at all times upon warning to return hither. I have secret intelligence that Desmond, notwithstanding the cessation, would not suffer Castlemaine nor Askeaton to be victualled. Whereupon I rode to Cork, and acquainted the Commissioners therewith. They seek to victual Castlemaine, whereof Desmond, having intelligence, is gone into Kerry with a 1,000 foot and some horse, to forbid them. Notwithstanding your Lordship's charge given to the Commissioners for the two castles by me, nothing is done, and where Lisfinny had heretofore thirty men, allowed by Sir Thomas Norreys, there is now but fifteen, and the other as yet can get none, which the rebels seeing seek to possess it, and I greatly fear will, if order be not taken presently. These two castles, I assure your Lordship, are of importance, and fit to be kept. John McRedmond, who now governeth for Desmond in these borders, hath made me great offers for Moghelly. I have so answered him, as I think he will make me no more. What shall here from time to time pass, your Lordship shall be advertised."—Moghelly, 1599, October 27. *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Oct. 28.

226. Notes drawn out of a letter written from the borders of the Brenny to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, dated 28 October, 1599.

"Upon Thursday last Garrald Oge and Murrough Nycogg returned from Tyrone, who was at that time in the Brenny, making a tanist in the Brenny, and taking the pledges of all the O'Reillys to the use of the said tanist. [*Marginal note*, "The tanist which Tyrone did make is Tirlogh McShane, an open rebel against Her Majesty."]

"In the presence of Garrald Oge and Murrough Nycogg, there was delivered at that time to Tyrone a letter of which he read thus much, 'Your Honour shall understand that a great man in the Pale told me for certain that the Queen was dead. Your Lordship may make what use of it you will, &c.' [*Marginal note*,



"They are full of these wicked rumours, forged of purpose to stir the realm."]

"The intelligencer demanded of Garrald Oge and Murrough Nycogg what Tyrone said to the news of Her Majesty's death. Their answer was, he uttered not a word, only at grace at supper they prayed for the Spanish King. Garrald Oge and Murrough Nycogg are of opinion that this letter was sent from some in the Pale.

"The cause why Garrald Oge went to Tyrone was to procure his letters in his favour, and he obtained two letters from Tyrone to the O'Connors, commanding them to favour Garrald Oge as a gentleman whom he did affect, and that they should suffer him to carry away his corn, without troubling him, as they tendered his favour. [*Marginal note*, "Garrald Oge is a Geraldine, a gentleman of good sort, and well reckoned of with the State. A dangerous example that such a one should run to the Archtraitor, to seek a safeguard for his corn by his greatness."]

"Murrough Nycogg brought from Tyrone a warrant in Irish directed to all the Connors, forbidding them to use any violence or wrong towards him or his. [*Marginal note*, "Murrough Nycogg is an ancient servitor, and hath Her Majesty's pay for 12 kern, whose office is to take charge of the beeves in the army, when it is in camp."]

"Tyrone and O'Donnell did meet the Saturday after at Cloughar, considering between themselves that, if they get further certain news of Her Majesty, that (*sic*) then, they say, the cessation is ended, and therefore they will set upon the English Pale, and murder and spoil all that will not take their part.

"But, if they shall hear that Her Majesty liveth (as I hope she shall do long after their destruction) then they will take their course into Connaught, to settle O'Connor Sligo and McWilliam in their countries; and to see if they can allure the Earls of Clanrickarde and Thomond to their faction, and so to pass further to the parts of Limerick, there to meet the titular Desmond, and other head rebels of Munster.

"In all this devilish progress they mean to take hostages of as many as dare venture to deliver them for fear of the State, and of the rest they will take their oaths.

"Tyrone hath sent up a priest to Donnell Spainagh, to recover him again from the State, but how he prevaieth therein I cannot advertise your worship, for that the priest is not yet returned.

"The Earl of Tyrone's wife was brought to bed of Thursday was sevensnight, of a son, whose name is Shane O'Neill, and O'Connor Sligo is his godfather.

"I have great doubt that Tyrone meaneth not to keep the cessation, but will upon the sudden do some great mischief, and therefore your worship had need to call upon the State to strengthen the garrisons, and to make a good resistance." *pp. 2.*

Oct. 29.  
Dungannon.

227. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir William Warren. "I understand that the Connaught soldiers that were in Munster, thinking to come for their country, are molested by the Earls of

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Clanrickarde and Thomond from safe passing to Connaught. You may plainly see that this course is directly holden against the cessation; wherefore I do by these my letters forewarn you that, fourteen days from the date hereof, I will have no cessation, seeing it is so violated by them that hold with you."—Dungannon, 1599, November 8 [October 29-November 8.]. *Copy, certified by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.* p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Oct. 29.  
Dublin.

228. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey to the Privy Council. "The Earl of Ormonde, Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army, hath now made his repair hither, upon the receipt of such letters as we wrote to his Lordship for his coming. And, albeit we have joined with him and the rest of this Council in making answer to the letters lately received from Her most Excellent Majesty, as by the despatch which now we send will appear to your Lordships, yet in some things not particularly touched therein, we have thought it our humble duty, in these few lines from ourselves, to make some mention to your Lordships.

"And first, for Her Majesty's army, we hoped that we might now (as we promised to your Lordships in our two last despatches of the 19 and 23 of this instant), signify to your Lordships in what state and strength they are. But, for that Sir Arthur Champernowne and Captain Hayes, whom we appointed, as special men of trust, to take the view of the several companies here in Leinster, are not yet returned, by reason of the distance of the places, where the garrisons and other companies do lie, we cannot yet inform your Lordships of any more certainty in that point, than as by the list which in that letter of the 19 we have already done (*sic*). Howbeit, as we do daily expect their coming back from that service, so will we with all speed acquaint your Lordships with what they shall do therein.

"We do much doubt a general neglect of duty and corruption withal in every (or most) of the Commissaries of Musters; but to prevent that hereafter, which we foresee will otherwise grow to be very prejudicial to Her Majesty's service, we mean that every of those Commissaries shall be exactly sworn to the faithful execution of his place, for Her Majesty's most advantage, and likewise to the true and perfect return of the several books and certificates of his musters, and, whom we shall find falsehood, to punish and discharge him; by which course we hope we shall either compel the Captains to keep their full numbers in reasonable good state, or at least save unto Her Majesty a great sum of money by the year, whereof we think verily she is now merely deceived.

"Touching the several governments of Munster and Connaught, your Lordships may please to understand that, first for Munster, the Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom did, before his going hence, appoint Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power to take the charge thereof, the one for the administration of civil justice, the other for the martial affairs there, allotting to each of them for his entertainment 20s. *per diem*, and twenty nobles by the week between them, to maintain a table for the diet of the rest of that



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provincial Council, and other officers who assist them in those employments.

"For Connaught, his Lordship did likewise commit the government thereof to Sir Henry Dockwra, who is now in England, and, in his absence, to the Baron of Dunkellin, who is likewise there, and Sir Arthur Savage, who still continueth in that province. And for that Galway, being a place of great importance, is so far remote from Athlone, and such other places, where they, who have the government of the province, must of necessity make their oftenest abode, we have sent to that town Sir Garrett Harvey, as well to take charge of the place, [as to] command the companies garrisoned there, and prevent inconveniences otherwise like to happen, through the disorder of the soldiers there; and, as we have not hitherto altered nor removed any officer left in place of charge here, or in those provinces, by his Lordship, so do we mean to let them continue even as they were left by his Lordship, until we shall be otherwise directed by your Lordships, as in your grave wisdom shall be thought meet.

"The Lord Lieutenant of the army is now ready to make his return again towards Kilkenny and those parts; and it is much to be feared that his being so far distant from this part of the Pale (being now even the heart, and chiefly to be regarded) may breed great danger and hindrance to Her Majesty's service, if these proud rebels shall take occasion to break out into some sudden mischief, whereunto we see them altogether inclined. Therefore we humbly beseech your Lordships to move Her Majesty to signify her command to his Lordship for his abode in this city and these parts adjoining, if any such accident shall be likely to happen; as well to answer all sudden attempts, and occasions of the service, as also to prevent such other dangers as may greatly peril the state of this realm.

"William Bathe, the second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas here, being sick and not able to come to that Court, we appointed Patrick Fitzgerald, the Recorder of this city, as third Justice, by letters patent during pleasure, and without fee, as in like cases hath been accustomed; for otherwise (Sir Nicholas Walsh, the Chief Justice, being absent), all the suits in that Court had fallen. Now, the said Bathe is deceased; and, albeit we are of opinion that we may by our authority dispose of that office, yet, for that we would not offend in bestowing any place of that nature, without your Lordships' privity, we make humbly bold to recommend unto your Lordships' honourable favour the said Fitzgerald, and Christopher Cheevers, of Wexford, two honest gentlemen, learned in the laws, good Protestants, and men ready at all times by their best endeavours to further Her Majesty's service, that it may please your Lordships to advance the one of them to that place, unless your Lordships shall think upon some other fitter for it."—Dublin, 1599, October 29.

[*Postscript.*] "We have already victualled the forts of Philipstown and Maryborough in Offally and Leix for five months, and have now given direction for the victualling of all the holds and



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places of importance kept for Her Majesty in the province of Connaught." *Signed. Seal. Endorsed,* "By Sir John Harrington." *pp. 2.*

Oct 29.  
Athlone.

229. Sir Arthur Savage to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, and the rest of the Council. "I have received your Honours' letters of the 24th of this month, advertising me of the cessation lately taken with the Earl of Tyrone for six weeks longer, which you charge me to see duly kept and observed by the forces under my command. I will, God willing, take such order therein, as the same shall be accomplished of our parts, according your Lordships' pleasures. But I assure you, none of the Irish, either dwelling within the province, or which came lately over the Shannon, have any regard of it. For John Burke's sons, Dermond McDwaltagh O'Connor, and his two brethren, John O'Connor, son to O'Connor Roe, and Tomoltagh Morrey McDermott, with divers others which were in Munster with the supposed Earl of Desmond, came into the province within these few days with seven or eight hundred men, and are come as far as Curraghboy. The sons of Redmond Burke, who betrayed Sligo, and the sons of Hugh O'Kelly of the Clogher, came also out of Ulster, and lie in the barony of Athlone, not far from them, with their companies; and Dwaghdally O'Kelly, who dwelleth within seven miles of this house, and the rest of the O'Kellys betwixt Suck and Shannon, are about the pass's mouth with a great company. I take them to be in all about 1,000 men. They lie in wait to intercept the provision lately come from Galway to Ballinasloe, for victualling of the Boyle, and protest openly they will not suffer it pass. I have, therefore, caused the said provision to be laid up in the castle of Ballinasloe, under the guard of Sir Thomas Burke, and dismissed the soldiers, which were to convey it, to their garrison places, because the rebels were too strong for them, till some better opportunity may serve hereafter. McDermott and O'Connor Roe with their forces, accompanied with a number of O'Rourke's people, also lie about Elfyn to stop the said victuals; so as, these things considered, I see not how the Boyle may be relieved, this cessation notwithstanding. And here at Athlone, the poor people dwelling of Connaught side dare not lie in their houses, nor turn any of their cattle to pasture beyond the hill of Beallagh; so as if some better course be not advised, this poor town is like to fall into a great misery. And of Westmeath side, many robberies are committed upon the inhabitants, and divers persons resorting to the market daily spoiled. One Christopher Magawle, who was a great doer herein, was apprehended, after committing of one robbery, at the committing of another. He is now prisoner within this castle. I beseech your Lordships, if any means be made unto you for his liberty, refer them to me; for in respect he hath been a shrewd fellow, and hath many friends abroad, the town will be much the safer to have him kept.

"I will write to these Irish gentlemen now in arms within the province, to know whether they will observe the cessation or not;

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and, as I shall receive their answer, I will proceed accordingly. But I have small trust in them; howbeit, if in doing any harm any of them were touched or taken, I am sure they will not be ashamed to crave the benefit of the cessation, and this hath been ever their order, neither do I expect or look to have any assistance out of the country in anything, if it be not in their own private quarrels, or wherein their commodity or profit may be touched; and in those causes they will put the whole burthen upon Her Majesty and the State; and therefore we must trust to nothing but what we have of ourselves.

"The companies here are in hard case for want of means. I beseech your Lordships to consider of it, and take order that they may be relieved out of hand; otherwise, I know not in the world what to do with them. You sent up 800*l.* of late, where there was 1,600*l.* due, and therefore stood them but to little purpose. We are driven here to this extremity, that myself and those which are employed abroad for Her Majesty, can scarce find any messengers to carry our letters under 20*s.* or 10*s.*, sometimes more, and to procure friars and unknown persons to convey the same, notwithstanding the cessation."—Athlone, 1599, October 29. *Copy, Certified by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. pp. 2.*

Oct. 30.  
Cork.

230. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. His suit in England for payment of 234*l.*, due to him for his diet money. Hearing of the same in Ireland. Refusal of the Treasurer to pay the sum, although proved due, because the debt was before his time. Before coming to Ireland, gained by his practise 500*l.* per annum. By his service in Ireland, his estate is decayed more than 2000*l.*, and is like to "continue in declination." Is threescore years old, and has a wife and seven grown-up children. Prays for the payment of his arrears, and of his entertainment as it shall become due. Further, that, as he has served "in this place of Justice almost the term of an apprenticeship," and "with integrity, free from all just calumniation," his entertainment may be increased with some horsemen without check, or some other like allowance as other Justices have; or else that some other of his profession, who has not had such losses as himself, may be sent to supply his place, and himself be called home to England, to spend the residue of his aged years in such other service as Her Highness may vouchsafe him.—Cork, 1599, October 30. *Holograph. pp. 1½.*

Oct. 30.  
Dungannon.

231. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde. "Yours I received; by which I understand Her Majesty's direction to you to signify me some gracious message, the declaration of which you have committed to Mr. Secretary Fenton, wishing me out of hand to appoint a place convenient for the same. What favour Her Majesty hath pleased to proffer me, I never rejected, and am thankful to you for your good advice and counsel. I am sorry that I cannot at this present appoint a place to know Her Majesty's pleasure, because I am to take order for the safe passage of some Connaught soldiers that come from the Earl of Desmond to their



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country, and are letted by the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickarde; which is a thing most contrary to the articles of cessation. And, seeing I am so often broken withal, I have sent a letter to Sir William Warren, forewarning him (according my promise which I have maintained to the uttermost), after the expiration of fourteen days, I will, for God and my country, do the best I may against the enemies and tyrants of the same. Your excuse for the killing of my men, I must be content withal; but why, with what intention, or by whose direction, the same was done, I leave that to the judgment of the Almighty. Yet I doubt not but, if the Earl of Essex were here, I should have reason and right done me; as I have done these fourteen days past, being so long upon the borders for the same cause. From henceforth, if you write to me, I wish you [to] command your secretary to be more discreet, and to use the word traitor as seldom as he may. By chiding there is little gotten at my hands, and they that are joined with me fight for the Catholic religion and liberties of our country, the which I protest before God is my whole intention. At my town of Dungannon, this 9th of November [October 30-November 9], '99." *Signed "O'Neill." Copy, certified and endorsed by Sir Geoffrey Fenton. p. 1.*

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232. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. "Although we cannot mislike the course of your Lordships and you the Treasurer, particularly to lay before us in time the want in that kingdom of such things as shall be requisite for the preservation thereof; yet, in respect we find you still to insist particularly upon continual demands for treasure; to the intent you may see that we do both consider and take care for the things which do concern that state, we have resolved to lay before you such a collection out of your general declarations, as shall make you see that we have cause to ground an opinion, that, if you did examine in particular, as narrowly, the course that should be held, both by yourselves and those inferior ministers, over whom you have a superintendency, as we do upon your continual chargeable demands observe what hath been and is daily issued, and to what purpose, you would either give over these strange complaints, or else take away the occasion of them. For which purpose you, Mr. Treasurer, must take this orderly way to deal with us, both to remember well with what receipts we can charge you, and with what just expenses you can discharge yourself.

"First, it is not unknown to you that we have issued by Her Majesty's commandment, out of the Exchequer, to you and your assigns, since March last, for full pay, the sum of 134,961*l.*, which is the sum due for eight months, ending the 10th of this instant month of October, that can be required or expected, as well for eight months' pay of Her Majesty's army, according to the establishment, as for the entertainment of the officers of the kingdom, according to a schedule signed by us of the Council, limited to the sum of 15,000*l.* yearly; and, in like manner, upon the



extraordinaries for warrants upon concordatums, which was limited by Her Majesty to five thousand pounds yearly.

"We are, further, to look for an account from you of the checks raised upon deficientes, and for defalcations for victuals taken by the soldiers, for defalcation upon all manner of arms and munitions, with the receipts of the rents in Ireland, either upon Her Majesty's lands, compositions, or other casualties.

"These are the general heads in which your charge doth substantially consist, wherein that you may see we do as well look for the discharge, which you may remember, we will lay before you all such expenses as we can gather out of your letters, by which comparison you shall see what estimation we do make of the remain, to supply occasions of necessity, and to prevent any sudden or imminent lacks.

"First, your payments made to the army of horse and foot may amount to 134,232*l.* Secondly, you have spent in concordatums, with an addition of the augmentation of 1,000*l.*, taken up for the northern journey, the sum of 6,000*l.* Thirdly, we do consider the increase of charge by new supplies of 2,000 footmen. Fourthly, the wages due to divers officers of Courts in Ireland (whereof you estimate the value of the whole year to amount to five thousand pounds, over and above the sum of 15,000*l.* yearly, agreed on in the schedule). The sum total of all this, amounting to 146,712*l.*, being compared with the sum issued from hence for the pay of the army, which amounteth to 154,232*l.* (*sic*), and all that added wherewith you are further to be charged as followeth, must needs make it clear to you, the Treasurer, that neither your former wants could be so great, as to be driven to borrow 1,000*l.*, nor that you need now expect to fall into such extremity of lack, as your last letters did represent.

"For, first, you cannot deny but you, having treasure to pay the forces from the first of March, have made no payment to all that part of the army which was unrarried until the 14th of April. There is also, a good while since confessed by yourself, the sum of 9,000*l.*, defalked for victual. You have likewise had order, a good while since, to stay in your hands towards the answering of the checks weekly, forty shillings of the lendings of the band of 100 soldiers, and so proportionably of greater numbers. You have also been directed, over and besides such money to be stayed in your hands, to deliver unto the soldiers only their half lendings in money, so as the other half might be delivered to them in victuals. In which respect, if it be remembered that the last treasure sent over agreeth with the proportion of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, we doubt not, if there be any such sincerity used to check the deficientes daily, as it is evident that they do decrease, that no man can be so gross as not to see that the last portion of treasure, instituted by former order for one month for 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse, will easily serve for the supply now of those numbers, which can be conceived truly by this time to be in the kingdom, for a good season. And where you did certify lately a sum of money

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to be reserved for checks, when the army was not so apparently decayed, we cannot estimate a less sum to be now defalkable than seven or eight thousand pounds, considering that you have lately sent away (as we hear) the number of 1,100 soldiers sick. For the wages of the officers of forts, not mentioned in the schedule signed by us of Her Majesty's Council, and esteemed by you at 5,000*l.* yearly, we think it fit that you do remember that the revenue of the kingdom ought to have relation to that discharge; and therein, seeing the last half year answered 1,600*l.*, it were strange to us that, after this half year's huge charge, this moiety should not rise to a greater proportion, the rather when it is not unknown, that the very impost money paid by Mr. Bronckerd for the wines amounteth to 2,000*l.* If you will speak of any reparations or buildings for magazines, you must also remember that you have received particular sums for those extraordinaries.

"This being now, for the point of the treasure, as much as we think fit to deliver unto you, we think good now by the way to note unto you divers things, wherein your obscure and seldom writings maketh us the less able to answer you directly. First, for the charge of 2,000 men new levied, we do not see it certainly expressed from what day they were put in charge, or how long they continued, and therefore we wish that point explained. You must also consider that we cannot expect that Her Majesty should be charged with any apparel for their short service, and therein we do ground our opinion, out of a clause of a letter of you, the Treasurer, directed to me, the Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst], bearing date the 9th of September. So as now that we have compared your demands with your receipts, and your wants arising with such surplussage as must be in your hands, if any order have been used for Her Majesty's profit (to the which your several duties and oaths do bind you), we must conclude that, if you do not better answer these charges, Her Majesty must send over such Commissioners as shall make it appear that there is either fault in yourselves, or in those whom you should overlook. And what an error is it in you, the Treasurer, that, since September, we cannot have the half-year's book, but are driven to pick out of your letters and loose papers such collections as may justify our daily importunities to Her Majesty for treasure out of her coffers. We must also let you know that, by letters out of Munster, it appeareth daily that you are not so careful at Dublin for that province as it were reason you should, considering that it is the flower of anything Her Majesty enjoyeth in that kingdom, if it were well reduced, and the likeliest place to be assailed by any foreign enemies. We do hear from thence that the town of Limerick is in great distaste of the Irish soldiers that are there garrisoned, especially those of the Earl of Thomond. We do therefore think it fit, and so it is Her Majesty's pleasure, that you do give order that the garrison there may be English, and not of those Irish countries that adjoin, which we know are never acceptable to the great towns. You shall also see by the letters of the Commissioners, which were appointed by the Earl of Essex.



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that, notwithstanding all these large allowances, their wants are no way satisfied. We pray you, therefore, in Her Majesty's name, to take some order that they may not be driven to have all their means the longest way about, but may receive the treasure directly out of England. And for the moneys spent in concordatums, we require you to look well on the former titles, and then will it appear that many expenses have been such as were not expected under any such allowances; as, specially, new companies erected, which is very strange, considering that, the new establishment and old list being filled, the 5,000*l.* for concordatums should have served other petty and more extraordinary occasions.

"Lastly, we have thought good hereby to let you know, that we have warned all such Captains and Commanders, as are now in Her Majesty's pay and absent from their charge, to return presently; but, because we know not how they may delay it, it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you do forbear to pay any man that is absent from his charge, and not to begin his reckoning from the time he left his charge until he return again, but to see him duly checked from the time he went from thence until the day of his return again unto his charge. In these matters, as we have written unto you particularly, so Her Majesty doth expect due account and satisfaction from you in the same, whereof we require you to have special regard."—1599, October 31. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 186 b-188 b. Copy. pp. 5.*

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Cork.

233. Sir George Thornton to the [Earl of Essex,] "Lord Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland." "Albeit in my late letters by Sir Edward Denny I have written to your Lordship concerning certain causes, yet, lest those letters might either miscarry, or that an answer would not be solicited with that diligence as I expect the bearer will do, I have made humbly bold eftsoons to be a suitor to your Lordship therein. That where it pleased your Lordship to give direction by word to Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power that I should have the first company that would fall in this province, it may please your Lordship, of your wonted honourable favour, to vouchsafe your direction in writing for the performance of the same. For that Sir Henry, for want of such direction, hath, in accomplishment of your Lordship's special warrant in the behalf of Captain Keymis and Captain Digges, disposed of Sir Charles Blunt's company, that lately fell, to add fifty to each of their companies.

"It may please your Lordship to take knowledge of the miserable and distressed estate of the poor towns, especially Kilmallock, which, as your Lordship knoweth, is continually burthened with a garrison of 450 foot and 50 horse, who, since your Lordship's departure thence, have not received any lendings, but [have been] victualled by the poor town to their intolerable charge; insomuch as they are driven to that poverty and discontentment, as they were ready to depart their dwellings, and leave the same waste, had not myself (in regard of Her Majesty's honour, the relief of the soldier, and satisfaction of the subject) both



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strained my purse, and engaged my credit, to lay out in ready money 330*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* sterling, as may appear by the several bills of the Captains and officers, which I have. For which I can neither receive payment, nor the town satisfaction for the remain due to them, nor yet any order taken for the relief of the garrison henceforth, which I have by my letters signified to my Lord Justice the Treasurer, and desired not only payment for the premisses, but also that a proportion of money might be sent thither for the garrisons there and at Limerick, without which (especially Kilmallock, by reason it is on all sides environed with the enemy, and the town so extreme poor), they are not able to victual them by any means.

"It may likewise please your Lordship to be advertised, that these towns are grown so peremptory, as they obstinately refuse either to lodge or victual any soldiers but at their pleasure, standing upon points of charter for their immunity; as lately the Mayor and brethren of this city did answer the Council, and refused, either upon their word or warrant, to lodge Captain Digges' company, but kept them out of the gates all night. We doubt, if we have any cause of service abroad, they will have no better regard of ourselves, if your Lordship do not in time take such order as they may be held in better subjection.

"For any other occurrents of this province, I refer to the report of this gentleman, Mr. Crosby, who in that, and generally for the whole kingdom, can give your Lordship very sufficient information, as I doubt not but your Lordship, upon conference with him, will find to be true."—Cork, 1599, October 31. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

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234. "Advertisements drawn out of a letter written to Sir Geoffrey Fenton from [the] Ranelagh, being Feagh McHugh's country, dated the last of October, 1599."

"First, the Earl of Tyrone the last week sent up a priest of his, being his confessor, to deal with Donnell Spainagh, to draw him back again from the Queen to the Earl. [*Marginal note*, "This agreeth with the Brenny news of the 28 of October, '99."]

"The priest hath wrought so much, that Donnell Spainagh is quite altered from the State, and sworn anew to the Earl, to do as he would have him, and thereupon he hath taken the sacrament.

"The priest was with Phelim McFeagh, and with Onie McRory [*marginal note*, "the one chief of the Byrnes, and the other chief of the O'Mores], and the Connors, willing them from the Earl to keep the cessation, until Tyrone might hear from the Earl of Essex.

"Nevertheless he willed them not to put away their hired men, but to keep them all, and not to lose a man; and, if they were not able to keep them within their own country, but that they should be driven to take relief from the subjects, it were no great matter, so they did it not openly, but by snatches [*marginal note*, "This is a sign that they mean not to keep the cessation, but to break it upon a sudden."]

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"The priest willed them that, during the cessation, they should furnish themselves of all wants of arms and munition.

"They practise in every place to draw new friends to them, and, when they break, they will break upon a sudden, and take their advantage to give you some great blow; and therefore make your garrisons strong, and be upon your keeping, and let an army be in readiness to make head against them upon a sudden." *Copy.*  
p. 1.

[October.] 235. Memorandum respecting the losses of Sir Geffrey Fenton.

1. The parsonage of Dunboyne in lease for some years yet to come. Fenton had it in possession by force of Her Majesty's warrant under her hand [*marginal note*, "the warrant is extant"], and was not to be dispossessed but by a similar warrant. This was never produced, and therefore he was the more wronged. The parsonage was assigned over to the Lord Deputy, and so much was to be defalked out of his entertainment, as the yearly profits of the parsonage came to. But no defalcations have been made hitherto, and therefore Her Majesty has not been eased in her charge.

2. Clontarf, which is in lease for more than 36 years to another, lies near Dublin. "It may be, if I had a further estate in it, that I might buy out the present interest."

3. A fee farm of 90*l.* per annum of any of Her Majesty's lands, spiritual or temporal, either in possession or reversion, within Ireland. In respect of the trouble and wastes of the country, this cannot be so beneficial at this time as a lease of so much lands for 21 years would have been within these twenty years.

[*These three paragraphs are bracketed together with this marginal note*:—A fee farm of these, or a reversion for 80 years, in recompense of his 20 years' service; being yet never recompensed, neither there nor here. His yearly charge is great in keeping 10 or 12 horses, both winter and summer, to answer the service, and no allowance made to him, either of dead pays out of bands, or otherwise, nor of port-corn, beeves, or other helps towards his hospitality, as is allowed to divers others of the Council."]

4. Sir Geffrey having attended at Court three years and three months, by special commandment from Her Majesty and their Lordships, for Her Majesty's weighty services then in question ["Sir John Perrot" in the margin], he had no allowance for all that time of attendance, but did bear his own charges, which was never done before to any servitor in Ireland.

5. He was dispatched from thence upon a sudden by Her Majesty's special charge, and dealing with the Lord Treasurer for some allowance for his so long attendance, his Lordship willed him not to stay upon it then, but to haste into Ireland with all possible speed, his Lordship promising to Sir Geffrey that he would procure order for his allowance, and send it after him, which was not yet done, and therefore it may please Her Majesty to assign him some consideration now. His ordinary allowance at other times, when he was sent out of Ireland to the Court, was 20*s.* per diem.

Walter Grant, Sheriff of the county of Cork, is spoiled by the rebels of all that ever he had. Moneys due to him.



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Sir Geffrey to be put into the commissions for demising of lands and wards, &c., and for getting in of the Queen's debts, as he hath been in former Deputies' times, saving in Essex's government.

The commission for escheated lands in Munster to be renewed, and supplied with other names in lieu of those that be dead, as Sir Valentine Browne, Sir Henry Wallop, and others, and Sir Geffrey to be put into that commission [*marginal note*:—"Sir Geffrey hath good means to do Her Majesty good service in that commission, by reason he hath many secret friends in Munster, who can give him knowledge of many frauds used against Her Majesty"].—[1599, October.] *Draft.* pp. 2.

[October.] 236. "Names of the knights dubbed in Ireland since the year 1584 to this year, 1599, 24 September."—1599 [October]. *Copy.* pp. 2.

[October.] 237. "The names of the newest knights made in Ireland, so far as I can yet remember." *The great majority of these were dubbed by Essex. Sir Robert Cecil has added a few names, and endorsed, "Knights." Another hand has erroneously put "1601."*—[1599, October.] p. 1.

[October.] 238. Copy of preceding.—[1599, October.] p. 1.

[October.] 239. "Instructions for one to be sent into Ireland."

"You shall understand that by the coming over of our cousin of Essex, upon a cessation taken with Tyrone, we find great cause to send over some discreet person, well instructed from hence, to these two purposes.

"First, to acquaint the Council there with the causes of changing him from that Government, to the intent they may not be ignorant how to proceed upon the foundations which he hath laid, and that they may be able to prevent any fond opinions or apprehensions, which might give the Traitor suspicion of our mislike of his desire generally to be restored to our mercy; although we are displeased with the manner of his return, whom we had absolutely commanded by our letter not to leave that kingdom until he had new license from us, where contrariwise he hath not only offended in that point, but also shewed small discretion in not concluding with Tyrone, for which he had commission, but in returning hither without any certainty from him, what he doth desire at our hands; by which occasion seeing now he is come home, and that for our honour[s] sake we could do no less than in some measure to chastise him, we are not determined to use his service there any further.

"The other point for which we send you is to bring us relation of the state of that kingdom, to which is incident, amongst other things, the knowledge of these particulars.

"First, to understand the true estate of our army, the places where they are garrisoned, and the reasons why they are there seated.

"The forces of the rebels, and where their strength is greatest, to understand which of them are likeliest to be drawn, and which



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desperate; and especially how the titular Earl of Desmond may be had, whereon depends the good of Munster; and how the Moores and O'Connors in Leinster may also be taken in; both these being countries whereof we are seized by virtue of Act of Parliament, which hath confirmed the same to us, and whereof we have passed divers estates to our natural subjects of English birth.

"If Tyrone be drawn in, and O'Donnell, what forces are sufficient to overrun the other rebels, if they will not be included in Tyrone's submission, and O'Donnell's.

"If Tyrone prove desperate, and will not come in, what forces then will be sufficient to defend the frontiers of Ulster, and preserve that which we possess elsewhere, and to prosecute the rebels that do there seek to annoy us.

"And forasmuch as it will be of great consequence that Munster and Leinster were quieted (for whom it is very much to be doubted that the Traitor will capitulate), and that you may consider of all circumstances thereunto belonging, we have also set down a memorial of things that are remarkable, and fit to be effected, if the circumstances of the time can afford it; which is, how to grant such conditions, as, to deny, were to continue fruitless charge, and yet not so to yield mercy to the rebels, as thereby to destroy our own good and natural subjects.

"You shall declare to the Council that we have lately received by our cousin of Essex a relation of his proceedings since he had the sword; wherein, because it is to us of little contentment, nor to touch the particulars of our expense, our dishonour, or our disasters, during the time of his Lieutenancy (whereof we have already so particularly written), yet will we affirm this, that nothing went worse when our kingdom was managed by others; and therefore have we resolved to establish another government by authority from hence, which now is limited to the time of his absence only. And for any error or omission during his time, when we fell to examine the particulars, comparing the proceedings there with our directions, he doth plainly and directly excuse himself hereby, that in whatsoever he varied from the counsels set down before his going, and resolved by us, it was but to accord with the State there, and in most things of prosecution following the advice of our cousin of Ormonde; adding further, that, although he did still protest in many things against their opinions, especially for his going into the north, yet, finding such an unity of contestation in them all against him, he thought it more safe to use conformity, than to be taxed for singularity in opinion, from those to whose experience he did attribute more than to his own; a matter whereof at this time we make mention, to no other end than to stir them all up (if this have been all their doings) to new endeavours and better counsels, seeing worse cannot ensue to our dishonour or the prejudice of the state of that kingdom.

"You shall also understand that, when he had thus discharged himself with these and such like answers, he fell into another declaration, that he had many reasons to persuade himself that,

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if we would be pleased to resolve of a course of remission to those that had so highly offended us, Tyrone especially, and to do it in such sort as they might assure themselves that we would bury in oblivion their former crimes, and that we would make once again a trial of their great desires to deserve our favours, not only Tyrone himself, but most of the rest, might be made our loyal subjects.

“When we had heard all this, and did remember what an ample authority we had given him, not only to prosecute but to pardon, as he should find best for the good of our subjects, it seemed strange to us that he had not made some final end with them, even in that point of granting them or denying them our free grace and pardon (if they offered any conditions of honour or safety), but he would adventure so rashly to come over upon so many uncertainties, that we cannot tell what to build upon.

“He affirmeth that he hath concluded a cessation, whereof when we consider, we find it to be upon so equal terms as, whensoever Tyrone should be disposed, within fourteen days he may take his opportunity, without breach of accord; than which what can be more unreasonable or more dishonourable?

“In consideration hereof our pleasure is, that our cousin of Ormonde procure with all speed a meeting with Tyrone, and there by himself, or such as he shall send, let him know that we do not reject of his general desire or resolution to become a good subject, for we have one hand of mercy and another for justice. And therefore let him deliver him his desires and offers freely, upon what conditions he seeketh our grace, and let him receive this full persuasion, that as no man’s mediation shall be forcible with us, but that which is meritorious in itself, so nothing shall divert us from him (if once we find cause to receive him again unto our grace and favour) but a clear proof of his new disloyalties; and that our displeasure to our cousin of Essex is grounded upon this, that he would leave things so rawly, and bring over no certainty.”—[1599, October.] *Draft. pp. 9.*

[October.] 240. Richard McGeoghan to Sir Edward Herbert. “Your worship shall understand that Hugh O’Coffie dealt very earnestly with me to make restitution of your house, which will not be, not only because I have entered farther in that matter than possibly I may safely return back, and also because O’Neill, to whom I am, and will be, obedient, hath chiefly entered into action for matters of religion; and this house, being a religious house, must be restored to the Church. But I mean to keep it yet unbroken, and, if Englishmen have the upper hand, to restore it to you, and also to give you what I am worth besides, in lieu of the good which you X \* (*sic*) me. And if I hear that you make head against me, I will not leave one stone in all the house [to] stand upon another, and will disperse your stuff, and will keep your son William and your daughter Mary in pledge for the same. But I protest I will use

\* The contemporary copyist has put a cross in place of a word he could not read.

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them well; and assure yourself, if the house were not lost in this sort, it would be sold by James O'Lenten to others. And when I saw that, I thought it better that I should have it myself, than any other. As for Hugh O'Coffie's threatenings for breaking the truce contracted by O'Neill and my Lord of Essex, I weigh it not, because I pertained not to O'Neill until now."—[1599, October.] *Copy.* p. 1.

[October.] 241. Proclamation by Queen Elizabeth, stating the offence taken at the indiscriminate bestowal of knighthood in Ireland; that she had instructed Essex, "late Lieutenant and Governor-General" of that kingdom, to forbear knighting any person that was not "of ancient blood, good livelihood, or had done some especial service"; that, notwithstanding, within two months and less after his arrival in Ireland, he had bestowed the dignity "beyond all moderation"; that, thereupon, she had sent him "an express letter, all written with her own hand," absolutely commanding him not to knight any man more, but to leave that reward to her; that, nevertheless, Essex had made a great number of knights in the months of August and September [*the names underwritten are thirty-eight in number*]; and declaring that their titles are null and void.—[1599, October.] *Sign Manual.* One sheet of parchment.

[October.] 242. Imperfect draft of a commission by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Ormonde.

"Forasmuch as upon revocation of our cousin the Earl of Essex, our late Lieutenant of that our realm of Ireland, we have thought good to alter the manner of government, which by our commission to him granted we had established, and have appointed two Justices to be our superior Governors of that our kingdom; and yet do think it necessary to have our martial services governed and commanded by some special person of trust, knowledge, and experience in the martial affairs of that our realm, we have, &c."—[1599, October.] *Endorsed*, "Commission E. Ormonde." p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

[October.] 243. Commission by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Ormonde.

"Having understood that Tyrone and other[s] in actual rebellion have shewed with great humility and repentance their most earnest desires to be received into our grace and mercy, protesting deeply how faithful they will be found to us and our State for ever hereafter, if we will vouchsafe to deal graciously with them, whereby they may assure themselves that we have wiped his and their offences out of our heart; after much debate with ourself whether to put up [with] so heinous treasons meriting severe correction, which belongeth to our princely justice, or to deny the fruits of mercy to those that ask it, which is another property belonging to that kingly state, in which we are placed by God Almighty, a sovereign prince over kingdoms and people, we have at length resolved, for the commiseration we take of divers poor, ignorant, rude creatures, that, by lewd enchantments and dread of the tyranny of their superiors, are miscarried from their faith and obedience, and



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for the avoiding of effusion of Christian blood in general, besides the particular loss of many of our good subjects, whose lives must be ventured in [? this] quarrel, to grant our free and gracious pardon unto Tyrone and such other, as shall now without delay, in humble and penitent form, desire it, upon such terms and conditions as shall stand with our honour and the good of that State, whereof as we can be content to make you the judge in all particulars, knowing you to be a nobleman of birth and continuance, endued with wisdom and affection to our State and person, so do we hereby give you full power and authority to deal with him, either by yourself, or by any other whom you shall think fit to depute to hear his offers, and to examine the particulars of the same, and to take such order thereupon as shall seem good unto your discretion; of whom we promise ourselves this much, that if you find not in him a true remorse and conscience of his crimes, and an unfeigned resolution to become and continue a loyal subject, and so of any of the rest that you shall deal withal, for all which we give you full power as aforesaid, that in that case you will speedily break off all manner of speech, whereby these tokens of our merciful disposition may not be abused, and our lenity perverted to our dishonour. Wherein we must also declare that, as no other could have drawn us thus far but their own apparent signs and demonstrations of internal desire to appease our wrath, no bands being of so effectual power as the relative respects between a Prince and his natural subjects, if those strict obligations be not made nothing by [dis]loyalty, so, if we shall once, upon the submission and dutiful offers of offenders, pronounce our word of pardon and remission, it shall not be in the power of any living creature to make us change that course of grace and mercy, upon any suggestion or respect whatsoever, except the effects of new disloyalty break forth, to their own greater condemnation. This being therefore that resolution on which you must build your foundation, either of beginning or concluding this affair, we do hereby authorise you to proceed accordingly, and give you full power, as our immediate minister in this, to promise and perform whatsoever you shall agree to, with this declaration, that we will hold it our act, and so will have it reputed, by virtue of these our letters patent under our Great Seal of England."—1599 [October]. *Copy, with several alterations in Sir Robert Cecil's hand. He has added to the word "Commission" on the dorse, the words, "to the Earl of Ormonde."* pp. 4½.

[October.] 244. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Earl of Ormonde.

"Because we do not doubt but that divers reports, and different from the truth, will be carried thither, of the causes and manner of proceeding with Essex, upon his return from thence, we have thought it convenient to acquaint you (to whom he hath distributed the charge of our kingdom), as well with the resolution which we have taken for the matter which he hath brought us, as for the particular proceeding towards himself; not that in this case we would have written anything for that which concerneth himself

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alone, but because this accident, so immediately succeeding his employment in so great a charge, draweth after it some circumstances, which cannot be severed from public considerations, nor well understood, if the same be left to the vent of flying rumours, which never carry any truth, but are reported and believed according to men's fancies that speak and hear them.

"You shall therefore understand that, having sent him into that realm with greater forces and power every way than at any time we have had in our pay, and having authorized him with very liberal commission, as well for the employing of our said force, as for the extending of our mercy, where cause should be, we expected of both to have found some such success as might have been more answerable to our charge than yet it proveth, especially for any thing done by our army. We find that he had some ground ministered unto him, at his late being in the north, to make trial of that part of his commission which concerned the yielding of our mercy, Tyrone presenting unto him very vehement and inward protestations of his desire to return to his due subiection to us, with offers and petitions concerning the same, and offering an abstinence of arms, which Essex hath accepted according to the agreement set down, until our pleasure be first known. In which case we do hereby let you know, that it is our pleasure the same shall be duly observed on the part of our army, so long as you shall find it is kept by Tyrone (for which we command you to suffer no occasion to be offered of breach or violation), seeing our word is given for it by him who then represented our person in that kingdom. Next, we have thought good hereby to let you understand that, for the particular offers which passed from him to Essex, we would have him presently to be advertised from you, our cousin of Ormonde, that to the intent he may know he is not rejected, but that he may know clearly from us, what we like and what we dislike, we will by another present despatch let him know our full resolution; and that in such sort as he shall see, if he be resolved to ransom his faults by sincere repentance and constant duty hereafter, that he shall have cause to think he was born under a gracious and merciful Sovereign, whose heart is not hardened against true and unfeigned repentance. But of this subject our next despatch shall speak more plainly and freely. And for the present you shall further understand that, howsoever we might conceive of that which Essex brought, or might have brought to us, yet, in the manner of his return, we have been forced, for example[']s sake, to demonstrate to the world that it hath no way pleased us. For, whether he made it known to you and that Council, or no, we know not; but so it is that, after he had long deferred his journey northward, which he wholly lays upon all your united counsels, protesting his own contrarious opinion; and when we saw neither use made of our power nor trial of our mercy, we did command him to go onward, as he did, and to advertise us presently to what terms he had reduced all things; and commanded him for divers respects, upon his allegiance, not to presume to return before he had our new direction, either for conclusion with Tyrone, when he should make



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us know his desire in craving our pardon, for continuing the prosecution by force as we should direct, or for leaving the charge to whom we should think fit. In which last point, though we do not mislike his choice of you three, but do hereby confirm it, yet we who in experience of long reign have found of how dangerous consequence it is for Princes to tolerate sovereign commandments to be contemned, and have often cause to employ in services of great weight persons of his quality, and others who might (in our easy digesting of this act of his) take ill example, and by like errors breed great inconvenience to our service, in satisfaction of our honour, and for the respects which to our princely commandments do belong, we have resolved to lay some public shadow of our displeasure upon him, to serve for his and others' instruction, which we have done by restraining him in the house of one of our Council. Of all which, we think it not inconvenient to let you know from our own mouth all the truth, both for your own satisfaction, and also that you may let Tyrone truly know upon what reason we have done it, without relation to anything that concerns him in that matter; and that he might know that if, either in respect of his indisposition of body, or any other consideration for our service, he return not back again, we will let him know our mind by some other convenient means, and will be sufficient caution for our own word's observation (if we give it), without any necessity of any other mediate interposition. And thereof do we little doubt, but he that knows us what we are, will be sufficiently persuaded, whensever that which comes from him shall give us cause to deliver that breath which was never yet falsified. Of all this we require you presently to let him be advertised by some discreet person; wherein, if you do use the service of Fenton and some other assistant, we shall allow, or some other of judgment and discretion, whom you shall think fit, by whom also we will expect with speed to hear in what mind he continueth; and, how all things have passed since the departure of our Lieutenant, we look daily and more frequently to be advertised from you than we have been, and especially from all those who should give us account of our treasure, and of our forces what they are."—1599 [October]. *This letter has been first of all endorsed erroneously, "To the Earl of Essex," and then, in like error, "Lord Mountjoy." Copy. pp. 2½.*

[October.] 245. "Heads of matters for our cousin the Earl of Ormonde to urge to Tyrone at the meeting."—*Endorsed*, "1599. Heads of sundry matters which the Earl of Ormonde was commanded to urge to Tyrone at the treaty with him in the year '97."—*Probably a copy made for Ormonde's use in the present negotiation. Duplicate, without the notes, of No. 95 I. in Vol. CCI. pp. 2½.*

[October.] 246. Speech by Sir Robert Cecil.

After alluding to the speeches of the Lord Keeper and of the Lords who had followed, he refers to his own position as a Privy Councillor and Principal Secretary. He then speaks of certain "libellous raiders and sons of devils," who had called the Queen's honour in question. "What other purpose have they herein, but



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to fill the ruder sort with lies, and stir up careless men unto contempt of State, and move the common sort unto sedition?" For his part he has no fear of "any man of worth, soldiers, lawyers, gentlemen, or those of the better sort of people." Compares the libellers to Jack Cade or Jack Straw, as having endangered the kingdom, and being most apt to stir. The Queen's love for "soldiers in deed." The idle, drunken man, who has perhaps been once in the wars, is no more worthy of the name of soldier, "than an hedge priest, that can scarcely read an homily, to be made a bishop." In the late designs for Ireland, Sir Robert was both a deviser and adviser. "And if the direction had been followed, and an execution answerable to the counsels that were taken, Ireland had not been in state, as now it is come to. I know that, before this action was undertaken, it was said, Ireland was lost by dropping and sparing supplies; Her Majesty's treasure went but by handfuls; all was lost, in that things were not royally performed. For the state of Ireland, I will say this; till within this five years Her Majesty held Ireland in as good terms as I would have desired, and as well as any her predecessors ever held it. When Sir John Perrot left Ireland, the Queen had not a word out against her. For, I pray you, what would you have the Queen do? Should she make a conquest of all Ireland again? Then must she also utterly root out all the blood and race of that people, and plant it anew, for, so long as any of them were left living, they would never live in any other fashion. And do you think it had been easy for the Queen of England to set the King of France in his kingdom, to protect all the Low Countries, to encounter the King of Spain and all his forces, and to have spent her men and treasure in conquering Ireland? The revenue of that kingdom was never above 13,000*l.* yearly to the Queen; the charge of it continually hath been as much more. Some men will speak, and tell of great revenues that the Crown of England hath had out of Ireland, and how Ulster hath yielded of itself 30,000*l.* yearly. But these are fables of old Malmesbury, and such other, fitter for *legenda aurea* than to be written in any store (*sic*; history). Therefore to speak of Ulster, and what loss it is to suffer Tyrone to have it, for my part I would he had it, so Her Majesty had the rest with as little charge as heretofore she held them. For this I dare speak of Her Majesty's charge, that, since '88, these wars of Ireland, France, and the Low Countries, and other services, have cost her four and twenty hundred thousand pounds. It is true there was granted to the Queen three subsidies the last Parliament. But two of them were spent within eight months following; and what in particular this last action in Ireland hath consumed, you have heard by my Lord Treasurer. This is what the Queen hath done. Why she did it, my Lords know; and, that nothing be imputed to me more than others, or suspected that private directions had crossed public counsels, though Her Majesty's special favour have used my service, and my advice hath been in these causes, yet nothing herein hath been spoken or done, but what my Lords all have been acquainted with. I have

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heard my Lord of Essex should say, if he had [had] men and money, Ireland had not been lost. I do not think he would say so. Yet Her Majesty is accused of want of wisdom, now that forty years hath approved it, to the wonder of all princes of the world. What hath been done in Ireland, in pursuit of the directions hence, you have heard. The end of the journey being to set upon the chief rebel, the traitor Tyrone, he was never attempted till the end of August, the landing in Ireland being [in] April. All this meanwhile the rebel sits in his chariot, seems not to stir. The armies have not been lost upon him, but the disasters that happened you see where they fell. A base kern, the son of a poor kern, 'Fest-montcuc Hughe' [Feagh McHugh], with a few Irish, put to flight our army at one time; 600 Irish give overthrow to 2,000 English. But, it may be excused, yet the Queen's army were never overthrown; but as good [as] overthrown by the enemy, as, full with his own weight, [it was] hurled up and down the country, spent in Munster, and scattered in Connaught, never taking service, nor led into the parts they were appointed. The Lords do all disclaim from the public counsel of his (*sic*); but, it may be, some private despatch might forbid, and command contrary to the general directions. But my Lord's own letters are to the contrary. For excuse of my Lord's returning, it may be said, my Lord had warrant by the Great Seal. It is true my Lord's commission was of great authority and liberty. Besides, my Lord had warrant, by letters under Her Majesty's hand, for some urgent cause and matter private, to have privilege to come over as himself should find cause; but this letter was nine weeks before his coming over. After which, also, Her Majesty directed special letters to him, signifying what a hazard it was to a kingdom to be without a Governor, or left into the hands of many. Wherefore, notwithstanding the privilege she had formerly given by her letters for power to return at his pleasure, yet now, upon allegiance, did she command him not to come, until by other order from hence one should be appointed to come, and take the place of government, which he should shortly be further advertised of. And, I protest before God, had not my Lord returned as he did, I think, within twenty days after, he had had Her Majesty's full leave to come over. Since my Lord's returning, what is become of that State, now more desperate than ever before? The reason, perhaps, by some will be imputed to this intelligence, that presently was carried in[to] Ireland, of my Lord's entertainment here, and ill acceptations of the conditions of that peace. But how unlikely this is, judge hereby, though this be an objection which I think fit to anticipate with an answer. It was the 28th of September my Lord came at the Court. The 29th of September the Earl of Tyrone spoke with Warren, a man whom he more trusts than any Englishman. He tells Warren that he hoped ere long to be in England, [and] published then presently that his confederates disliked of the peace. He will have the name of O'Neill, the generation of a blacksmith, and a name forbidden by Act of Parliament [is] now set up again, pretends matter of religion, that he will have it free for all men, and objects, as the Papists do,

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that none in that kingdom should suffer for their conscience. Whereas in that kingdom it is well known the laws are not for religion, as they are in England; to receive a priest or hear a mass in Ireland is no felony."

Has holden them the longer, that they might know how to rebuke those "libellers and liars." The Queen's care exceedeth all that they can say for her. "Thus hath this ill cause pressed this good occasion, which must have been, or we otherwise have suffered her to be scandalised, who, I hope, shall be canonized for the mirror of her virtue." *Endorsed by Sir Joseph Williamson, temp. Car. II., "Sir Robert Cecil's speech (I take it) in Star Chamber." Copy. pp. 5½.*

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Nov. 1.  
Cork.

1. Sir Warham Sentleger and William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to the [Earl of Essex], "Lord-Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland." Upon his direction to Sir George Thornton to resort to Cork, and, as a Councillor of Munster, assist in managing such causes as might concern Her Majesty's service, Sir George attended accordingly. On the 25th instant, "being at dinner together, and being set next to Sir Henry Power on the bench side, I, Sir Warham, at the board's end, I, the Bishop of Cork, sitting on the form on the right hand, and the Chief Justice coming in after dinner, a matter being then in hearing, and Sir George, delivering his opinion, did not rise to give the Justice place. Which the Justice taking in evil part, said that he had received many indignities already, and would not endure the same any longer. And although I, Sir Warham, required him to stay and take his place, yet he refused it, and departed in very discontented manner. The next day the Council sent for him to know in private why he would not sit with us, for that we wanted his help in matters of law, and offering him his place, or anything else that was his due. He answered that for two reasons he would not sit; the one was, for that the day before Sir George did not give him place; and the other for that he was not sworn of the Council here, which was told him (as he said) by as good and a better man than Sir George, naming afterwards Justice Goold. And albeit the long continuance of Sir George in his place, the show of sundry commissions and directions,



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as well in former governments as in your Lordship's, with divers other infallible reasons and instances, might have sufficed any reasonable man to give credit thereunto; yet, such was the obstinacy of the Justice, being overcome with choler and passion, that he would not be satisfied, except Sir George would absolutely be sworn before him, that he had already taken his oath by commission out of England, or from the State at Dublin, uttering many unseemly speeches that Sir George had only intruded himself into the Council by the countenance of Sir Thomas Norreys, being (as he enforced it) one of his minions. Wherein Sir George refused to satisfy him, not so much for the matter, as for the manner of his intemperate and immodest dealing, except we did overrule it. Nevertheless, at Sir Henry Power's motion, he took his oath to him, and to me, Sir Warham, that he was sworn of the Council, before old Sir Warham Sentleger, at Skiddies Castle, by virtue of the same commission that I, the Bishop, and Sir Edward Barkley were sworn by. Notwithstanding, the Justice refused to sit, unless Sir George were sequestered from the Council. At which time, also, he used me, the Bishop, no better than if I were his horseboy. With all which we have made humbly bold to acquaint your Lordship, hoping that you will signify your Lordship's pleasure that the Justice shall assist us, or that some other shall be assigned in his place to help us in matters of law. Which we humbly leave to your honourable and grave consideration; and whether, in honour or equity, it be fit that Sir George, having continued so long in his place and his service this thirty years, which we cannot but recommend to your Lordship, having the government of this province three several times, viz., first, with Nicholas Walsh and Sir William Stanley, next with Justice Smithes, and thirdly, to himself solely, as Vice-President, he should now be brought in question, for the satisfying of Mr. Justice's humours.

"There be some other causes concerning the obstinacy of the Mayor and townsmen of this city, which in another general letter we will give your Lordship knowledge of."—Cork, 1599, November 1. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

- [Nov. 1. 2. Sir George Thornton to Sir Robert Cecil. His long experience  
Cork.] by thirty years' service in Ireland makes him understand "how that dependence upon our states here doth seldom or never bring any man to promotion; for such is their desire to prefer their own friend upon every alteration, as they forget other servitors." The Lord President assured Sir George that he had recommended him by Captain Price. Begg Sir Robert, as the "only organ that soundeth in Her Majesty's ears the remembrance of reward to her well-deserving subjects," to write to the Lord Deputy or the Lord President, to bestow on him the first vacant company of foot. Has no other entertainment than *2s. per diem*, as Provost Marshal of Munster, and that is "scarce the one half of pay, which the simplest Captain in Ireland hath, though he served since but yesterday." Sir George's "poor wife and many poor children."—[Cork, 1599, November 1.] *Signed. p. 1.*

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Nov. [1.] 3. Sir George Thornton to the [Earl of Essex] "Lord Lieutenant  
Cork. and General Governor of Ireland."—The dispute with Chief Justice Saxey [*the account is almost verbatim that given in No. 1*]. Prays that Essex will not suffer him "to be overtopped by such [an] one as he (Saxey) is, that never could agree long with any man."—Cork, 1599, November [1]. *Signed. Seal. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 3.  
Dublin.

4. Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "This present day I received your Honour's letters of the 26, I think, of October. Forthwith, and with that speed as may be, either Mr. Stafford or Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield shall be sent over, instructed with the true state of this kingdom, which is in some hazard. Though there be 1,221 horse in list, yet there will not be 1,000 in pay. I pray God I find so many, for I will have an exact account. The Master of the Ordnance shall be commanded presently to set down what is issued forth, and what remains. I will return your letter by the next trusty messenger. There are now no Irish bands paid by concordatums. Those bands that are of the Irish are expressed in the list sent to your Lordships. I pray signify unto me Her Majesty's pleasure touching my Lord Lieutenant's entertainment. At my first coming over, Her Majesty by her letters signified that I should impest his Lordship two months' impest beforehand; which he then refused, but now at his departure, his Lordship required 1,000*l.*, which I delivered unto his Lordship. There be also a great sort of Captains and officers in England, or else let me have order to discharge them of pay."—Dublin, 1599, November 3. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 4.  
Barry Court.

5. David, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have heretofore written my letters unto you, partly concerning mine own private, and partly declaring the miserable estate of this poor country, but I fear me they are not come to your hands, for that I have had no answer of them, and also because many vessels have endured wreck this year upon these coasts. I had a purpose these three months to have sent my boy to attend on your Honour, but in all that time we have had no shipping here, so as the season of the year being far spent, I durst not commit him to the seas till the spring; at which time, God willing, without fail he shall wait upon your Honour, to be disposed of as you shall think good.

"I would have written now unto your Honour of all the occurrents here, but that I am loath, in the midst of your serious matters, to trouble you with a tedious tale of a frivolous and, I fear me, a remediless discourse of a most distressed and almost irrecoverable country; and that I understand there is a gentleman lately repaired thither, one Mr. Crosby, who can deliver the same at large, and in more effectual sort than I can write it. I know you are desirous to understand the certainty of all things in this kingdom, and particularly in this province, and now you may be sufficiently informed of all; for, if I were to pick out one in the whole realm for that purpose, I would make choice of him, as your Honour shall quickly perceive by conference had with him. Not long before his



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departure he was with me, and told me that he was weary of this country, and meant to live quietly in England during these troubles. I told him I would write to your Honour, and he promised to carry my letters; and, when he came for them, I was in another part of the country, and missed of him. Nevertheless, I beseech your Honour, if he come not at you, to send for him, for he will be about the Court, and, I do assure your Honour, he can give you that light in matters of Ireland, as, I hope, with your Honour's handling, will turn to an infinite benefit both to Her Majesty and the subject." —Barry Court, 1599, November 4. *Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 4. 6. An estimate of the store of munition in the Castle of Dublin on the 4th of November, 1599. Attested by Sir George Bouchier. *Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 5. 7. Queen Elizabeth to Lord Justice Carey, Treasurer at Wars in  
Richmond. Ireland. Sir Henry Wallop paid divers sums of money to certain Captains for March and part of April last, Carey not having then arrived in Ireland. These sums should have been repaid to Sir Henry or his executors, but have not been. Directs Carey to pay, out of the treasure remaining in his hands, certain arrears due on 28 February last to certain Captains serving in remote parts of Ireland, and especially to Sir Christopher St. Lawrence and Captain Edward Fisher, of whom very good report has been made to her.—Richmond, 1599, November 5. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 188 b-189 b. Copy. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 5. 8. Another copy of preceding, attested by Windebank.—Rich-  
Richmond. mond, 1599, November 5. *p. 1.*

Nov. 5. 8a. Another copy of preceding.—Richmond, 1599, November 5.  
Richmond. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 205 b, 206. Copy. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 5. 9. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "Forasmuch as, upon  
Richmond. the return of Essex out of Ireland, we did lately give you commandment to confer with Tyrone, and to understand particularly in what sort he did crave our mercy, that we might thereupon resolve whether that which did proceed from him were worthy of acceptance or no, and did by that letter promise to send over some person with further authority to conclude, and to assure him how we would deal with him, if he did so carry himself in his petitions, as we might see just occasion with our honour to bestow our grace and favour upon him; having considered since, that the nobleman whom we should send to rule that kingdom, and by whom he might have perceived what we conceived of his submission, and how we purposed to proceed with him, both for the present and hereafter, cannot be ready so soon as we did then conceive he might have been, and calling to mind some other circumstances which belong to this matter concerning him, we have thought it necessary now to impart unto you presently our pleasure under our own hand, that you may the better govern yourself, when you shall deal with him, in all things that touch us or himself in the estate wherein he stands.



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“First, we do find, by the manner of Essex his report, that he [Tyrone] seemeth to have been much carried on to this course of submission, in respect of the opinion he had of him, and the confidence he had by his mediation to procure all his desires; Tyrone professing, as it seemed, by Essex his words, that such was his affection to himself for his father's sake, as he would not draw his sword against him, but he would do that for him, which he would not do for any other. Herein we have thought good to require you to let him plainly understand that, although we do no more mislike that he should address himself to us by Essex than by any other that should hold his place (it being always proper for men in his degree to make their suits known by those to whom the Prince committeth the trust of her kingdom), yet we would have him consider and remember, that as he is our subject born, and raised to honour by us only, and not born to depend upon any second power (as long as he shall carry himself like a good subject); so if, after his offences known to the world so publicly, this submission of his shall not as well appear to the world by all clear circumstances to proceed simply out of his inward grief and sorrow for his offences against us, and from his earnest desire only to satisfy us his Sovereign, but that it must be bruited abroad that for any other man's respect whosoever he takes the way, either sooner or later, to become a good subject, or that it shall be conceived that Tyrone would forbear to draw his sword against our Lieutenant rather than against us, we shall take ourself thereby much dishonoured, and neither could value anything that shall proceed from him on such conditions, nor dispose our mind to be so gracious to him hereafter, as otherwise we might have been induced.

“And therefore we would have you assure him first, if he be put in the head that, though we should vouchsafe to pardon him presently, yet there might be some courses of injustice or hard measure offered him hereafter by those to whom the rule of that kingdom should be committed, that he shall never see the day, whensoever we have vouchsafed to pronounce the word of mercy and pardon to any, have he been never so notorious an offender, that any subject living shall use him in other sort than for such a one as we shall have received him. And, therefore, if any such suspicion may be raised in his mind, let him distrust those that so tell him, to care more for their own particular ends than for his good. And further, because we have understood that, in respect of our restraint of Essex here, it may be surmised or devised there, that we have so proceeded with Essex, because we mislike that he hath come over to persuade us to a course of mercy, as though we had a heart so hardened from compassion of the miseries of that kingdom, that we should [need ?] to be dealt withal to relieve the same, by any other course than by the shedding of our people's blood. We would have you let him know from ourself that our displeasure towards him hath no such relation, but hath grown by his breach of our commandment in bestowing our offices and honours contrary to his instructions, for issuing great sums of money contrary to our warrant, and for divers other things, besides his last presuming to

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come personally over out of that kingdom, where we had absolutely commanded him to stay till we had sent him license under our hand, and sent over some other nobleman to take his place. All which we could not suffer to pass unpunished, unless we would have given encouragement to others to have offended us with the like presumption.

“So as to conclude, although there be some points in his petition to Essex, concerning others his confederates in rebellion, which we can neither clearly understand, nor can accept in the form he seeketh (except he explain himself the better), it seeming by Essex[’s] own speech that the short time of their conference made him not fully conceive the particular meaning of Tyrone in divers of those articles; yet, forasmuch as we have heard that since his meeting with Essex he hath shewed no ill affection (to our knowledge), but hath observed the cessation for his part inviolably, whereby, in the eye of the world, there is some show that he hath a desire and purpose to please us, which he hath not performed heretofore upon like occasions, our pleasure is, that you confer with him more particularly at this meeting, and to drive him from his follies by letting him know what we have been, and may be, to him, if he deserve it, and by making him see what it is for him to trust to foreign Princes, that despise him, but to serve their turns, and, whensoever they should help him, would esteem him but as a traitor; where, by returning to his Prince, he might escape misery, which must be his end, as the condemnation of ingratitude hath been so notorious and unnatural, offending her, that made him what he is, and will at last make him feel her power, rather than to be still dishonoured. The remission of all which you may assure him by virtue hereof, if he shall give us cause by such reasonable and dutiful offices to believe that he hath a remorse of his former errors, and a resolution to become and continue a good subject, our purpose being, at his earnest and humble suit, notwithstanding so many his just provocations of our indignation, to receive him now at last into our grace and mercy, so to live and to be used by us, as shall be for his greatest comfort, without any thought of taking other revenge towards him, than Almighty God doth use, after He hath forgiven the greatest sinners upon their speedy and sincere craving of mercy.”—Richmond, 1599, November 5. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 189 b-191. *Copy. pp. 3½.*

Nov. 6.  
Richmond.

10. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, the Earl of Ormonde and the rest of the Council. “We have understood that you, our Secretary, are now to go to the borders to speak with Tyrone, and that Warren is appointed to assist you in this service, as one of whose person the Traitor is not suspicious. For the choice we do not disallow, as the case stands, neither are we unwilling the world should know, that if he shall present such offers as may discover an inward intention to become a good subject, and to yield the fruits of due obedience, that we will rather vouchsafe mercy, than spend the lives of our subjects one against another, the things that we desire most to enjoy on earth being the love and



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hearts of our people, and not their lives and fortunes, if, without dishonour to our estate as a Sovereign Prince, we may find cause to use forgiveness.

“It is true that when Essex did return, he did acquaint us with his [Tyrone’s] offers to this effect which is hereincloused (*wanting*), the substance whereof, as yet they appear unto us, are both full of scandal to our realm, and future peril in that State, when no other security is offered but the trust which we must repose in the constancy of the Traitor’s conformity. Let it be but considered in one point of those offers. What shall become of all Munster, Leix, and Offally, if all the ancient exiled rebels be restored to all that our laws and hereditary succession have bestowed upon us? These things we would have considered, so as we might not be thought so careless of our estate and dignity, after such a huge expense with such an army, as to conclude with a Traitor that speaks in so high a style. But because it is not unlikely, but, by the ill carrying of all our actions of late, he had discovered that the likelihood of prevailing by present prosecution or plantation of northern garrisons was taken away, and therefore sought to possess our late Lieutenant with these demands, making his advantage of his former errors, and presuming upon the declination of our forces by that course he had held, that we would then yield to anything, we have thought good to inform you, as Councillors that are faithful to us, how we are disposed either one way or other.

“First, we are resolved, if with honour and safety we may end this calamity, to do it, though we dispense with some outward things that ought to be stood upon, if the person of a Sovereign Prince be compared with such a rebel, and a just consideration had of the expense and charge, at which we have been to so little purpose; so as if, by Fenton’s dealing with him, we may see that, by any course that we may take to make him a subject, we shall not raise him to a greater exorbitancy, and conclude upon so unsure conditions, as either to be forced to continue our infinite charge, or else to run an extreme hazard, whensoever he shall list to take his opportunity, we can be content, for the good of our people, to pardon faults past, and to expect better in the future, with this reason, that we cannot expect pleasant fruit from thistles. What an indignity would it be that all those that have been ever formerly divided even in enmity from him, until they were united in rebellion against us, must now publicly work their good by him that wrought them into their treasons! For himself and the northern traitors if he did only seek to compound, so might the matter be carried as it was heretofore in Norreys[’s] time, which is well known to you, our Secretary, that he might be assured underhand, that they should be pardoned upon their own reasonable submission, though in the face of the world they should be left singly to crave our mercy. For any other personal coming in of himself, or constraint in religion, we can be content, for the first, that he may know he shall not be peremptorily concluded, and, in the second, that we will leave that to God, who knows best how to work His will in those things, by means more fit than by violence,



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which doth rather obdurate than reform. And therefore, as in that case he need not to dread us, so we intend not to bind ourselves further for his security than by our former course we have witnessed; who have not used rigour in that point, even when we might with more probability have forced others than those [? who] are so far from religion as they are scarce acquainted with civility.

“That the last cessation was kept by Tyrone we do understand, and therefore allow better of that point in him than before we had cause. For those things that were done by you, our cousin of Ormonde, in revenge of them that brake it in Wexford, we think it done both valiantly and justly, if it be as we do hear; only this we must recommend unto you as a matter of consequence, that you do not irritate nor oppress any such as have submitted themselves to us, and do continue obedient, in respect of any private unkindness of your own, as Mountgarrett, Cahir, or others, if they do not fall from their duties again. Of both which we would know on what conditions they were received, and what surety they have given for their continuance; it being strange to us, even for honour’s sake, that when Tyrone assented first to a cessation, that he did not, as in all former times men have done, put in pledges for the observation.

“For the secret satisfaction, which he pretended by Essex to receive from us by him that was our Governor, we have written to our Secretary to make him know our pleasure, which we conceive he cannot be so senseless as not to esteem all one, though he hath it not by the mean he would receive it; for that were to make us think that he were more carried and addicted with private affection to our subjects and servants, than with loyal and entire humbleness and love to his Sovereign. For what can any man’s power be to do him, or any, good, which must not be derived from us? or in what dare any man wrong him, that shall think thereby to displease [*sic*, ? please] us in breaking our royal promise or pleasure? Or what greater testimony can he have for assurance than our own hand? We do therefore thus inform you of all circumstances, that he may not think to hide himself by any excuse, because he hath not his desire, as well in the formality as in the substance, or that he shall seem to pretend just fear or doubt of performance of any of the fruits of our mercy, which we shall see cause to promise or pronounce, because those, who have deserved our displeasure for other things, are not still honoured with our employments. No, he shall now either disclose himself to have lodged treason still in his heart under other pretext, or else our royal intention shall so appear (if without delay he open himself, and sincerely offer such conformity, as may clear his heart, to be truly penitent for his faults, and so resolved to amend the same), as he shall see we intend no revenge, after cause given us to promise forgiveness; according to which purpose we have written a letter to our Secretary Fenton, signed with our royal hand.

“We do also let you know that, though we will not assent in other provinces to the restitution of all traitors to their livings,

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or the displantation of our subjects, that have spent their lives in the just defences of their possessions, which they have taken and held from us or our ancestors, yet, if any of them by voluntary encroachment, by packing false titles, or [by] unjust oppression, have drawn any into misery or rebellion, we will see those things justly and duly with all speed reformed, and in the point of justice make no difference of persons, when justice shall be craved by all in one fashion.

“And thus much have you now for our intention how far we intend to extend our mercy. It remaineth that we do also acquaint you with our purpose for the course of force, if we be driven to use our sword.

“First, you shall understand that we do think all courses vain that shall be carried on without plantation of garrisons, thereby to make the war in other sort than it hath been. And therefore can we not but still challenge you all, and you especially, our cousin of Ormonde, that, contrary to that counsel, you did so strangely urge our Lieutenant, against his own mind (as he protesteth), still to range so far from place to place in Munster, and to spend so long time, as not to arrive at Dublin before July were a third part spent, whereby you know that all the forces he carried (which were the flower of our army), were tired and harassed, and it accounted honour enough to bring them back again, whereof you saw this effect to follow; that, in some corners, whole regiments were defeated, in many places divers disasters happened, and in all places wheresoever the army itself marched, some losses fell of our best commanders, which was to those base rebels an honour, though not a victory, and to our nation a discouragement, whilst the Traitor triumphed, whom all you so earnestly wished to be first attempted, who contrariwise sat still, and kept our army [at] play with the overplus of his loose men, which he was desirous to [be] rid of himself. Surely, we must still say that the error was excusable in none of you, that prolonged the time, though in him less than any other, who best knew our pleasure in that and all other things, wherein he more directly and more contemptuously disobeyed us. And, though we did not disallow it for some short time at first in all you, when we heard of it, yet we dreamed not of such a prolongation, as should make it impossible, either to plant at Lough Foyle, or prosecute him [Tyrone] in other places of his country, but that both the time and means should be so consumed and disjointed for such an action. For he that shall read any of his letters, after he came last to Dublin, shall only see great words, what he meant and wished to be done, but in the substance of his letters nothing appeared but impossibility to do anything. But this is but accidental, for we have heretofore sufficiently handled this displeasing subject.

“You shall therefore understand that, if we shall see it apparent that no gracious dealing can content these hardened hearts, we do resolve to use all orderly means to pursue this war, as one that will as soon lose ourself as lose any honour. We will therefore cause Lough Foyle to be planted, and make the war upon him,



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being now in good terms to compound the wars with Spain. Wherein, to the intent [that] you, our cousin of Ormonde, may see your mistress, after the old fashion, loveth rather to be sought to, than to seek to, we have caused our Secretary by his particular letter to inform you, and to shew you, how the Lieutenant of the King of Spain's army in the Low Countries, being by the House of Austria his cousin, and a Cardinal, made the first overture of that peace, and still pursued it since by letters and messages earnestly, until the King of Spain and the Archduke, with his wife the Infanta, have declared themselves in it, so far as it is now reduced to the terms it stands on; so as the rebels of Ireland shall have little cause to look for help from him, nor we be distracted from a considerate and judicial proceeding to end that war, to the comfort of our oppressed subjects, and to the terror of all other that shall presume to stand out against us, who never sought for greater conquest than to govern our people with peace and justice.

“What will be the answer of the Traitor for the last treason at the Bridge, where Esmond's company was defeated, we do attend by your next despatch, and what reason he will yield for usurping so unjustly, in the time of the cessation, to place Breminham in the county of Kildare. But of these things we could wish that you would cause Fenton to expostulate, as from you our Governors there, rather than to take it from us, because we are desirous, if there may be appearance of any good means to save that kingdom from the curse of continual war, rather to seem for a beginning to be ignorant of some offences, than, by taking notice of them, to make them desperate, until we discover plainly their last and inward purposes, which we must refer principally to the good and sound judgment of you, our cousin of Ormonde, and to the trust of you, the Justices, and our Secretary whom we use herein. For, although it be true, that he goes far that never turns, yet we would be loath to be drawn so far upon false shadows, as not to return in time to our safest advantaged.

“To conclude, we must say this unto you, our cousin of Ormonde, that, although we have a purpose to send over some noblemen of this kingdom, that may make prosecution, if there be cause, which we will do hereafter as the disposition of our affairs there shall require, yet we repose so much upon your judgment and fidelity towards us, as we do wish you would make your greatest residence at our city of Dublin in the meanwhile, both to give the better countenance and stay to our services, and to prevent the inconveniences in the loss of time, when our despatches that are to be communicated to you, must be suspended from execution, until you and the Justices have meeting. We do hear of continual coming over of soldiers, not only sick men, but very able bodies. We do require you to take better order for that, or else we shall pay a strange army.”—Richmond, 1599, November 6. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 191-194. Copy. pp. 6.*

Nov. 6.  
Richmond.

11. Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Ormonde. “By the course of things that pass, it is like that I shall have more occasion to



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renew my old acquaintance with your Lordship by my letters, than when the government of that kingdom was otherwise sorted than now it is; wherein I do offer your Lordship, for Her Majesty's service, all correspondency, and, for your own sake, all the honour I can do you; myself being descended of that father who loved you, when there was cause to show it, although that destiny, which kept your Lordship since from much that you were worthy of, made your Lordship jealous, peradventure, that those, that professed more unto you of later times, would have strained their credit better for you, than either he hath done, or would do. A matter which now I touch without any purpose to call in question others' affection towards you, but only to take from you any suspicion that I will not be ready to do you all offices of a friend, as far as I shall find my profession entertained, whose fortune is not such (I thank God), as that I need in this kind betray my heart to any man living.

"By the letters which now your Lordship shall receive, directed to yourself, it shall appear unto you in how confused a course we hold the state of Ireland to be, after the greatest charge that ever the realm of England was put unto. I do see my Sovereign's heart inclined to end the war by composition, if with honour she may, wherein I must say truly to your Lordship that, if in your time now, by any discreet handling, a pacification with moderate terms of honour might be obtained, it would confirm to all the world that as your Lordship with the mean forces you had (before the last army arrived), delivered Her Majesty's kingdom, without any one town or castle of hers lost, besides the victualling of divers places besieged with petty armies, so now that success which may be expected, should now be effected, when the greatest burthen of that kingdom lies upon your shoulders. Herein (my Lord) I will be bold to speak my opinion that, if Tyrone had ever any purpose to be a subject, Her Majesty is likeliest to receive him with tolerable conditions, for she cares not for anything he holds in comparison of his obedience. She meaneth not to press for his coming in, but to leave that to himself. For the rest of the northern confederates, I do not find that she will stick much for anything they have, so as, for her honour's sake, they submit themselves as becometh. For the rest in other places (to whom there is any reason to show favour), she will not be found unreasonable, so it may not be to the ruin of her good subjects.

"But now, my Lord, I am come further than my pen purposed, and must resort to that which Her Majesty hath commanded me to discharge to you. You shall understand that, about four or five months since, the Cardinal Andrea of Austria, Lieutenant of the King of Spain's army in the Low Countries, did write this letter enclosed (*wanting*) to Her Majesty, to which she returned the answer underwritten (*wanting*). In this kind it proceeded, letter upon letter, the Queen standing still upon retired reservation, because she had been deceived, until both the King of Spain had declared himself to affect peace with her, and now lastly Archduke Albert, that hath married the King of Spain's sister,

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being come with his wife into the Low Countries, hath by his letter and messenger so renewed it, and upon such probability of good conditions, as Her Majesty is preparing to send over Commissioners to enter into the treaty; so as I hope, if the traitors be obstinate, Her Majesty shall be at better leisure to suppress them; although, for my own opinion, I think the worst peace is better than the best war. We have some difficulty how to provide for the Low Countries, who do greatly mislike our proceeding to peace, but the best is, either they will join with us in treaty by necessity, or, out of true knowledge that they are able to subsist, they will hold out war of themselves, which cannot much hurt us, but may give us leave to look on and respire, after so many years' war, whereunto we were chiefly thrown for their sakes.

"To conclude; I do think nothing more convenient than to discover with all speed, what is Tyrone's meaning, whereof so soon as Her Majesty shall be informed, she will send you absolute commission to make an end."—Richmond, 1599, November 6. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 194-195. Copy. pp. 2.*

Nov. 6.  
Richmond.

12. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. "By the despatch to you all, and by Her Majesty's letter to Mr. Secretary, you shall see how all things are directed. Of the Queen's I send you a copy, and for my particular letters you may please to send them with speed to him, when you send Her Majesty's letter. I think it were good that you did send him also a copy of the general letter, if he be gone from Dublin, because it is not unlike that you will keep the original for my Lord of Ormonde, if he be absent.

"I can presently write no more unto you of any importance, but do desire you that Her Majesty's letter be safely sent to Mr. Secretary, and my private letters; for the Queen would be loath her letter should be intercepted by Tyrone, though for his satisfaction, when they meet, she can be content that Mr. Secretary show him even the original under her hand, as he receiveth it, which in all true construction is as much as my Lord of Essex could have brought him from her concerning her inward disposition, which he desired to know, to which the pardon authentical under the Seal being added, which he must have, if Her Majesty find cause to pardon him, it will be as strong, I think, as anything can make any Prince's promise, and the rather when, for aught that I see, Her Majesty will not refuse to receive him upon those conditions, wherein his person and estate runs small hazard. It is, therefore, not amiss that Her Majesty doth thus far drive him to the wall, for now can he not say that he hath any cause not to proceed to take his pardon of Her Majesty, for fear of his own life or fortune, if ever he meant it, when my Lord dealt with him, unless he mean to think nothing grace, without he be made in this peace Head and Monarch of Ireland, as he would by these offers pretend.

"Even as I was ending this letter, I received a packet by Sir John Harrington, of which I did communicate all the letters to



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Her Majesty, who did commend both the joint letter, and the letter of you two the Justices, to be very wisely written, and allowed the provincial orders taken by the Lord Lieutenant for all things that might fall out at the end of the cessation; whereof Her Majesty hath had information that it was so seasonably made (though now it seems that in many provinces the rebels make use of it), as great good hath grown to the most of Her Majesty's subjects by it.

"Her Majesty is much offended still with the sound from all places of abuse in Commissaries, and liketh well the order you have now taken, but marvelleth why that doctrine, as she saith was no sooner followed, and would once be glad to hear that any severe correction were used for such offenders. For the matter of Mr. Patrick FitzGarrett, Her Majesty liketh well your provisional order for his supply of that place; but Her Majesty would have had the opinion of Mr. Justice Walsh of the man also, whereof if by your next you do advertise me, I will procure you Her Majesty's satisfaction. For any orders of companies or garrisons placing, which were taken by the Lord Lieutenant, Her Majesty referreth now all those things to you the Lords Justices and Lord Lieutenant, to alter for the good of her service, as you shall find cause by the circumstances of things happened since that time. In which point of Her Majesty's forces be [*sic*, ? being] drunk up for any respects in forts or holds that serve any particular turns, Her Majesty would have that reformed, and that force which she hath, not so employed as her public service be prejudiced.

"Of Munster, Her Majesty commands you to take care in any case, and to let the Commissioners know from time to time how things should be ordered. Her Majesty hath now signed a warrant for the 2,000 men that were newly levied, and for the 1000<sup>l</sup>. extraordinaries, which we will send you, the Lord Justice Treasurer, by our next, and you shall also know Her Majesty's pleasure for concordatums."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, November 6. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 195-196. *Copy*. pp. 2.

Nov. 6.  
Richmond.

13. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir William Warren. "Although you have used greater silence to me than you did promise me, yet I do excuse it, because I think you durst not; for otherwise I hope you cannot forget that I was your friend when others would not. Mr. Secretary Fenton hath written to me in a letter, that he findeth you very careful in Her Majesty's service, and, for this matter wherein you are employed, very sufficient as any man in Ireland. I will inform Her Majesty hereof, and will be glad by your good success to have occasion to continue you in Her Majesty's good opinion, and to procure Her Majesty's confirmation in the charge of Knockfergus, which I think be a very fit garrison for you, if the Earl will prove a good subject. Of whom I will now speak somewhat, because I have heard he spares not me, but that he holds me for a pernicious enemy to him, and that I have laid plots with Lapley, and I know not whom, to murder him,



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yea not to spare him when he should come to parleys. For the first, I confess I am his enemy, and shall be to all that are in his condition. But for the second, though I scorn to satisfy any man that will condemn me upon any such villain's report, yet to answer so lewd a lie, I will not be sparing, whomsoever it concern, when I know none but rogues and varlets can or dare so inform him. No, I would he should know it, I hate as much any such base humour as any man that liveth in this kingdom. To send spies into his country, to practise revolts, and make draughts upon him and his, if I have offended him, I am glad of it; for I have not been idle, nor will be; and so I could wish he knew it. But he may well be bold with me, seeing he doth accuse my sovereign for sending Bronckerd to betray him (when he should have come to meeting upon faith given), in which I will affirm this, that there is as much falsehood as in the devil himself. I pray you, therefore, when you see him, do but sound him from whence these lies have been put into his head, and tell him thus much from me; that though my father indeed, at his [Tyrone's] being in England, was shrewdly possessed with suspicion of those purposes to which he hath since been wrought by the priests and Popish knaves of Rome, who I wonder should abuse any wise man, though they may enchant women, children, and a rabble of ignorant savages, yet, after his late actual treasons, because my Lord did know that he had indeed been maliciously pursued in many things by Bagenall, and so was made desperate to go further, though certainly he had in many high points before absolutely forgotten his duty, I can affirm it, and upon my faith to Almighty God, that in all Sir John Norreys's time, both himself and myself did especially labour to have had him received into Her Majesty's mercy, upon any reasonable conditions, to which she was also inclinable; but that, by one means or other, still the Governors and others discovered palpable perfidious dealing in him, even against the most merciful and gracious Prince that the earth doth carry. But I am now gone too far. I do only wish you to use your best industry quickly to search him, whether with any good means he may be reduced, to the intent that we, that are of Her Majesty's Council, may incline to courses that way. Wherein I say to you plainly, that if he do conform himself in any such kind, as that the world may not say the Queen upon base conditions doth pardon him, he may be sure to be so received, as he may spend the remnant of his days in quietness; and for mine own part, I will employ that poor credit I have, as much to his good as any should have done, of whom he holdeth better opinion. And assure yourself it is in his own lowliness only, and nothing else, to mollify the Queen's heart to him, for she despiseth any profit by him or his country, as much as I do the straw under my foot. And surely it is more contentment to recover one lost sheep, than to have the whole ninety and nine that never went astray. For his coming in personally, on which Her Majesty formerly stood, she will not now press it, though in my conscience, when Tyrone is once sure of the Queen's grace, and can think that

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he hath deserved it, I shall see the day to shake him by the hand in England, for all his bitter railing on me now, with which I am not moved. For he that will not spare to take arms against his Prince, will not spare to speak against her poor servants. Use this as you shall see cause, and if you do perceive any dutiful disposition in him to Her Majesty, then can I be content he know my mind; if not, I am glad to be the man that should have the honour to be his greatest enemy. Methinks he should plainly discern that now that we are so forward with a peace with Spain, the best end of his fortune must be misery; and, for my own part, I protest that, if he do not now take reasonable conditions, I will advise the Queen, and so will wiser than I, to spare no charge on earth to reduce him, though after a better fashion than heretofore she hath done, in whose power (the right way taken) it is in one half year to make him weary of the ground he treads on."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, November 6. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 196-197. Copy. pp. 2½.*

Nov. 7.  
Dublin.

14. Captain E. S. Symes to Sir Robert Cecil. "Having written divers letters unto you from my garrison at Galway, as well of thanks giving as of the occurrents which that part of Ireland affordeth, with my opinion of the general defects of the Irish war lately carried [on]; and mistrusting that my care and duty hath been obscured, and my letters opened and put to silence, as many other men's have been; I have therefore made choice of this bearer, that this letter may come to your own hands, humbly craving of your Honour leave to come over, that such things as I have collected, for Her Majesty's service and your intelligence, may have favourable hearing. Which I will not commit to letters, or communicate to any friend, not doubting but I shall give good account of my request in coming, and satisfy your most honourable expectation in granting me leave to come. The Baron of Dunkellin, who is present in the English Court, and Sir Robert Lovell, can witness my service, and yet your Honour finds me not in list amongst the knights, but left inferior in command to pages and scholars, although this twenty years without imputation I was a rank before the most lately dignified. I am at this present permitted to come from my garrison to Dublin, which is the first liberty I [have] had sithence my coming into Ireland, lame, by reason of a late hurt. My most residence [is] with Sir Ralph Lane, where I will expect with honourable favour your speedy pleasure."—Dublin, 1599, November 7. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 8.  
Cork.

15. Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir Henry Power, William [Lyon] Bishop of Cork and Ross, and Sir George Thornton, Commissioners of Munster, to the [Earl of Essex] "Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland." "Since the dispatch of our packet by Patrick Crosby, we have received certain news of the loss of Castlemaine, as by the copy of James FitzThomas[s]'s letter herein-closed your Honour may perceive. And although by his said letter he much importuneth us for answer whether we will observe



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the cessation (which we in our opinions think he hath absolutely broken), yet we have forborne to answer him therein, until we hear either from your Lordship or the Lords Justices. We are also informed that he intendeth in like sort to block up the castle of Askeaton. Our want of means (by reason of the contrariness of the wind, the continuance of foul weather, want of victuals, and money, and the soldiers' clothes) is such, that with much ado we can hold the army together."—Cork, 1599, November 8. Signed. Seal. p. 1. *Enclose,*

15. 1. James Desmond to the Commissioners of Munster. "I received your letters, dated the first of November, at 6 of the clock in the morning, the 4th of the same, for the continuing of the cessation. We are contented according to the Lords Justices' and O'Neill's agreement, signifying unto me under your hands the performance of the same, and that it shall be lawful for me and mine to transport and frequent in every place, according the tenor of the articles. And whereas you allege that Castlemaine hath been specified unto me by O'Neill to be victualled, and that he alloweth the same to be done, it is more than I know, and not specified unto me by him. And touching Castlemaine, my resolute answer is, that there can be no breach of the cessation considered in getting of the same, in respect that during these wars, and before the cessation, I have kept two hundred soldiers in garrison for restraint [of] the victualling thereof, which in mean time was never offered, until the ward by their own consents did yield the same, in respect of famine. And being at my devotion in regard of the cessation, I have granted them their lives, goods, and furnitures; and further as you allege that I have chased certain persons for relieving of the same, and do detain two as prisoners, there is no such matter. And as for altering of my companies in my garrisons, I hope, without breach of the cessation, it lieth in my disposition. Whereas you write that I received letters of yours sent me by Mr. John Barry, I received none, neither return of answer of mine own sent unto you by this bearer, John Archdeacon. And for getting of my house into my hands, it is my right, meaning to keep it, with God's assistance. So, expecting your present answer touching the continuance of the cessation, I end."—Castlemaine, 1599, November 4 [25 October-4 November]. Copy. p. 1.

Nov. 10.

16. "A book of concordatums granted, beginning primo Martii, 1598[-9], and ending decimo Novembris, 1599."

Sir Robert Cecil has endorsed it with the following note:—"It appeareth by this book that the sums appointed for concordatums to defray extraordinary charges, besides the establishment and the list, have been consumed in erecting of new companies; and for the Queen's storehouses, they had need be in repair, for you shall find great sums paid. I pray your Lordship do but cast your eye upon them, for I will pick good matter to stop many wild demands. R. C."

"A needless office," is the marginal note against the following posts:—Governor of Atherdee, Governor of Kilmallock, and



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Serjeant-Major of the Earl of Ormonde's regiment.

*Among the items of interest are the following :—*

"For re-edifying the Queen's Storehouse, commonly called the Innes, per warrant, 330*l*."

"For works and reparations done upon Her Majesty's house of Kilmainham, per warrant, 153*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. [*Marginal note*, "A house of pleasure without Dublin, and therefore a superfluous charge."]

"Anne Partridge, widow, whose husband was slain in Her Majesty's service, 10*l*."

"For straw at several times for the said soldiers to lie on aboard the said ships and barks, 20*s*."

"The Society of Trinity College near Dublin, for six dead pays, at 8*d*. le piece per diem, for six months [and ] a half, ending ultimo Septembris, 1599, 36*l*. 8*s*."

"The said Society for one year's fee ended eodem die et anno, ut supra, 40*l*."

"Edward Walker, Dutchman, maimed, to help him into his own country, per warrant, 30*s*."

"Leys de la Brett, Frenchman, in like manner, to help him into his country, per warrant, 40*s*." pp. 18.

Nov. 10.

17. "A note of the forces of the Pale, collected by the Lords of the Pale, and by their Lordships exhibited to the Lords Justices and Council; 10 Novembris, '99." Total, horse and foot, 2,020. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton, who writes the endorsement, adds the names of the Lords of the Pale who were present at the conference.* p. 1.

Nov. 10.

18. Edward Hayes, Commissary of the Musters for Leinster, to the Lord Justice Carey. Craves pardon for his absence, which was owing to sickness. Will be ready for any service after this day. State of the companies that he and Sir Arthur Champernown have mustered. Endeavoured to do the Queen service, yet not overmuch to grieve the Commanders and companies already discontented. His Lordship may suppose this generally of all the army; that, of every 100 foot in list, there will not be 70 able fighting men for the present service. They may be reckoned after the rate of 65 in 100 men, and of 130 in 200, excepting sick men, "who are indeed many, and will be more, to the ruin of the army, if their diet be not amended, and made more wholesome." Wishes a mitigation of Lord Audley's muster (his officers having, it seems, abused him), "his Lordship having deeply engaged his faith and honour to have in readiness for the service as fair a company of 200, as any in the kingdom whosoever, if he be not now discouraged."—1599, November 10. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Nov. 10.

Dungannon.

19. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Essex. "Finding myself greatly grieved since your departure for many wrongs proffered to me and my confederates, I have, according the articles of cessation, given fourteen days' warning to the State. And, because I will not be tedious with your Lordship, I will acquaint

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you only with the principal cause of my grief. First of all, having seven score of my men killed by the Earl of Ormonde in time of cessation; besides divers others of the Geraldines, who were slain by the Earl of Kildare. Another cause is, because I made my agreement only with your Lordship, in whom I had my only confidence, who, as I am given to understand, is now restrained from your liberty, for what cause I know not; so I have nobody else to conclude withal what I intended with your Lordship; unless I should deal with the Lords Justices and Council, who have already deceived me oftentimes. And, because your Lordship shall be made acquainted in particular of their dealings, I desire that they may be examined, and Sir William Warren, how I was dealt withal, both for a letter sent from Spain, as also for my pledges, who were delivered them in Sir John Norreys his time.”—Dungannon, 1599, November 20 [10 November-20 November]. *Endorsed by Lord Justice Carey, “Tyrone’s letter to the Earl of Essex.” Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 13.  
Dublin.

20. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. “I have received two packets, the one of the 31 of October from your Honour and the rest of your Lordships, the other from Her gracious Majesty of the 6 of this present; [to] all which I cannot in particular return any direct answer, for the shortness of time, this messenger being upon his speedy dispatch. Sir William Warren this morning returned from this Archtraitor, whose treasons are too villainous, and [I] am fully persuaded that he never meant well from the beginning, but as an arrant traitor was desirous of a cessation to make his combination the greater and stronger, and to supply his wants. What the scope of his villainies are (*sic*), you may perceive by these enclosed, which are (*sic*) to do all mischiefs. And further not to keep the cessation by no means he will yield unto. O’Donnell, O’Rourke, and Maguire do purpose to go into Thomond.” Beseeches Sir Robert to “consider well of his [Tyrone’s] villainous libel.”—Dublin, 1599, November 13.

[*Postscript.*] “By Watson your Honour shall receive your letter. This libel, the copy whereof I send your Honour (*warning*), was secretly brought from one of Tyrone’s servitors by one that came up with Sir William Warren, to be delivered to Henry Fitz-Symons, a priest in Dublin; but the party first brought the same very honestly unto the State. The like is purposed to be dispersed to other towns.”

*Under the address is written in a different hand, “After the sealing of this letter, my Lord of Ormonde came to Dublin, whereof I am very glad.” Endorsed, Received the 21 of November. Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 14.  
Dublin.

21. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. “I wrote to your Honour by Mr. Brady, Mr. Secretary Fenton’s son-in-law, two packets, and a book of all the extraordinaries, which passed by concordatum, both in the Lord Lieutenant’s time and sithence;



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and, therefore, few are the matters I have now to write of; humbly beseeching your Honour to credit this bearer, Thomas Watson, whom I have appointed at your Honour's best leisure to deliver unto you some part of my griefs.

"Your Honour's last letters, which I return hereinclosed, do content me much, that by your Honour's good means Her Majesty is pleased to give me warrant for the raising of the 2,000 men, as also for the 1,000*l.* for extraordinaries, when my Lord went his journey towards the north, with a hope that Her Highness will be pleased to give further order for extraordinaries, which I desire may be for such causes as the necessity of Her Majesty's services shall require during the time of my government; and, for that as is past, I humbly desire Her Majesty to give allowance.

"There is yet one thing more, wherein I desire Her Highness's] gracious favour. I was commanded to victual Her Majesty's ships, which attended this Irish service, and for that service I received, as I think, about 1,200*l.*; but the charge thereof did amount unto 2,000*l.*, or thereabouts, as may appear by a book of account formerly given to my Lord Treasurer, for the which I humbly desire Her Majesty's warrant.

"My Lords of the Council do much dislike, as by their late sharp letters it doth appear, that I have not sent over a book of my half year's accounts, a matter that I more covet to effect than any earthly thing, considering the great and weighty charge that hangs upon me, which makes me to tremble to think on. But there is no possible means for me to effect the same, until the Captains' accounts be perfected, which I may not do before the Comptroller of the Musters have delivered unto me a book of the checks.

"And that my Lord and your Honour do certify unto me your opinions, what order I shall take about the defalcation of this summer apparel, wherein the agent of the provant hath not done well, being charged formerly by me to the contrary; yet hath he charged the Queen with 1,200 suits of apparel more than his proportion, and in such sort that divers of [the] Captains' reckonings will not bear it, as this bearer will inform your Honour, Without a direct course herein, I shall either prejudice the Queen or danger myself. I send your Honour a piece of the reckoning of the munition at Cork, having in my former letters by Mr. Brady sent your Honour the state of the arms and munition remaining at Dublin, the Newry, and Carlingford. Sir George Bouchier hath promised to send your Honour his certificate touching these matters. The Lord Lieutenant gave order that there should be no defalcation of powder, match, and lead, but of arms only, as may appear by his Lordship's warrant to Sir George Bouchier.

"In my Lords of the Council's letters, it appears that Her Majesty's pleasure is, that I should stay all Captains' entertainments from their departure until their return out of England to their charge here. This will be hard and dangerous for myself; for divers of them, having leave by warrant from my Lord



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Lieutenant to be absent for two months, have already, either by themselves or their officers, received their full entertainment; and therefore do humbly pray that this cessing of entertainment may be from the receipt of your Lordships' letters, which shall be duly performed, being the 12 of this month. If I durst, I would be glad to understand Her Majesty's pleasure touching my Lord of Essex[']s entertainment. For, as heretofore I wrote unto your Honour, two days before his Lordship's departure (not knowing, by Jesus, of his intention), he received of me 1,000*l.* over and above 500*l.* imprested unto him upon his entertainment. I must be plain with your Honour; these matters do cumber me exceedingly. I humbly beseech your Honour, favour me what ye may.

"For the government of Munster, Connaught, and Knockfergus, let us understand Her Majesty's pleasure. For the two first your Honour hath been advertised how they have been disposed. For the government of Knockfergus, the same was disposed by my Lord of Essex to the government of Sir William Warren. Sir Arthur Chichester, though, be now come from thence, yet he is loath to forego that place. And for my own opinion, I think he shall be able to do Her Majesty best service there.

"From Mr. Pyne I received a letter, and therein this enclosed (*wanting*). I beseech your Honour that some money may be sent over, for, in good faith, the last treasure is almost gone, not above three thousand pounds left. I grieve that money goeth away so fast; if it lay in me to remedy it, *I assure your Lordships it should be done [these words in italics are struck out.]*

"The transportation of these victuals from Carrickfergus and Galway to the garrisons appointed for the issuing thereof doth require great charge, which must be yielded unto; or otherwise Her Majesty's losses will be the greater, if the victual be not issued before it be utterly spoiled, being nought from the beginning, and that no more victuals be sent over until this be expended.

"By this bearer I send your Honour a falcon, as it is told me, of the best eyries in Ireland; and well may she bite, for she hath killed a goshawk, which I meant your Honour should have had. At Youghal there is a falcon and a tassel, which Harry Pyne gave me, but I must take them of Sir Edward Denny's gift; which I am well pleased therewith (*sic*), to avoid all titles, and that your Honour may have the better title unto them. Sir Edward is now in England. I pray let him take order that the hawks may be sent unto your Honour, who loveth hawks well, as I hear."—Dublin, 1599, November 14. *Endorsed*, "From Dublin. A private letter." *Holograph. pp. 4.*

Nov. 14.  
Dublin.

22. Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being employed at Carrickfergus ever since my Lord Lieutenant his coming over, I have neither matter but mine own doings, nor means to write unto you. At his Lordship's departure he assigned me to the office of Serjeant-Major General, commanding my repair hither. From thence I lately adventured passage over land, the wind denying me it by sea. Here I attend what shall be com-

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manded me by those in greater authority, and will refuse no hazard or pains wherein I may do service. But, may it please you, I had rather be continued in my place at Carrickfergus, than command in this office. I have some experience and knowledge of the country; some causes make me to desire it. If I be thought worthy, I can, with reasonable means, do Her Majesty good service in those parts; and I would be very loath to go backward in degrees of my profession. I humbly desire to be censured by your honourable thoughts, and to be confirmed (if I be not thought unworthy) in my former place; and, until by some means I shall understand your further pleasure, I will execute all commands that shall be given me in this my new office.

"Your Honour understands matters of this State, and their resolutions, better than my letters can make known. We defend the heart, and care not greatly for the limbs; but, those being taken away, the heart cannot long be in safety. This enemy can never be beaten, but by dwelling and lodging near him, and in his own country. Journeys are consumptions of men, more hurting ourselves than those we seek to offend. The kingdom is great, and Her Majesty's force of fourteen thousand men are scarcely seen in it, but in this province of Leinster, where the greatest number have their abiding; and yet here can hardly 4,000 be drawn together to the field (leaving the garrisons weakly strengthened), to resist any incursions whatsoever. I could trouble your Honour with long discourse, but I fear I have already been too tedious, and I would be loath to meddle in great commanders' offices, thereby to offend."—Dublin, 1599, November 14. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 15. 23. Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to Sir  
Dublin. Robert Cecil. That he may be named in such commissions as are to pass, and wherein the holder of his office was wont to be one.—Dublin, 1599, November 15. *Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 15. 24. Meyler [Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert  
Westminster. Cecil. "Considering with myself how from day to day the disorders of the miserable and unfortunate land of Ireland seem to grow worse and worse, I thought it good to offer myself, my labour, and diligent service unto Her Majesty, in this dutiful manner, viz., if it might so please her Highness to let me have such commissions and directions as I shall desire, and shew good reason [for] before yourself and her sacred person, that likely her service may be furthered by them. I hope with God's grace (although the state of the rebellion there became (*sic*) very desperate, and much altered since I have been with Tyrone), that I shall in a short time bring such certainty unto Her Highness, that, either by wars or peace, she shall know what shall be for her advantage to follow. My knowledge therein already, together with my alliance and friendship with Tyrone and the chiefest of Ulster, is such, that they shall hardly hide any thing from me. For, although they mislike much of me in matters of religion, yet



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they love me naturally, so that they shall be easily brought to believe that I wish rather their good amendment than their utter destruction. Therefore in my simple judgment, it cannot any way hinder the service to send me amongst them with such sure and certain instructions as Her Majesty shall think requisite. If I may do good therein, Her Majesty shall have the whole advantage thereof. If I shall be miscarried or lost in my journey, it is but the thing that I expect, to make an end of my days in Her Highness[']s service.

“And if any will say that I being an Irishman born, and so greatly allied to the Irishry, and therefore not to be trusted with such matters of weight; to that I answer thus. First, that there is not any one of the birth of Ireland at this day, to mine own knowledge, that hath more private and general causes to seek and work all possible means for pacifying these troubles (if I might) than myself, as in particular I may shew the same. And besides this, I have here with me two sons of mine own (whose lives I would not give for all the gold that the King of Spain can make); them both I am content to deliver in such custody as shall please Her Majesty, till my return. And if it shall be found that I shall not deal truly and dutifully according to Her Highness[']s instructions, to my uttermost power, I am content that they both shall lose their heads, and myself also. And for taking this doubtful discourse and dangerous journey in hand, I desire neither reward, nor augmentation of living, or credit, till my return, more than as if I had stayed here at Court, whereby it may appear that it is the zeal I bear to God's glory (there much neglected and obscured), to Her Majesty's service, and her kingdom's safety, with mine own affection to my natural country and kindred, with the expectation of many profits and private commodities to myself and my posterity hereafter, [that] maketh me willing to essay any trouble, labour, and danger, in this doubtful and distressed time, in hope that God shall work by myself (as He might by any other little worm) some good for the reformation of that country. And therefore I beseech God that this my humble, dutiful, and devout offer be not accepted of according to the English proverb, *offered service stinks*. I know that such acceptance of service, sincerely offered, hath already hindered many good services in Ireland these sixteen years, where I saw divers great matters duly informed, and after marred for lack of discreet handling, the same being most commonly committed either to unskilful or unwilling persons, to be executed; humbly beseeching your Honour to signify this my dutiful offer to Her Majesty, as soon as you may, for *in mora posset esse periculum*.”—“At my chamber next to the Fawlcen in Tuttlestreet [the Falcon in Tothill Street] in Westminster,” 1599, November 15. *Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 17.  
Dublin.

25. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council, to the Privy Council. “Her Majesty's letter of the 6th of this month, and your Lordships' of the 31st of the last, were delivered here by the post of Holyhead the 12th



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hereof; and, almost at the same instant, Sir William Warren returned hither from Tyrone, to whom he was sent seven or eight days before, as we have signified to your Lordships in our last of the 3rd of this present. And, as Sir William Warren's proceedings with Tyrone are set down in a declaration under his hand (the copy whereof we send herewith),—*wanting*—so one Barnewall, a gentleman of the borders of the English Pale, returning with him at the same time from Tyrone, to whom he had been employed before by the Lord Lieutenant (as he saith), we examined Barnewall apart of many things concerning his behaviour with Tyrone, and what discoveries he could make for Her Majesty's service, the copy of whose report is herewith sent to your Lordships, testified under his hand.

"And particularly he shewed us a writing subscribed by the Archtraitor, not below, as he was wont, but above, contrary to all duty; which, for the monstrous matters it containeth, and the pernicious ends it draweth unto, though we wish it had not been practised nor produced, yet, in discharge of our duty, we thought meet to transmit it to your Lordships, not in a double, but in the original (*wanting*), to represent to your Lordships, more lively, the malicious pride of the Archtraitor, and the venom of his stomach against Her sacred Majesty, all breaking forth at a time, when he had promised to Warren, at his being with him very lately before, to keep the cessation inviolably for six weeks more, as we have before advertised to your Lordships. The substance and purpose of this writing need no exposition, for that they both tend directly (under an old pretext of all rebels and traitors) to alter the hearts of the people, both by threats and promises, and by insinuating a horrible deprivation of Her Majesty from all obedience and allegiance of her subjects. And this concurring with his last most insolent letter written to me, the Earl of Ormonde, the copy whereof we sent to your Lordships in our last, he doth manifest himself fully to be out of hope of all recovery, and an apparent sworn enemy to Her Majesty and her government.

"We were in hand, before the breaking forth of this, how to work a meeting of me, the Secretary, with Tyrone, according Her Majesty's pleasure, signified to us all jointly, and to me apart, wherein we were all careful to observe Her Majesty's pleasure, grounded upon her rare and princely mind, full of clemency and mercy, to recover him, if it might be, and by that course to discover him to the bottom, and, if need were, to satisfy him in some points, wherein he seemed unsatisfied. But being encountered with this unexpected hateful libel, and comparing therewith the phrase and style of his letter before written to me, the Earl of Ormonde, and having good intelligence of his intention to break the cessation before the time, and of the violent preparations he made to invade the Pale upon the sudden; and lastly, how in all the intercourses between Warren and him, he shifted off to have a meeting with me, the Secretary; and, when he was urged in that point, would answer it slightly, as though he made no reckon-

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ing of it, we thought it both dishonourable and fruitless to depend further of a meeting, but rather feared that we should highly offend Her Majesty to follow such a matter at his hand, who (*sic*) we saw so far gone in the ways of his own pride, as he did but turn to a scorn all overtures of grace and favour to be made unto him. Besides, Sir William Warren, in all his reports coming from him, affirmed generally that he found no hope of good in him. For these reasons, we have forborne to deal further touching the meeting, until we had signified thus much to your Lordships, whom we humbly beseech to intimate these our respects to Her Majesty, proceeding simply of a desire to preserve her honour entire, and not to have it blemished in any sort by such a barbarous savage rebel, who, in our opinions, is of mind that he is to receive no grace from Her Majesty, whom by his overt act he denieth to be his sovereign Prince, but rather noteth her for a person private, divested of all her regality, as appeareth by the scope of his lib[el]. And we most humbly beseech your Lordships to vouchsafe to further us with your wonted honourable favours towards Her Majesty for our doings in this point; and yet, notwithstanding, if it shall please Her Majesty to have a further proceeding with him by way of treaty and parley, upon signification of her pleasure, it shall be performed with the best industry we can use; though we are out of hope to do any good, to serve Her Majesty's turn that way. And yet we have not utterly left it off, but have left to Warren to entertain it underhand in a dilatory manner, till we shall hear further from Her Majesty, wherein we humbly pray Her Majesty's speedy resolution. And in the meanwhile, I, the Earl of Ormonde, Lieutenant of the army, am here ready to draw to the borders, so fast as provision can be made, to gather the companies into two leads, to answer the two places of *rendezvous*, the one at the Navan, and the other at the Naas, according the project of our late letter, dated 28 of the last month; having likewise caused the five shires of the Pale to muster and draw into arms, to be ready to give their assistance in this great service. For, even at the writing of this letter, I, the Secretary, received intelligence out of the country of Tyrone, that that Archtraitor was drawing to the borders, and, before the ending of the letter, we understood that he is entered the Pale, and O'Donnell into Connaught, with all their forces, to strike some sudden blow in both places at once; and that out of Munster, the counterfeit Desmond was to come to meet with Tyrone in some place about the Shannon-side, as hath been formerly written to your Lordships.

"I, the Lieutenant of the army, do send to your Lordships, herewith, a list (*wanting*) of the particular companies of horse and foot, that are to be employed in this service of Leinster, which, we assure ourselves, are for the most part weaker (by reason of sickness) by a third part by poll than they stand in list; whom, nevertheless, I, the Lieutenant, will see exactly mustered in the field, and then certify to your Lordships the true strength of every company. Your Lordships shall also see by this list what



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companies are left for guard of the towns upon the borders, though I, the Lieutenant, do not think that those companies are sufficient to defend the places against any great attempt. And for the country forces, as they are very few in number, and slenderly armed, so we look that they will stand us in slender stead, considering their general unaptness to martial service, and some particular unwillingness in some of them. So as it may please your Lordships to consider in what case we stand, to be so weakly fitted to answer so strong a force of enemies, prepared, and now ready to set upon us in several places; and besides, many of the chief captains and commanders of the army are now absent in England, whose want, your Lordships may judge, will be no small maim to the service. For our parts, we have not that confidence in the Pale-men, which we have had, for that we have daily information of some gentlemen, being younger brothers, that run to the rebels, which is not without suspicion that they make way for their friends and parents; and, in the time of the cessation, some gentlemen of living went into Ulster to the Archtraitor for divers ends, to serve their own turn; who, we have reason to think, will break out manifestly upon any advantage of the time; by which looseness in some of the Pale-men your Lordships may judge what small assurance we have to repose in the aids of the Pale.

“Where it pleaseth Her Majesty to require at our hands upon what conditions the Lords Mountgarrett and Cahir were received, and what sureties they have given for their continuance in obedience, we have only this to say, that, before the Lord Lieutenant of the Realm his last journey to the borders of the north, which was a little before his going into England, both those Lords, with some others of the submittees in Leinster, appeared in Council, and yielded to put in their several pledges according the schedule herewith sent, who not performing that order, and the two Lords seeking to go home to their country, we wrote to his Lordship for his direction therein, lying then at Tredagh, but could receive none, neither do we know how the two Lords were dismissed, nor what order was taken for their sureties, a matter which we were never made privy to. Yet, after his Lordship's going into England, we wrote to both those Lords touching their pledges, and to certify us under what conditions they were dismissed; from whom we never received answer, neither do we stand greatly assured of their continuance in duty. Only, their two principal castles remain still in Her Majesty's possession, which I, the Lieutenant, will be as careful as I can to preserve for Her Highness, though the Viscount Mountgarrett presseth greatly to be restored to his castle of Ballyragget, wherein for our parts we discover no good meaning in him.

“It appeareth in one clause of Her Majesty's letter, that Her Majesty hath been informed that the Lord Lieutenant's journey into Munster grew by our consent and advice, contrary to his Lordship's own proposition and desire, whereby a great part of the summer was lost, and the flower of the army so tired, as it was accounted honour enough to bring them back again. For our



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parts, we were utterly ignorant of his Lordship's purpose to go into Munster, the same being not so much as once spoken of in Council, nor any of our advices or consents demanded. Though in this matter we could write more liberally in our own defence, yet we hope his Lordship will do us the right to purge us, to whom our clearness is best known, and upon that confidence we have been thus long silent, awaiting still that his Lordship would free us from all imputation that way. Touching the particular interest of me, the Earl of Ormonde, in this matter, I was not at that consultation when the Lord Lieutenant took his journey from Dublin, but I attended him to Leix, and so to Kilkenny, and from thence, by his own direction, I went with him the whole journey of Munster, and back again to Dublin, not knowing of his intention to pass further into Munster than the Castle of Cahir, or thereabouts.

"Touching Tyrone's answer for a late treason used at the bridge of Johnstown, where some of Captain Esmond's company were defeated, and what reason he yieldeth for usurping so unjustly in the time of cessation to place Brimigham, a head of his nation, in the county of Kildare, we collected these and sundry other violences done by him and his in the cessation, and gave them all to Sir William Warren, to the end to expostulate with him. But he hath brought back but slight and frivolous answers, such as are not worthy to be certified; only to Esmond's defeat, Tyrone saith he was not privy thereunto, and for Brimigham, he did but give him a kind of right, till a better title might appear.

"Touching the charge of the 2,000 men, newly levied, wherein it seemeth your Lordships are not satisfied, neither from what day they were put in charge, nor how long they continued, your Lordships shall receive herewith the Mustermaster's explanation thereof, to whose particular office it doth belong; and, for their apparel, the time of their service being so short, Her Majesty is not to be charged therewith. But, touching this matter of apparel, as we have reason to think that Her Majesty is not so uprightly dealt withal as were meet, both in the gross, and in the particular issuing of the suits; so, for an instance, it is discovered to some of us, that the provant merchants have overcharged Her Majesty in this summer apparel about 1,200 suits, the further particularities whereof your Lordships, ere it be long, shall understand from me, the Treasurer.

"Where it appeareth that your Lordships have understood by letters out of Munster that we are not here so careful of that province as we should, considering the importance of that part of the kingdom, and particularly that the city of Limerick doth not digest the Irish soldiers that are garrisoned there, specially the Earl of Thomond's company; before the receipt of your Lordships' letter, we had written to the Commissioners in Munster to withdraw those Irish souldiers out of Limerick, and to supply that garrison with English companies, which we hope is done before this. Likewise, we gave the same order to the city of Cork and

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town of Galway in Connaught, where we had information that there was no good agreement between the soldiers and the townsmen. And, for staying of further harms, we wrote long since, as well to those corporations as to the commanders of the garrisons, to hold a better course of agreement amongst themselves, lest, through their disagreement, the places might be endangered; having also admonished in particular some of the Council residing at Cork, between whom and some of their colleagues we understood there was grown some heart-burning, that there should be amongst them a more unity and agreement, and that neither party should be apt to give or take occasions for slight matters. But touching the objection made by some of the Commissioners of Munster, that that province is not regarded here at Dublin as it ought to be, we humbly assure your Lordships upon our credit, we have been as careful to supply them there with money, victuals, and clothes, as any other part of the realm, according their proportion, but having no other means to transport these provisions than by sea, if they have not come to them so speedily as they expected, they are not to lay the blame in (*sic*) us. And where it seemeth Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power have advertised thither that we have refused to grant any more than 20 nobles a week for their diet, they might have added to that advertisement, that they have also 40s. sterling a day between them, besides the 20 nobles sterling a week, all which, being drawn into reckoning, will amount very near to the full allowance the President had; so as by this account it may please your Lordships to see, that we have regarded them as much as in us lay, both for their general provisions and their particular allowances, wherein, if they had dealt justly with us, they might have certified as well the one as the other, or else have forborne to complain at all.

“Touching the collection of the treasure, which your Lordships have made, as well that which hath come out of England as the poor revenue received here, we of the Council, who have not so particular dealing in those matters as I, the Treasurer, being the immediate officer therein, do think that your Lordships have made a just calculation of the charge, being not a little grieved for our parts to see so great a mass of treasure sent out of England and consumed in the actions of this unfortunate kingdom. But touching the issue, and the relation thereof, together with the victuals transported from Galway to Limerick, from Knockfergus to Tredagh, and from Dublin to Cork, for the answering of the garrisons in those parts, to satisfy your Lordships in these points, it doth principally belong to me, the Treasurer, who cannot as yet so fully clear your Lordships therein as I shall do within a small time, for that there is no means to make up the Captains’ reckonings, until the Comptroller of the Musters be sent hither, who is to collect and settle the checks; and, till that be done, neither can the Captains know the certainty of their reckonings, nor Her Majesty understand in what case she standeth with them; which being the only way to make all reckonings clear, it may



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please your Lordships to speed away Birkinshawe, to whom that charge doth principally belong. And, in the mean while, I have directed Watson my servant to inform your Lordships in many things touching the reckonings of this kingdom, until I may send you a more full and perfect certificate.

“But touching the impost, which your Lordships seem to note to be paid by Sir Henry Brouncker, and to amount this year to 2,000*l.*, I, the Treasurer, do assure your Lordships, upon my credit, that the year being ended at Michaelmas last, there is not one penny paid in of that 2,000*l.*, besides his arrear of the last year’s rent, which riseth to a round sum. Sir Henry Brouncker is now there [in England], and his agent, John Large, is suddenly slipped from hence thither, as we think, without leave or privity to any here, at a time when he should have discharged the first half year’s payment, payable at Whitsuntide, and the next half year being due at Candlemas next, and no part of either of them paid in as yet. In which respect, we humbly pray your Lordships to take order with Mr. (*sic*) Brouncker, both for this year’s rent, being 2,000*l.*, and for the arrear remaining of the last year, of which we have no certain note, for that Sir Henry Brouncker hath not passed his account thereof.

“We are still bold to remember your Lordships to supply us out of hand with money, for that the army, being now in action in the field, it must be borne up by their ordinary lendings, besides sundry occasions of extraordinaries, which cannot be avoided, unless the whole service should be suffered to fall to the ground. Likewise, it may please your Lordships to consider that, in this broken time, our chiefest assurance must rest in the army, who if they should fall into discontentment for want of their means, it might tempt some of them, having amongst them, as I, the Lieutenant, do know, too many companies of Irish, to run to the rebels, where is all liberty given to live upon spoil and booty, the prevention whereof cannot rest in us, if we have not money to answer them with their lendings, wherein we are out of hope to be relieved much here, so poor and destitute are both towns and country.

“We are also to remember to your Lordships, at the motion of the Earl of Ormonde, who is, by his charge of Lieutenant of the army, now to follow in person this great service against the traitors, and by that occasion, and Her Majesty’s express commandment, is to make his ordinary residency for the most part in these parts, that thereby he shall be driven to an extraordinary expense for himself and train, being absent from his own house and country, where he hath received great spoils by the rebels, and much of his land wasted, in which respect it may please your Lordships to move Her Majesty for some further allowance for him, his ordinary entertainment being already 3*l.* sterling *per diem*, besides 200 foot and 50 horse in Her Majesty’s ordinary pay; the consideration whereof we humbly leave to your Lordships.



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"Lastly, as the sore that most doth grieve us, we cannot but still bemoan to your Lordships, in the inward sorrow of our hearts, the extreme dangerous state of this kingdom, such as in the knowledge of us, that have served longest here, was never seen; neither can we think but it will run daily to more universal desolation, if God and Her Majesty do not with great speed prevent it. For now that the Archtraitor hath published his quarrel to be for religion and popular liberty, we fear it will work such alteration in the hearts of the people and the corporate towns, as we shall not be able with the means we have, both to keep the towns in order, where no doubt this wicked libel will work impressions against Her Majesty's government in many of them, and also to be in case to resist the rebels in the field, the country of the Pale being so loose and suspicious in many parts as it is, and the Archtraitor being already entered. And therefore, we most humbly, even upon the knees of our hearts, desire your Lordships to apprehend our hard estate, and to move Her Majesty to strengthen this poor kingdom out of hand, with more men and money, and a nobleman to govern; and he to be sent out of hand, to enter into charge, the better to stay disasters, which otherwise cannot but break out without remedy. And, a Deputy being speedily sent over, enabled with means, to give defence to the subjects, and offence to the traitors, who think now (and some of them let not to speak it openly) that Her Majesty is not able to pull them down, we hope that this great stream of adversity, that for many years hath run so violently against this realm, will turn his course to the overflowing of God's enemies and Her Majesty's, who in the pride of their heart contemn her power and scorn her mercy."—Dublin, 1599, November 17.

[*Postscript.*] "At the signing of this letter we received advertisements that eight or ten gentlemen of the Darcys, and as many of the Daltons of Westmeath, all gentlemen of English nation, are gone into rebellion, and we cannot but think that sundry others within the Pale and borders thereof will run the same course."

*Endorsed*, Received at Whitehall the 24th; and, by Sir Robert Cecil, "Their ignorance of the Munster journey." *Signed.* pp. 7. *Enclose*,

25. I. "A declaration of the journey of Sir William Warren to Tyrone."—1599, October 3. Duplicate of No. 195 I. in Vol. CCV. *Copy.* pp. 3.

25. II. "The declaration of Sir William Warren, knight, touching my second journey to Tyrone, since the departure of the Lord Lieutenant, according his Lordship's former commission."—1599, October 20. Duplicate of No. 218 II. in Vol. CCV. *Copy.* pp. 2.

25. III. "The declaration of Thomas Barnewall, of Robertstown, in the county of Meath."

"He saith that the 4 of this November, Sir William Warren being sent by the Lords Justices and Council to speak with Tyrone, he, the said Thomas accompanied him, by direction likewise of

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their Lordships. And being at Dungannon the 8 of the said month, one Richard Owen (a man very inward with Tyrone) shewed unto me several writings, to the number of 6 or 7, whereof having read one unto me, he told me that he purposed to have them cast abroad in the streets of Dublin and Drogheda, all of them being by Tyrone's own hand subscribed. But I, the said Thomas, fearing some inconvenience might grow by that course of casting them abroad, moved him to another course, which was, that he would send one of them by me to whom he thought he might best trust, to the end that party might acquaint many others in more secret manner with the same; whereof he liked well, and thereupon delivered one of them unto me, which I, according my duty, delivered to your Lordships and Council.

"The next day following, I asked Tyrone if he would anything to the Earl of Essex, telling him that I was purposed to go into England; to which he answered, that he would write a letter to his Lordship; which after he did, and delivered the same to Sir William Warren. And I understanding there was nothing in the said letters concerning the continuance of the cessation, or any further peace, I asked Tyrone if he would send any message by mouth to his Lordship; who gave me a slender message, whereupon he grew into further speech with me concerning the writing subscribed with his own hand, and delivered me the night before by Owen, desiring me earnestly to deliver the same to the party to whom it was sent with all haste, and that likewise I myself would be a means to publish it to others; which I undertook and promised to do, to the end I might the more safely bring the same to your Lordships. Whereupon at that time they made stay of all the rest of the writings of that kind. Tyrone said further unto me that he marvelled greatly that the Spaniards were not landed in England and Ireland by this time, their time appointed being Allhallow-tide; but yet he said he expected them shortly. Whereupon I asked him when he did hear from them. He answered not in twelve or thirteen weeks before; and so our speeches ended, and presently Sir William and myself took our leave, and came away."—1599, November 15. Signed, "Tho. Barnewall." Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "The writing mentioned was the infamous libel, signed by O'Neill, which Mr. Attorney hath." pp. 2.

25. iv. "A list or brief collection of 1,950 footmen erected by sundry warrants of the Lord Lieutenant, in July, August, and September, 1599, which were appointed to attend his Lordship in the northern journey." Endorsed, "1599, November 17. Sent with the Lords Justices' letters of the 17th of November." Certified by James Carroll, deputy to the Mustermaster. pp. 1½.

Nov. 17. 26. Memorandum of a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices and Council, in favour of Sir Theobald Dillon. His return to England with Essex. Dillon's good services in Ireland. Endorsed, 1599, November 17. p. 1.

Nov. 17. 27. Draft, corrected by Sir Robert Cecil, of a letter from Queen [Westminster.] Elizabeth to the Lords Justices and Council, in favour of



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Mulmorey McSwyne, of Toa, knight. His loyalty and services. The Queen directs their Lordships to accept the proffered surrender of the castles, lands, and hereditaments in McSwyne Ne Doe's country, and to regrant them to Sir Mulmorey and his heirs under the Great Seal of Ireland, to be held by knight's service, and by rendering the services and rising out of five horsemen and ten footmen, and fifteen beeves yearly, with license to alienate any parcels in fee simple. Sir Mulmorey is also to have a *custodiam* of all the lands and hereditaments in the countries of McSwyne Faned and McSwyne Banet, until true advertisements are received of the loyalty of the pretended inheritors of those countries. He is to be employed upon the borders of Tyrconnell, as their Lordships think he can best do service. They are to grant him a pension of [six] shillings *per diem* [to begin from Michaelmas last].—[Westminster, 1599, November 17.] *pp.* 14.

Nov. 17. 28. Copy of preceding, with a postscript directing that Sir  
Westminster. Mulmorey is to be presently employed in Connaught, in some charge of good entertainment, meet for him.—Westminster, 1599, November 17. *pp.* 2.

Nov. 17. 29. Another copy of the foregoing.—Westminster, 1599, Novem-  
Westminster. ber 17. *pp.* 3.

Nov. 17. 30. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey.  
Whitehall. "Although your last letters, bearing date the 4th of November, have brought unto Her Majesty too much matter, whereby to judge the hard state of her kingdom, yet doth Her Majesty well allow both of your diligence in advertasing, and of your proceedings for resisting such attempts as the Traitor shall make upon Her Majesty's country and forces. And when we have considered, as well as by this uncertain list can be gathered, what may be the cause that an army of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse should not be able to make a defensive war against his proud threats, we only conceive that this will be the answer; that the army is divided in so many portions and places, as you are not able to draw in gross sufficient forces to make head against them. Wherein, although the reasons of all those things must needs be better known to you than to us, yet we must tell you our opinions; that it is strange unto us, that so great forces should be kept upon the frontiers of Ulster, where Her Majesty hath no country to defend, but only her towns, which need not half the numbers in garrison for defence, nor could do much harm upon the rebels if they were much greater, considering that his greatest forces are nearest adjoining to those quarters. So as, although they were well sorted, when there was a purpose of prosecution, yet things being now reduced to that state (as it seemeth that you can determine of nothing but of defence), we do not see why all those numbers should be left to remain in those garrisons, which will not easily be taken by any Irish sieges, but that the forces might be drawn nearer together into the heart of the kingdom, to resist



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the sudden incursions of the rebels. In which respect we think it impertinent that in so many holds and petty castles so many should be bestowed, when both the one half would defend the places, and the fewer numbers not require so often supplies, when there is not so many mouths to consume the store. Of your purpose to draw ten companies from Connaught to the heart of the country, to defend the Pale and other places necessary, as we do well allow, so do all we represent all this unto you, as things whereof Her Majesty would have you to consider, we being here very much to seek how to satisfy Her Majesty particularly in many things, because we have not the half-year's book; neither can we well tell what commanders to return back, or how to order them, because divers are named in the list, which you have sent over, who deny to have any companies, and divers, that have two or three kinds of entertainment by report, pretend unto us to bear only the name of some of them, without any wages. But we have commanded most of them back again in Her Majesty's name. And for the letters written by Tyrone to my Lord of Ormonde, we never expected better; and therefore we doubt not but Her Majesty will in short time (by the favour of God) make him understand better what it is to continue in his reprobate state against his Sovereign; except, upon Her Majesty's last letters, which we doubt not are by this time brought unto him, she shall find that he hath better bethought himself than by your last despatch it appeareth. Because we do observe that in some part of Tyrone's last writing to the Earl of Ormonde, he findeth fault with the Earl's often usage of the word traitor, we would have wished to have seen the copy of that letter, which so much displeased him. We do return Birkinshawe unto you, and by him Her Majesty's warrant for the last 2,000 men; and likewise to you, the Lord Justice Treasurer, further allowance for concordatums."—The Court at Whitehall, 1599, November 17. *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 197 b-198. *Copy*. pp. 2.

Nov. 18.  
Dublin.

31. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your letter of the 6 of this instant I received the 13 of the same, which was very welcome unto me, for that of long time I have not heard from you. Where you write you shall have more occasion to renew your old acquaintance with me, there is no friend you have that shall be readier to accept thereof than myself; neither shall you find your good will bestowed upon any that shall be readier in what I may to deserve the same. I will not trouble you with the particulars of the course of things here, for that at large the same is related in our joint letter to Her Majesty, which I know will come unto your hands. Only thus much I am to pray you to take notice [of], that, notwithstanding my drawing now into the field, there is no provisions nor means yet sent to the Navan to relieve the army, which will be a cause to stay the troops from going to their garrison place; who, I know, are far more weak now than you were informed; besides, many of them are Irish companies, who (as the time is) are rather to be doubted than trusted, whereof

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you shall be more particularly advertised, after myself have seen them.

"Although I find small hope of conformity in these arrogant traitors, now grown to extreme terms (as by Tyrone's damnable libel you may perceive), yet will I not fail to do my uttermost endeavours to draw them to obedience, if (without Her Majesty's dishonour) I may bring it to pass; and will from time to time (as I may) acquaint you with my proceedings therein, praying you that order may be given to the Treasurer here for the allowance of packet-money, as I shall have occasion to send unto you.

"I would to God it might stand with Her Majesty's pleasure to make choice of some such man as shall stand best with her liking, to be Governor of this realm, if my Lord of Essex come not over again, that these insolent traitors may see (if they crave not mercy in time) that Her Majesty meaneth to lay her sword heavily on them. For that the borough and inland towns in the county of Kilkenny have been the greatest mean to keep Her Majesty's footing in those parts, who have great sums of money due unto them for relieving and victualling of Her Majesty's soldiers, I could wish for their better encouragement, that (by your good means) some contentment might be given them. And when our joint letter shall come in hearing before the Lords, I pray you be a mean for the increase of my allowance, which I am forced to lay open before you, for that my lands in a manner (by these malicious rebels) are utterly wasted. I most humbly thank Her Majesty for her remembrance of me with the copies of the letters you sent me, that passed between her and the Archduke Albert, which I pray God may take effect to her best liking.

"This morning, being in Council chamber, there came a letter from the town of Kenles [Kells], fourteen miles from the Brenny, the copy whereof I have thought fit hereinclosed to send you, whereby you may the better understand the weakness of that town, and how far indefensible it is, which without a good force will hardly be kept, for that it was never fortified, so as I think the companies in great danger that shall keep the same, and am of opinion that Ardee near Dundalk is in little better state."—  
Dublin, 1599, November 18.

[*Postscript in the Earl of Ormonde's hand*] "Sir, you forgot to put your hand to the letter you sent me." Signed. pp. 2.  
*Encloses,*

31. 1. Captain Sir Robert Heath to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. "I thought it my duty to advertise your Lordships of the danger the town of Kenles is in, and the borders thereabouts, if sudden order be not taken by your Lordships for the preventing of it. This night, being Friday, we received intelligence that the Earl of Tyrone lay the night before at Brian McColl's house, being fourteen miles distant; and for certain he was purposed to surprise Kenles, which he esteems a place much hindering his affairs. To resist his attempt the town is but



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*weakly furnished, having but two English companies to maintain so weak a wall and so large a compass in ground; and though they do endure for a time, yet will they not be able to continue so intolerable a watch, as the necessity of the time doth impose upon us. For the company of my Lord of Dunsany, though we durst, yet do we not adventure them to hold any guard, because some of them had conference with the rebels of late, as your Lordships hereafter may understand further of it, in regard that it may please your Honours to appoint some one company of foot more, with fifty horse, for the better safety of the town and country; and that a competent proportion of victuals may be sent hither, that we be not driven, as we have been, to labour our soldiers to Drogheda, to fetch their own provision, which hath been most toilsome to them and chargeable to the Captains. Further we find the townsmen very obstinate and unready to perform any duty which belongs to their own safety, not sticking to give evil speeches, if they be demanded but things honest. Therefore I beseech your Lordships to give authority to whomsoever commands in the absence of my Lord of Dunsany, to command them in his discretion to be ready to perform that which is requisite for them in so troublesome a time. Lastly, it is not possible for the garrison of Kenles to free all the borders thereabouts, unless your Lordships do place garrisons in the convenient passages which now lies (sic) open to be a prey to the enemy. For the better consideration, I have thought good to nominate as followeth. The castle of Reckenry is a fit place for a company; the castle of Clomgell, where my company did lie; the bridge of Taltowne; the castle of Keren, which was lately burnt for want of a garrison; all very necessary places to hold, and resist the enemy, for passing between us and the Navan, and between the Navan and Slaney and Drogheda; which garrisons may be united in four hours, all in one body, to encounter any army marchable, which otherwise it is without doubt impossible to prevent (sic) the spoiling of the country, which is daily engaged.”—Kenles, 1599, November 17. [Post-script.] Captain Sidney’s company lies fit to be drawn to Kenles, for it is near. Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 18.  
Dublin.

32. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. “I have sent unto your Honour those two gentlemen that you wrote for, and have delivered to ‘everich’ [each] of them 30*l.* towards their charges. I suppose they can so well deliver unto your Honour the poor estate of this distressed kingdom, that I shall not need to be further troublesome therein unto your Honour. We want money and winter clothes for the soldiers, the want whereof will occasion weakness very much to the army, for that divers of the companies are almost half naked, and the cold winter approacheth fast. And if the provant apparel do not come, the sooner I must of necessity be compelled to provide both hose and shoes for a great number of them, or else they will die with extremity, now that they shall be enforced to lie in the field.”—Dublin, 1599, November 18. *Endorsed, By Sir Thomas Wingfield. Holograph. p. 1.*



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Nov. 18.  
Dublin.

33. Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to Sir Robert Cecil. "By our general letters the causes appear, why we proceed not further in parley with Tyrone; first, his letter signifying to the Earl of Ormonde that he took in hand the Catholic cause, called the Governors tyrants and enemies to God and man, which we signified by letters of the 3 of November; next, the cutting of the cessation, promised, as Sir William Warren told us, precisely for six weeks, though it seemed by Tyrone's note that he referred it to former agreements, which were upon the matter, but for fourteen days; thirdly, his cold dealing with Warren, not to speak with Sir Geoffrey Fenton touching Her Majesty's mercy to be shewed him, &c.; specially then by the delivery of the damnable cartel, or libel, which one Barnewell (being with Warren at Tyrone's) did deliver us, full of horrible treasons against Her Majesty and her kingdom. He saw there seven more, signed by Tyrone, meant to be sent and divulged in cities and towns by the Jesuits and priests. I add to these this circumstance, that, at the time he ended and signified the end of cessation, O'Donnell's man was with him, and did expostulate with him that it was so long continued, for now was their time. Tyrone dealt secretly with the same Barnewell to see that libel delivered to a mass priest in Dublin, and to persuade the execution thereof himself. Again, upon our conference in Council with the Lords of the Pale, the 8 of this month, we found a general backwardness in plain words. For my Lord of Dunsany (by the consent of all the rest, as he then confessed) told us all that our Captains and men of war had all the milk, and they not respected. This was the argument of his oration, and that they now, in this pinch and time of danger, must bear all the burden. He was answered that himself had been long in pay, and others of them, and that all the younger brothers almost of the Pale were in pay, and a great number of our companies Irish, and so, though we had weakened ourselves by entertaining them, who by duty and habitation were to defend themselves, yet it had not been so much misliked by us, as in truth we ought, specially that they might see that we sought both their contentment and employment, &c. In the end, they agreed to supply us out of the Pale with 1,500 foot and about 400 horse and carbines, which to this day, notwithstanding our imminent danger, are not ready.

"Also, the city of Kildare did refuse to give relief to our soldiers generally. The town of Tredath, the cities of Galway, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, &c., grieved also, to whom though many and great particular causes of grievance have been given, yet we must think, now this matter breaketh out to open flame, that all is drawn from the fountain of this pestilent libel, long past from time to time persuaded by their priests. I note also that in the Pale the breaking out of these septs, as the Breminghams, and now the Husseys, all the Daltons, divers of the Darcys; and even now Garrett Oge's son, of Westmeath, being a neighbour to one Mr. Wakly, and being entertained as many times before kindly in his house, upon a sudden took his castle, and put them there to

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sword, and Wakly himself being wounded by hap escaped at a window. Sithence the receipt of this libel, some of my Lord of Dunsany's foot company be fled from Kells, their garrison place, to the traitors, and even now we hear from the Commissioners of Munster that the Earl of Thomond and the Lord Burke seem discon[ten]ted. And now Tyrone is come to the Pale to make good his promise to assist such as shall join with him, and to hearken what effect his libels will work.

"Our Commissioners for Munster have now of late drawn in their forces into the cities, and namely 500 to Cork, and their horses, whereat the citizens have sent their complaints to us. Such grievous complaints have been framed to us, as it is lamentable to hear. Reform other than by letters we know not, &c. (*sic*). Castlemaine, being Her Majesty's, is lost [*In margin*, "Sir Warham Sentleger had the keeping of Castlemaine."], and Askeaton is blocked up, which Sir Francis Barkley hath, but he is not there in person. The companies laid in Munster have been exceeding idle, and now Sentleger, always a man of war, sitteth at Cork in judging civil causes, and so doth Sir Henry Power, who doth better commanded than when he commandeth. For now this winter time, the cessation ending, they should set garrison hard upon the traitors. If a new Governor come, and Munster be left to the chief command of the Earl of Ormonde, his Lordship will quickly bring in that province, for it bordereth near him, and Tipperary is there. I have heard long sithence that his Lordship desireth that particular government, but lately he commended my Lord of Thomond unto it. But, in my judgment, my Lord of Ormonde is fittest for it, and will do the most good of any. For I heard my Lord of Dunboyne and Walter Butler both say that my Lord was now willing to have it. As the times now be, I have cause to think that it were a sure way for Her Majesty at this time to appoint it to his Lordship; they will yield to him much for love, much for fear, and such as will not yield for those, he will compel by force. Good faith, they told me he would quiet it, if he were Governor, in three months; a good work, if it were done. I may be deceived in this great matter, for my particular affection to his Lordship may hinder my judgment to look deeply into it, but I write as I think."

Touching Connaught ["Conocke"], they have received letters from the Earl of Clanrickarde, complaining that O'Donnell and the rest of the rebels there have drawn their forces upon him. They thought once to have drawn about a thousand out of Connaught to the defence of the Pale, and to that end gave directions; but, upon a new consultation, they revoked their former determination. They hear that the Boyle is lost, and Roscommon in great danger to be so. Sir Robert conjectures that Tyrone would first wholly win Connaught (saving such few castles as they have), and to that end Tyrone has agreed that O'Donnell shall set up a new O'Brien for Thomond, in Lord Thomond's place, and so draw all Thomond, or else persuade Lord Thomond (wherein Sir Robert thinks he shall never prevail for many causes), and then



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either win Clanrickarde by fear of his force to his combination (which he hath long sought), or else overthrow him by fight, and so gain them as he hath won Connor Sligo; and that done, to rest and refresh his soldiers, it is like he will seek or consent to a new cessation, and so plague and infest the cities with revolts. Her Majesty they since publish to be no lawful prince, and they call the State here tyrants and enemies to God and men, and have made two Irish terms of scorn against the Earl of Essex; one, that he never drew sword but to make knights; the other, that he came like a hasty messenger, that went away before he had done his errand. "Sithence the rebellion is so general, and we not desirous to fight, what comfort have we to serve among such a people? I have no more to write, but that the enclosed letter, sent in Mr. Maynard's letter, was meant to (*sic*) your Honour. And thus, not thinking upon return, until the kingdom be better settled, do with all duty take my leave, this 18 November, 1599." *Endorsed*, From Dublin. Received the 24 of November. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

Nov. 18.  
Tallonstown.

34. O[liver Plunket], Lord Louth, to the Earl of Ormonde. Received from the Lords Justices and Council on the 13th instant, a commission dated 10 November, to muster from 16 to 60 within this country, to be in readiness, upon pain of death, on an hour's warning, to come where his Lordship shall appoint by letters or word. Upon receipt thereof, he presently wrote to the chief serjeant to warn all such to be at Ardee on Saturday, the 17th instant. Attended there from nine o'clock to four in the afternoon, and none came but five or six of the gentlemen. Certified this to the State, and now signifies it to his Honour, not knowing how to remedy the same. Will always be at his direction with as many as he is able to make, "although we are in continual distress, as we may not conveniently depart our houses without great danger." Refers to the bearer, his cousin, Peter Taffe, for the state of "this poor afflicted country."—Tallonstown, 1599, November 18. *Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 20.

35. C[hristopher Preston], Viscount Gormanston, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. According to their Lordships' commission, appointed a general muster, on Sunday last, at the hill of Tarragh, of every man from 16 to 60. There the Lords of Slane and Trimletston, and himself, met with intentions to accomplish their Lordships' pleasure, but found no appearance in effect, some few gentlemen excepted, and the whole number of all sorts in their view not many over 100. The thoroughfare of the soldiers, coming into several parts of the shire, whose trouble and charge could not be little. Extremities of the baronies of Fowre, Kells, Leene, Dace, Moyfenragh, and Morgallion. Condemns the greatest number of mighty default, which, in his opinion, may not be redressed, without authority henceforth to fine them. As for corporal punishment, does not see how the same may well be done, the fault being so general; and, to tell truth, finds unwillingness in most, their poverty being so great, and with no assurance of



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any pay; besides, the mighty wastes of the country, and all degrees are wonderfully decayed. Captains appointed in the baronies to take muster therein, and the gentlemen of the baronies commanded to assist them. These say that the people have great want of munition (needful for this service), and where or how they may be sped they know not, except their Lordships furnish them out of Her Majesty's store. Prays for their resolution therein.—1599, November 20. *Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 21. 36. Christopher [Plunket], Viscount Gormanston, to the Earl of Ormonde. Received this morning his Lordship's letters directing the Lord of Trimletston and himself to raise forth the foot of the shire presently, with fourteen days' victuals. Is sorry that, through an extreme cold lately taken by his travel to the hill of Taragh for the muster (where he found none appearance), and not having his health before, he is unable to attend upon his Lordship, or to take the air. Nevertheless, has sent his Lordship's letter, with his best advice, to the Lord of Trimletston, and has also written to the Sheriff presently to warn the country to rise forth, with victuals, as directed, and to take extraordinary pain therein.—Gormanston, 1599, November 21. *Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 22. 37. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. Praying for the payment of arrears due unto him, viz., 234*l.* and 139*l.* [*The details are very much the same as those given in the last paragraph of his letter of October 23 (vide supra).*].—Cork, 1599, November 22. *Holograph. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 22. 38. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. "There is newly come to me a boy from Ardraccan with the intelligence inclosed (*wanting*), which I thought it my duty to send unto your Lordships as I received it."—The Forows, 1599, November 22.  
[*Postscript.*] "The boy who brought this letter told me that, looking behind him as he came to Skryne, he saw divers towns on fire on this side Ardraccan by the Boyne side." *Holograph. p. 1.*

Nov. 22. 39. "An estimate of Tyrone's forces upon the relation of Thomas Barnewall, who was in his camp on Thursday last, being the 22nd of November, 1599." The forces in camp are first given, and then those opposing the garrisons of Dundalk, Ardee, Newry, Carrickfergus, as well as those "against Connaught." The totals of the first are, shot, 3,870; kern, 1,340; horse, 902: of the second, shot, 1,720; horse, 212: of the third, foot, 4,060; horse, 200. *Endorsed, "22 November, 1599," but evidently a few days later. In the handwriting of Lord Justice Carey. pp. 2.*

Nov. 25. 40. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir William Warren. "I have received your letters, whereby I understand that Her Majesty directed some message to be delivered by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and by you unto me, which is no hindrance, as your letter imports. to that which I intend.

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"Seeing it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you should deliver me her will, nothing prejudicial to the furtherance of my meaning and cause, which in reason I could not reject, I will undertake that none resident in my army here will do any hindrance to any of your side until to-morrow noon; and, if you will, I shall meet with you at the place where Mr. Peter Taffe left me the other day, wherein I may understand Her Majesty's will. And, if I had known that my Lord of Ormonde would intreat with me of the delivery of any message from Her Majesty, I would not in any sort refuse to confer with his Honour, but I thought his Honour, for his advantage, would prolong time, to the hindrance of mine intent. From my camp, this present Sunday, 1599." *Signed, "O'Neill." Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 26.

41. "Officers and artificers appointed for Her Majesty's service, to attend the artillery and munition in Ireland, which are not comprised in the ordinary list," (*this is noted as in "Lord Lieutenant's [Earl of Essex's] time of government"*); also, "A list of the ministers and artificers of the Ordnance, to be allowed out of the lendings of the Cannoneer[s], beginning 26 die Novembris, 1599" (*this is noted as "in the government of the Lords Justices"*). *pp. 2.*

Nov. 27.

Dublin.

42. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, John Walley, being occasioned to repair into England for the discharge of some services touching his late master, the Lord President of Munster, albeit I am much prevented to write at large to your Honour, by reason of a grievous ague, wherewith I have these seven days past been vexed, and constrained to keep my bed, but chiefly through a sudden direction (notwithstanding the same) to take upon me a journey to the northern borders, which how unable soever I am to endure (being very weak and much depressed therewith), I will (God willing) begin to-morrow morning; yet, in respect he is one trained up under myself, and whose conversation I know to be honest, and is made ripe and fit for employments, having last served the late Lord President in Munster, under whom he managed the place of Secretary, and gained his good opinion, I am humbly bold to recommend him herewith to your honourable regard, beseeching you to yield him your countenance and favour for his only and best means for preferment. And as I know it is not meant that places of special exercise and import for Her Majesty's service in Munster should be so lightly regarded, as to be referred over to the discharge of deputies or assignees in this troublesome time, when it is most needful to have the same with the best means and diligence executed, or not as the office of Clerk of the Council in that province now is, managed only by a youth, altogether unfit, which much distempereth the state of many causes, and maketh the place of greater neglect (the immediate officer himself being, through age and other debilities, not able to endure the trouble thereof): so as (your Honour having no employment for this gentleman) if by your honourable means that place may be conferred upon him, who is very able each way to



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perform the services thereof, I doubt not but that all things there will be more directly and perfectly carried than now they be, and Her Majesty's service in the place much advantaged; herein presuming the more, as a matter to be regarded, I doubt not, of your honourable consideration towards this gentleman." Will acknowledge any favour to him as done to himself.—Dublin, 1599, November 27. [*Postscript.*] "The fee of the office is but 20*l.* per annum; and yet, being executed by deputy, it doth but increase extortions and exactions, which do breed no small murmur in the province, where, if the office were settled in one that would occupy it himself, the service would be better performed, and the people better satisfied." *Signed.* pp. 1½.

Nov. 27.  
Upper  
Ossory.

43. F. [FitzPatrick], Baron of Upper Ossory, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Upon the repair over of this bearer, my servant and tenant, dwelling at Herrolds Grange, near Dublin, I have taken occasion to write these few lines to your Honour, thereby to give your Honour to understand that, upon the perusal of my late brother's writings, I have found many letters that have passed between your most worthy father and my said brother, both when he was in France from the King's Majesty, and here in Ireland; whereupon I presume to challenge that interest in you the son, which my said brother had in your honourable father, sending herewithal a few marten skins, to the number of fifteen, as a small token of my good will; my ability in respect of the calamity of this woeful kingdom being not able to afford that which my willing heart would do, to gratify you with something of more value; and therefore, craving pardon, do crave you to accept of my good will, beyond what might be given.

"Now may it please your Honour to understand that I have not to trouble you at this time, but only a small suit, on the behalf of my said servant and tenant, that where I hold the said farm of the Grange by the gift of King Edward, being parcel of St. Mary[']s Abbey, [it] ought to be free from all country charges; yet, for that I dwelt somewhat remote, the cessors and collectors doth (*sic*) charge the same, and oftentimes the soldiers do rife and take away all my poor tenants' goods; and also certain hamlets, and other members, belonging to the same, time beyond man's memory, are erroneously and unjustly subtracted, and by sinister means taken, from the said house and farm, to Her Majesty's great indignity and prejudice (being in remainder); that it may please your Honour to procure for me, and in the behalf of my said servant, their Lordships' favourable letters to the Governor here for the time being, to give straight order whereby I may have, as well the benefit of the ancient freedom allowed to the said house and farm, which here shall be sufficiently proved before the State at Dublin, as also to establish his quiet possession in the same lands, until it be recovered and evicted from him by ordinary course of common laws. And this the rather, because it is all the lands I have in the English Pale, and was given for the relief of my horses in my repair to Dublin; the most part thereof



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being in the tenure and occupation of a youth in ward for many years, who is allied and befriended in the Pale (where I shall have no indifferency)." Has much desired to see Her Majesty, but the troubles of Ireland give impediment. These once at an end or appeased, will do his bounden duty in that behalf.—Upper Ossory, 1599, November 27. [*Postscript.*] Sends one of Burghley's letters for Sir Robert to peruse. Begs that it may be returned, "that thereby my children may take notice of their most assured friends." *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

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44. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey to the Privy Council. "We hope that the two last despatches of the 24 of this instant, and then sent from us and the rest of this Council by the common post, are by this time come to your Lordships. And although we have not since then received any matters much worth the advertizing, yet that your Lordships may be pleased to conceive, that we would not willingly intermit any time, to let you know of all occurrents happening here in these days of so great danger, we do now again take occasion by this passage to write this much in private from ourselves to your Lordships. Wherein we do send unto your Lordships as well the copies of certain letters written unto us since that time from the Baron Delvin, with our answers to them, as also the copies of several letters lately received from the Lord Lieutenant of the army, with our answers to them also, and likewise the copies of two letters written from the arch-traitor Tyrone to Sir William Warren; the reading of all which albeit we know will be troublesome to your Lordships in your more weighty affairs, yet in the discharge of our bounden duty, and that your Lordships may conceive the whole course of our proceedings in these great dangers wherein the kingdom stands, we have nevertheless made humbly bold to be so far forth troublesome unto you.

"Your Lordships will see by the letters from the Lord Lieutenant of the army, his purpose to parley with Tyrone, and his desire to have Sir Geoffrey Fenton's company and assistance therein, and the Bishop of Meath's also, who was not here, nor upon the sudden could be sent for. And although for our own part we are of opinion that the success of that parley will rather increase the insolency of those proud traitors, than prove any way to the good of Her Majesty's service, we advised Mr. Secretary, according Her Majesty's former directions to him, to assist his Lordship according his desire in that parley, to which, although he was not (nor hath not been this sevensnight past) in good health, he hath addressed himself, and is betimes this morning set forwards towards his Lordship; and what shall be done therein we will, with all the speed we may, advertize the same to your Lordships.

"Your Lordships will perceive by the Lord Lieutenant's letters how much he complaineth of the weakness of the army, which we are exceedingly grieved to hear and find true. It proceeds chiefly through the sickness grown generally among them, which we attribute to the corruptness of the victuals, and their nakedness by the want of their winter apparel not yet arrived. And as to

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the corruption and badness of the victuals mentioned by his Lordship, the whole fault must be laid on them who were the first purveyors of such rotten and unserviceable stuff, yet have we used our best endeavours to help it in the stowage and garnering thereof here.

“Sir Arthur Savage is now come hither from that charge in Connaught, wherein the Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom left him, and we calling him to an account for that departure, in a time of so great danger, he stood upon two points for his defence. First, that what commission was left him by the Lord Lieutenant of the realm for that government (with which, if any were, we were not, made acquainted) was carried away by the Baron of Dunkellin, who is now there in England; and the second, that he had a kind of a license from me, the Treasurer, for his coming hither, which I must thus answer in mine own discharge. In the time of the last cessation, Sir Arthur wrote unto me that he had some special matters of importance touching Her Majesty’s service to impart to me and the State, and therefore desired that he might have leave to repair hither to that end. I answered him by my private letters that, if he could leave the house of Athlone well provided for and secure, and be sure also that O’Donnell had no purpose, or were not in readiness, to enter into that province, I could be content that he should then (being in the time of cessation) make a start hither for three or four days, to understand what that was, which he would so fain impart to me and the Council. In which conditional leave I, the Chancellor, did afterwards join with the Treasurer; and since that time, being above a month past, neither in time of cessation nor since till now, we heard not any more from him in that matter. But now, a great while after the cessation, he hath repaired hither, notwithstanding our timely advertisement to him (in that time of cessation) of Tyrone’s purpose not to continue it any longer than the 14 days, and that he could not himself be ignorant of O’Donnell’s preparation and intent to enter Connaught, for the spoil of the countries of Clanrickard and Thomond, which we signified unto him, as himself doth confess, and as by other letters written to him, and by us seen, doth manifestly appear. And now, he being taxed by us for that his remiss manner of proceeding in that great charge committed to him, we required him that he would exactly set down in writing under his hand in what state he had left the several parts of that province, and Her Majesty’s army remaining in it, the copy whereof we do herewith send to your Lordships; by which you will find that Sir Gerald Harvey, whom we formerly appointed to take charge of the town of Galway and the soldiers there (who were without any man of worth to command them), is now by him left at Athlone, clean contrary to our direction formerly given. We have now commanded Sir Arthur to return presently to his charge; and, although we urged him thereunto upon his duty to Her Majesty, yet did we perceive an unwillingness in him to return thither, unless he might have commission from us, and entertainment to enable him thereunto, disclaiming now that license of me,



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the Treasurer, by him pretended, and alleging that the cause indeed, which made him come from thence, was the want of that commission and entertainment now by him desired. Whereupon, we entering into consideration of the present danger of the time, and the necessity of some man of his quality to reside there, we have both granted him commission for that government, and also thus far presumed upon Her Majesty's bounty as to make him an allowance of 20s. *per diem*, as an extraordinary entertainment, to bear his charge there, until we shall understand Her Majesty's further pleasure therein, and that she do like of it to begin at the time of the Earl of Essex his going hence, the rather that since that time Her Highness hath not been charged with the entertainment of a Governor and Council there, as was accustomed, which amounted to a far greater sum. And understanding by his report of the want of victuals at Athlone, being now even the key of that province, and chief defence on that side to this province of Leinster, we have written to the Lady Dillon, Francis Shaen, and others on that border to supply the place with corn and other victuals, down the river of Shannon, and have also this morning dispatched away two special men, born in that part of Westmeath, who, with the money that we have delivered them, and their credit and knowledge in the country, will, we hope, together with the other course, furnish the place in some good measure, whereof we will hereafter advertise your Lordships. When we were thus near the end of our letter, we received a letter from Sir Gerald Harvey, the copy whereof we send to your Lordships, which, in our great care of the place, hath made us both to dispatch other messengers with letters for that victualling to the effect of the former, doubting lest they should be intercepted, as many times letters are, and also to hasten away Sir Arthur Savage, who hath promised us to be gone within these two or three days. And even now we are given to understand that our foresaid letters, in answer to the Lord Delvin's, the copy whereof (as we said before) we send your Lordships, were openly read before his Lordship and many of the gentlemen of that country; and that, albeit we advised him to keep and defend his house, and not to parley or speak with Tyrone in any sort, yet, upon Monday last in the morning, he, with his own company of 150 foot, a part of Captain Mynn's company lying at Mullingar, and of Captain Francis Shaen's company at Ballymore in Westmeath, with a good number both of horse and foot of the gentlemen of the country, were on their way towards Tyrone, but to what end, or by what authority, we know not. We pray God it be for the best, but we, that are jealous of this dangerous State, do fear the worst. We must still presume to importune your Lordships to hasten hither money and also apparel for the poor naked soldiers, the want whereof and corrupt victuals hath brought them to that misery of sickness, as it makes them altogether unserviceable, and [it] is most grievous for us to behold them. Lastly, and above all the rest, we do most humbly beseech your Lordships to be a mean to Her most excellent Majesty to send hither, as speedily as may be, a martial man,



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fit for the government of this distressed kingdom.”—Dublin, 1599, November 28. *Endorsed, Received the 5th of December at Whitehall. Signed. Seal. pp. 3½. Enclose,*

44. I. C[hristopher Nugent], Baron Delvin, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, and the rest of the Council. “I am now in the greatest extremity that may be, being environed with Tyrone’s forces between me and Trim, the Leinster forces on the other quarter between Athboy and Portlester and the great moor, and O’Rourke’s forces being in the next part of the county of Longford, ready to enter this country, and draw forward all to meet about my house here, which is made rather for pleasure than defence. I posted one with a letter to the Navan, not doubting but my Lord Lieutenant had been there with forces able to relieve me; but this day the whole country being on fire, my boy returned with my own letters from the Navan, and told me that there were no forces, but a few, for the defence of the town, and that his Lordship returned to Dublin, which was a cold comfort for me, whose person is most desired by them of any in this kingdom. Therefore I beseech your Lordships, direct me with all speed what course to hold; whether I shall steal away, if I can, to your Lordships, and so save one that may hereafter serve the Queen in a better time; or stay here subject to all adventures of fortune, in a weak house, not possible long to be kept, the country being already overrun. I sent away part of my children yesterday towards Maynooth, which I fear are taken by the rebels. I mistrust a great part of the country will revolt, some according their own lewd disposition, as I formerly wrote unto your Lordships, and others in respect they have no defence.”—Clonin, 1599, November 22. Copy. p. 1.

44. II. C[hristopher Nugent], Baron Delvin, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. “Notwithstanding my former letters of importance, I have sent the bearer, my Lieutenant, instructed to acquaint your Lordships with mine own present estate, and other matters greatly importing Her Majesty’s service; to whom it may please your Lordships to give credit.”—Clonin, 1599, November 22. Copy. p. ½.

44. III. “Motions made to the right honourable the Lords Justices and Council, in the behalf of the Lord Baron of Delvin, 24 November, 1599.”

To grant a special commission to the said Baron, “or his wife, or whom else he shall think meet,” to parley and work all the best means that may be devised, for the safety of himself and the country.

That 200 or 300 at least of the soldiers garrisoned at Trim, Athboy, or thereabouts, be presently posted for the defence of his “corn, house, and person,” which is most of all shot at, and the rather that those walled towns will not be assaulted until the country be altogether destroyed.

The Lord Lieutenant [the Earl of Ormonde], with all that he can to draw presently to Athboy, where he may be at liberty to leave or take, and stand indifferent to march safe forward, for the

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relief of the said Lord Delvin and that distressed country, or backward for Eastmeath, as occasion may serve. And, if the said Lord Delvin shall be wished to make any treaty for Her Majesty and the country, to have it with the rest in writing.

On Tuesday last, Christopher FitzOliver, a gentleman of Westmeath, being nearly allied to O'Reilly's wife, and having certain intelligence of the enemy's purpose to overrun the country, met them by the way, and of himself demanded the cause of his great envy towards Lord Delvin. Tyrone answered that Lord Delvin "was the only block that hindered him from overrunning the whole kingdom," and vowed that he would never leave Westmeath until he had overrun him; whereupon the gentleman of himself (as from Lord Delvin) desired that they might have some reasonable time to answer. Whereupon Tyrone was content to give them days till Monday next, and suspecting that the gentleman was not sent by Lord Delvin, he sent a priest together with the gentleman to know the certainty thereof. In the meantime Lord Delvin desired to be relieved with some reasonable force, so that Tyrone should not expect to be so fully satisfied in his unreasonable demand as peradventure he would look to be, if he saw not Lord Delvin able to defend himself. A commission for the parley on Monday next asked for, or advice to Lord Delvin what course to hold. His house to be besieged.

Lieutenant Thomas Lyecester, who signs these "motions," prays to be returned with all expedition, "lest that the enemy should have notice of my coming hither, and so in the meantime seek to effect their wicked purpose against my Lord, and to cut off myself by the way." Copy. pp. 2.

44. iv. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council to [Christopher Nugent], Baron Delvin. Have received his letters, together with the message he sent them by his Lieutenant; by all which they perceive the great danger and distress his Lordship stands in. Will to the uttermost of their power labour to relieve the same, having, before the receipt of his letters, and now again, written to the Lord Lieutenant (who on Thursday night was at the Navan, with such strength and forces that they hope his Lordship shall not need to fear much in his house), to take all possible care of him. Assure themselves that Ormonde with his army will be able not only to remove all danger from him, but also to repel that Archtraitor out of the country. "And where your Lordship desires our advice, whether you shall come hither yourself and leave your house guarded, therein we see no safety to your person (whereof we have more care than of all that country), and therefore we wish your Lordship, having your own company with you, to keep your house, which will be safer for you, and much more comfortable to many others than your remove will be; for (as we have already said) we hope you shall endure no extremity of siege, considering the great army with the Lord Lieutenant; and your coming from thence will not only discomfort all your own friends, but dismay the whole country. And as for entertaining any parley or treaty with the rebel, we wish (now that Her Majesty's army is afoot)



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that you forbear any speech or parley with him, which will be most honourable both to Her Majesty and yourself, unless you be so advised and authorized by the Lord Lieutenant."—Dublin, 1599, November 24. Copy. pp. 1½.

44. v. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey.* Notwithstanding his dispatch of Mr. Marshal to their Lordships to acquaint them particularly with their wants, and how occurrents do pass, has nevertheless thought fit by his letters to deliver some particulars thereof. Encloses a list of the strength of the companies at the Navan, and how the rest garrisoned upon those borders are disposed of for the defence of the incorporate towns, from which they cannot be drawn without hazarding the loss of the same. Prays they may be kept as they are. Has no hope (as he formerly wrote) of the 600 foot and 400 horse promised by the Pale, although he has been ready to give them all the assistance he could. Some of the noblemen have been to see him, without bringing any with them. Their Lordships may do well to question Barnewell about the principal men that are to parley with Tyrone on Monday or Tuesday next. Notwithstanding his many warrants to the Sheriff of Meath, has not yet got one garran to bring the victuals to the Navan. Is informed the victuals are unserviceable. The small quantity of treasure sent him, without any instructions for its issue. Begg for a greater proportion, without which he will not be able to keep the companies together. Prays that the stockings and shoes for the army may be hastened away, with some apparel, if possible, for many of the soldiers go barefoot and naked in most miserable sort. The Captains are much discontented that they cannot receive half money and half victuals, as, they say, they were promised. Prays their Lordships to hasten Lord Dunsany to his charge. Is informed that none of his horsemen and but few of his foot are at Kells. The bark with munition appointed for Drogheda is not yet heard of, though said to have been laden three weeks past. If the wind do not serve, begs that some other course may be taken to supply their wants.

As he finds the army at the Navan much weaker than he looked for, has given instructions to Mr. Marshal to bring thither some of the forces from the Naas; and prays their Lordships to dispatch him again with speed, because he cannot be spared from Navan. Is ready to spend his life in his Sovereign's service, but all his wants he expects to be supplied by their Lordships.—Navan, 1599, November 25.

[Postscript.] "Out of these few troops, I am forced to send some companies to Trim and other places, to strengthen those poor towns; and I fear, when they come there, they will be in danger to be surprised by the rebels and hunger; and, if the traitors keep any time in the field, I know not how the companies can be victualled.

"I pray your Lordships send presently hither some swords for the army, for that the most part of the soldiers do want them.

"At the making up of this letter, I received yours of the 24 of this instant, with the several copies thereinclosed, being sorry that your Lordships refused the Lord Baron of Delvin's offer for his



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coming to Dublin, which if you had taken, and advised him thereto, you had been assured of his own person, who might also have been, as I fear the case standeth, a good pledge upon others. Sir Anthony Cooke, I hear, is not yet gone. I pray your Lordships, dispatch him away with speed, otherwise I fear the Castle of Cahir will be lost, if Desmond come into those parts, as I hear he doth. Of all these things, in discharge, of my duty to Her Majesty, let her be made acquainted with all haste." Copy. pp. 2.

44. VI. A certificate of the present number of men in the foot companies and horse troops, mustered before the Lord Lieutenant at Navan, 24 November, 1599. Totals:—foot; in list, 1,900, present, 1,132; horse; in list, 430, present, 291. Signed by Edward Hayes, Commissary of the army, who adds a memorandum, "Here are not mentioned any sick men, left behind in their quarters, and fallen by the way upon their march, as by certificate, under the magistrate's hands, from sundry places appeareth, and are in manner a fourth part of this army; which weakness is imputed to proceed of corrupt victuals, and want of clothes, in this hard season of the year. Moreover, herein is neither dead pay nor any absent mentioned." Commissary Hayes also notes, with regard to the horse, "that the English horses are for the most part poor." pp. 2½.

44. VII. The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. "Sir William Warren hath been with me from Tyrone, who desireth to have a parley with me, and till Friday to have a cessation. I pray your Lordships therefore to hasten Sir Geoffrey Fenton unto me, so that he may be with me at Drogheda on Wednesday morning by ten of the clock, to accompany me that night to Ardee, for that I purpose the next day to repair towards the place of meeting." Again prays that Sir Geoffrey may be hastened. "If wishing would serve, I would my Lord of Meath were with me, so it were no trouble to him."—Navan, 1599, November 26. Copy. p. ½.

44. VIII. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council to the Earl of Ormonde. Have received his letters by Mr. Marshal, together with the list of the strength of the army, which they are very sorry falls out to be no stronger. Have learned as much from Burnewell as at this time he knew, and have dispatched him again in the same business, "whom we wish your Lordship had forborne to have named for his more safety." Have again written straitly to the Sheriff of Meath. As he is now nearer Ormonde, pray him to take some severe course with the Sheriff. Wish they could have afforded a greater quantity of treasure. Are even now labouring all they may to borrow 500l. more to send him, which is as much as they will be able to do. As for instructions for the issue of it, all they can say is, that the companies may live upon the victuals as long as may be with their drinking money, "because the victuals will be less serviceable every day," and by that means the money may be drawn to stretch the longer. The paymaster [at Navan] has been told to follow Ormonde's directions. The winter apparel is not yet come, but they hope that by this time

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*the stockings and shoes lately sent for 2,000 men are come to him. Mr. Marshal tells them he met Lord Dunsany on his way towards Ormonde. Are grieved that the bark with the munition has not arrived, but Sir George Bouchier did not regard their advices and directions. Complaint concerning him.*

*"We were sorry to understand of your Lordship's purpose to draw some of the forces with Mr. Marshal from the Naas, considering the openness of all these parts, and the strength of these mountain rebels, whom we have laboured all we can to contain, by sending them as they desired protection, according your Lordship's advice; which whether they will now accept, we do not yet know; but since the whole charge of the army and martial government is committed to you, we leave it to your Lordship's disposition, not doubting but you will gravely consider the great mischiefs still threatened to this city and the whole country adjoining, which if the rebels, for want of force and a martial man in these parts, shall be able to execute, how dangerous and dishonourable it would be, we likewise leave to your Lordship's good consideration.*

*"Touching the Lord of Delvin, whose desire to come to Dublin your Lordship is sorry we did not satisfy, we hold it more safe both for him and us (he meaning well) not to have yielded thereunto; for, besides the casual danger he might have fallen in, what, under pretence of our allowance of his remove, of set purpose might have been done, your Lordship doth easily conceive; and we suspect that his Lieutenant, who carried our said letters, will not pass to him without intercepting, and all of set purpose."*

*Have ordered Sir Anthony Cooke to repair to his charge. Before the receipt of Ormonde's letters, had acquainted the Privy Council with all the contents thereof, except the strength of the army, which they cannot well do, until the Commissary certify the sick and deficient soldiers. Will acquaint the Privy Council of this certificate, when it has been received. Will do all they possibly can to supply Ormonde's wants. For the present, will take order to send him some powder overland, although they hoped he would with greater ease have been more plentifully provided. Even at the writing hereof, at eleven o'clock this morning, they received Ormonde's letters of yesternight, wherewith they acquainted Sir Geoffrey Fenton. Though he be sickly, yet will he strain himself to attend Ormonde, in such sort as his Lordship shall understand from him. "We pray your Lordship to take great care that none of the country gentlemen attend you in this parley, for their often going to the like hath done much harm."—Dublin, 1599, November 27. Copy. pp. 2.*

*44. IX. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir William Warren. "I am ready to speak with my Lord of Ormonde in the place where I have spoken with the Earl of Essex; but passing, before the receipt of your letter, that way, I do not think it so convenient, because we cannot well hear one another, for the greatness of the water there. Wherefore, if it seem fit to his Honour to come near Thomastown, where the river is narrower, I take it to be the fittest place; which I leave to his Honour's discretion. But I assure you*



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*we cannot either by speaking or sending concur to determine what we intend at Balalagan. As for to give you any further time after our speeches for to place men in your garrisons, we will take order when we meet together. I rest, Killeny, this present Wednesday [November 21], 1599.* [Postscript.] *"We cannot possibly talk at Athelynt, or in any place in that part, unless we do it near Thomastown."* Signed, O'Neill. Copy. p. 1.

44. x. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir William Warren. [Duplicate of No. 40, under date, 25 November, 1599]. Endorsed, 25 November, 1599. p. 1.

44. xi. "Matters wherein we require to be satisfied by you, Sir Arthur Savage, knight."

"What companies have you appointed to assist the Earls of Clanrickarde and Thomond? Item, what companies have you assigned to assist Tibbott Ne Long upon any occasion?"

"I left all the companies of Athenry, namely, Captain Mostyn, the three Burkes, Sir Robert Lovell, besides my Lord of Clanrickarde's company, and both his sons, and some convenient number out of Galway.

"Item, to deliver unto us in writing under your hand in what case you have left both for men and victuals the holds of Roscommon, Tusk, and the Boyle.

"The Constables of Roscommon, Tusk, and the Boyle, have undertaken their charges, till the last of January, being victualled, manned, and having store of munition to their liking; only they complain for want of clothes for their men.

"Item, also to set down under your hand in what state you have left the Castle of Athlone, both what strength of men to defend it, and what proportion of victuals to sustain the men, and for what time, and what store of munition have you left there?"

"I left the Castle of Athlone under the command of Sir Gerald Harvey, manned with the ward allowed, and saving that nightly there is put in three soldiers for the better guard. I left them monied at 8*d.* a day till the last of this month, and the market then served well. If they happened to be blocked up by the incursion of the enemy, Sir Gerald Harvey had private instruction to kill all the cows of the town and to take the salt, and to put it for provision into the Castle." Signed by Sir Arthur Savage. Endorsed by Lord Justice Carey, 27 November, 1599. p. 1.

44. xii. Sir Gerald Harvey to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. On Friday, the 24th of November, the rebels preyed Athlone. About 80 of the garrison, through the indiscretion of some of the officers, fell into an ambush three miles from the town, and were chased by the rebels to within a quarter of a mile of it. Was forced to retire his few men for the assuring of the town. Lost four or five of his best men. "I fear this success will embolden them so much, that this side of the town towards Dublin will be as much troubled as the other, and that the market will be stopped, so that the Castle will be in very ill taking, having not three days' victuals in it. I beseech your Lordships think upon this, and send us some munition, for our wants are



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*exceeding great, being not able at this time to supply ourselves from Galway. I received a letter at this instant from Sir Thomas Burke, who doth assure me that our companies are safely passed to Galway, and that O'Donnell is come into Clanrickarde."* Will not fail to send any further intelligence he gains.—Athlone, 1599, November 24. Copy. p. 1.

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45. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "Our wants are great, and the troubles and dangers many. I wish and beseech your Honour, if it were so pleasing to Her Majesty, that some fit Governor were sent hither. Mr. Secretary Fenton hath been evil at ease this sennight, yet is he this day ridden to Tredath, and to-morrow doth overget my Lord of Ormonde at Ardee. And so it is agreed that there shall be a meeting with that Archtraitor, who I am persuaded is past all grace, and all hope of ever to become (*sic*) a loyal or dutiful subject. And yet I find that these rebels are in their minds much cumbered lest the peace betwixt England and Spain should take effect, and more doubtful lest their means from Scotland should be taken from them: which may easily be effected in my poor opinion, which is, by the King himself, or else by keeping two ships continually on those coasts, with four or five small pinnaces or large boats to attend those services. This course will distress them more by taking from them their means out of Scotland, than all their helps out of Spain did ever relieve them.

"The fear I have of the Baron of Delvin's joining with Tyrone doth cumber me exceedingly; but, if he stood firm, I do assure myself it will stay a great many which now stand wavering. We have almost as many sick of our people as we have whole and able to do service. The want of winter apparel, and badness of victuals, with the unwholesomeness of this cursed climate, until men's bodies are thoroughly acquainted [therewith], doth occasion much sickness, whereof many die or hardly recover."—Dublin, 1599, November 28.

[*Postscript.*] "Whereas I formerly wrote that I had discharged Her Majesty's pinnace called the *Popinjay*, and laid her up for this winter; now, upon better consideration, lest mischief should happen unto her lying aground in the dangerous times, I have this last spring, caused her to draw down the river, and have put into [her] twenty men for her better safety." *Holograph.* pp. 2.

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46. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This day, at twelve of the clock, I received direction from the Earl of Ormonde to meet him to-morrow at the borders, partly to give his Lordship assistance in this great service he hath now in charge against Tyrone, and partly to perform a meeting with Tyrone, if such a matter shall fall out, of which his Lordship hath written nothing in certainty. How unseasonably this falleth out for me at this time, it may please your Honour to judge, considering that, these eight days next before, I have for sickness kept my chamber, and, for the most part, my bed, and now upon the sudden, being weak

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and distempered, I am called out to a journey, dangerous and remote, not having so much as ten hours' respite. Nevertheless, I will, God willing, not fail to answer his Lordship according to his time and place appointed, if through feebleness I sink not by the way; for Her Majesty's service must be preferred before all other respects. This is only to acquaint your Honour with the suddenness of my calling out; for, touching the sequel and issue of this journey, I can advertise you nothing, no, not so much as conjecturally, for that I know not how this sudden meeting with Tyrone is wrought, whether by our industry, or by his; but I think it riseth more by some wooing of our side than by his seeking; and that maketh me fear that the event will be rather dishonourable than allowable. Yet, for that I doubt Her Majesty cannot be fitted to reinforce her army, but by the help of some temporising, and to the end Her Majesty may take the longer time both to deliberate and resolve, I will do what I can to win time of him; which, how little soever it be, will yet be commodious for Her Majesty's affairs, and give a breathing time to this poor country of the English Pale, which, being the heart of the kingdom, is almost become without heart. This is written as I was going to horse; our further proceeding and succeeding shall be signified to you at more leisure, I hope."—Dublin, 1599, November 28. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Nov. 29.

47. "A Memorial concerning the Lord Justice Treasurer" [Carey], addressed by Thomas Watson to [Sir Robert Cecil]. The great need of Charles Huet to declare an account of Sir Henry Wallop, and to assist the Treasurer in certifying the state of his accounts. Unskilfulness of the people now with the Treasurer, who "will be near undone" without Huet's help.

"Mr. Treasurer's desire is, that your Honour will be pleased to be a mean that he may, before the delivery of the sword to the Deputy now to go over, grace one or two of his good friends now there, being men of worth and desert, with knighthood; which number of two he will not exceed, neither will adventure to do it without your Honour's direction.

"His desire is that, upon the staying of my Lord of Essex's entertainments, your Honour will take knowledge that he hath imprested him two months' entertainment, which was done, as the Treasurer protesteth, before he had any suspicion of his coming into England." *Endorsed, 1599, November 29. Signed. p. 1.*

Nov. 29.  
Castletown.

48. Sir Charles O'Carroll to Sir Robert Cecil. Accounts himself the most unhappy man in Ireland, by reason of the manifold crosses that have lighted on him in these wars. Is the more worthy of these griefs that he has so silenced his pen, and neglected Cecil, to whom he is most bound. Has not yet obtained the command of the foot company he hoped for, although the Earl of Essex gave him warrant to raise 100 men in Her Majesty's pay, to begin from the 24th of May last. Arrears due to him, amounting in all to 1,896*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* Has often made suit to the State to be paid, but is answered that order must be taken for him in



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England, because they have no authority to pay such sums. Has consumed both himself and many friends in bearing this heavy charge. What service he has done to Her Majesty in this time, he refers to the report of any that affect the good success of the service. Begs Sir Robert to procure him payment of the arrears due to him. "I am the more earnest and bold to sue for payment, because I know I have performed better service to Her Majesty than they that have received 100,000*l.* of Her Highness[*s*] treasure, as the State here do well know."

Asks for the command of one regiment, with the allowance of 50 horse and 150 foot in Her Majesty's ordinary pay, and if he does not perform such good service as shall deserve such a command, he will lose his credit with Sir Robert for ever, and his life in the service; "for I have imbrued my hands so far in traitors' blood, as I must violently prosecute them, or they will have my life. I was never in more distress, and therefore let me be comforted now or never." Begs for sure letters from England, or else he hopes for little in Ireland. "The traitor Tyrone and all his imps do so thirst after my blood, as by the assistance of God (in granting this my request) I will repay into their bosoms to their confusion."

"I have an approved good goshawk for your Honour, which I would now have sent, but for winter weather's sake; at the spring your Honour shall receive her with a new coat; at which time your Honour shall hear further from me." Again desires Sir Robert to remember his suits.—Castletown, 1599, November 29. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 30.  
Whitehall.

49. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. "Although we cannot at this time write so particularly unto you of all things, as the necessity of Her Majesty's affairs doth require (whereof it is almost incredible to see the universal distraction), yet to the intent you may know that the advertisements are not neglected, but a consideration is had to prepare all particulars, whereon a foundation may be laid to build the main work of Her Majesty's service, we think good to give you answer to divers particulars of your letter of the 17th of November, as followeth, although we must refer many of them until our next despatch.

You have jointly and very sensibly described the particularities of this Traitor's horrible treasons, which though they are broken forth now more palpably than heretofore, in many notorious circumstances, yet no man of any sound judgment apprehended less of it in substance long before this time, so as for that point we need say no more, but that we are all of your minds, and must all concur in our several duties to do Her Majesty the best service we can. For the second point, wherein you have used consideration to forbear the execution of Her Majesty's commandment in the point of any treaty, because the time hath now given notorious causes of alteration of that counsel, which was (*sic*) not known before to her as since it hath been, Her Majesty hath commanded us to let you know, that she alloweth very well of that discreet consideration, and doth require you to use her name to so odious



a traitor no more than to cast pearls before swine. You shall also understand that Her Majesty hath commanded a nobleman according to all your desires to prepare himself within twenty days to go over to take charge of that kingdom; and, for the present necessity, hath commanded a month's pay more to be sent over, which is already telling in the hands of the servants of you, the Lord Justice Treasurer.

"But Her Majesty is still informed so certainly of the miseries wherein the companies live in Munster, and doth so apparently see the confusion which grows to the service, by sending the supplies for that province first to Dublin, as Her Majesty hath commanded us to let you know resolutely, that the supplies for that province shall be directly carried from hence thither, both of men, victuals, and apparel, hereafter, and, above all things, the treasure. For which purpose, as we do presently send over to Cork some quantity of victual, of which we hear the army there is in great want, so we have stayed 4,000*l.* of this treasure, to be sent thither to your paymaster that lieth at Cork. And therefore, as we require him orderly to issue it, so we expect that you shall, with all possible speed, send authority thither to some assigns to receive it from time to time, and to carry it to Bristol, and not to Chester, that it may pass directly thither, and under your account (a matter which peradventure you, the Treasurer, will impugn, but we require you to understand hereby, that it is so resolved, as by no disputations it will be changed). Herein we must further add, that you are more slenderly furnished with numbers of servants of sufficiency than Sir Henry Wallop was, although for Watson, one who dealt with us in diverse things committed to his charge, we find him both discreet and diligent, though neither he nor any man living can make it appear to us (especially to me, the Lord Treasurer), but that the issues of victual, the deficiency of numbers, the defalcation of arms, and the payments made here to a great part of the army, from March till the 14th of April (before which time they arrived not), hath left great sums in your hands, which may both supply the payments growing, and remedy the lacks in many things, for which you pretend to be driven so oft to make such hard shifts. But of that point we will write further, because you say you will write more particularly to us, and, because we will rather be beforehand with you than otherwise, you may receive satisfaction by this portion, which we send away presently. For the matter of victuals, we doubt not but that there may be great abuse in the providers, whom we have called to account here, and so we know that the Commissaries there, that are sworn for the Queen to receive it, are not without great faults; and therefore we pray you examine it strictly, and to join in every place with the Queen's Commissary some officer of the port or town, or some other officer, that may be also present at the reviewing thereof, to the intent it may once clearly appear, without posting one to another, in whom the fault is, which we will see severely punished, in whomsoever it is, and so we trust you will do. And because it is very con-

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venient in this matter of victual [that] there be an orderly proceeding, we do require you to send over presently Newcomen, the Victualler, with all his books and reckonings, with whom there may be particular conference concerning the same, till which time we cannot resolve of any certain establishment. There be many other things contained in that despatch, whereunto we will make present answer only this point. It seemeth to us of all things most improbable, that Her Majesty should pay such full numbers, when all the world crieth out that, saving upon the muster day, there are few Captains of hundreds able to show threescore, and that it is apparent by your own letters that you are doubtful almost of every place where the enemy shall attempt."—The Court at Whitehall, 1599, November 30. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 198-199b. Copy. pp. 2½.*

Nov. [30]. 50. Sir George Bouchier to the Privy Council. Sends divers books and papers relating to the Ordnance. Prays for better maintenance for himself and his clerks.—Dublin, 1599, November [30]. *Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th of December. Signed. p. 1. Encloses,*

50. I. "*The expense of arms issued out of the store at Dublin from the first of March to the last of September following, 1599, as appeareth by several warrants and bills of Captains and others of the army, remaining in the office of the Ordnance.*" Total, 1,234l. 2s. 4d. *Signed by Sir George Bouchier. pp. 9.*

50. II. "*Munition issued out of the store at Dublin, and spent by the army, from the first of March to the last of September, 1599, as appeareth by several warrants and bills of Captains and others of the army, remaining in the office of the Ordnance.*" Total, fifteen lasts and two barrels of powder. *Signed by Sir George Bouchier. pp. 12.*

50. III. "*The state of the office of the Ordnance in Ireland, at the arrival of the Lord Lieutenant there in April, 1599;*" also, "*The state of the proportion of artillery, arms, and munition, sent into Ireland with the Lord Lieutenant in April, 1599.*" *Signed by Sir George Bouchier. One large sheet.*

50. IV. Warrant by the Earl of Essex to Sir George Bouchier, Master of the Ordnance, and Captain John Davies, Lieutenant of the same, for restraining the defalcation of powder spent by the army in Ireland.—1599, April 21. *Copy. p. ½.*

50. V. "*A note of the charge, issue, and remain of Her Majesty's store at the Newry and Carlingford, from the first of March unto the last of September, 1599.*" *Signed by Anthony Ersfield. Copy. p. 1.*

50. VI. "*The charge, issues, and remain of Her Majesty's store of munition at Galway from the first of March, 1598[9], unto the 18th of October, 1599, including the waste and expenditures in the late service for Sligo, Daniel Barnes being appointed by warrant to take charge of the munition in that service.*" *Signed by John Pavey. pp. 3.*



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50. VII. "*A brief of the expense of munition and arms, and of the remain left in store in charge of the Master of the Ordnance and his ministers, from the first of March to the last of September, 1599.*" *Signed by Sir George Bouchier.* p. 1.

Nov. [30]. 51. Sir George Bouchier to Sir Robert Cecil. Understands of some blame imputed to him for not certifying the expense of munition since March last. Has endeavoured by all means to make a perfect certificate; but the munition sent to Ireland was disposed so far abroad, and in the hands of such Commissaries as brought it out of England, and were not accountable to him, that he had no command of either the one or the other. Only a fourth part came under his charge in Dublin, and he has sent a book of the expense thereof to their Lordships. Has also sent them a view of the whole state of his office. Prays for an increase of entertainment. Sends a copy of Essex's warrant regarding the munition.—Dublin, 1599, November [30]. *Signed. Seal.* p. 1. *Encloses,*

51. I. *Warrant by the Earl of Essex* [Duplicate of No. 50 iv. above].—1599, April 21. *Copy.* p. ½.

Nov. 52. Sir Theobald Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. If he is to have nothing for his maintenance, until his living be settled, prays that the Lords Justices may be instructed to afford him extraordinary favour, and that he may have the first suitable pension that shall fall vacant in Ireland; so that his kinsmen, followers, and such as depend upon him, may thus know that his service is respected, and himself greatly favoured. *Signed. Endorsed,* November, '99. p. 1.

[Nov.] 53. "*A memorial on the behalf of Sir Geoffrey Fenton,*" [addressed to Sir Robert Cecil.] Praying for Her Majesty's letter to "the Lord Deputy of Ireland" [Lord Mountjoy was under orders to go], authorising him to pass to Fenton in reversion, the house and lands of Clontarf, near Dublin, now in the possession and occupation of George King, gentleman; or, at least, that Cecil "will be pleased to lay in the way of" any other suitors for the same. Fenton has lately taken a small farm of Lord Howth, near Clontarf. *No date.* [A grant was made to Fenton of the above on 27 August, 1600, under the Queen's letter of 24 July, 1600. See also letter below of 4 January, 1599-1600.] *Draft.* p. ½.

[Nov.] 54. "Remembrances for the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary on the behalf of Sir George Carey, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland." Governors of Connaught and Munster to be speedily sent into Ireland. All the absent Captains to be sent over to their charge. License from Her Majesty to grant wards during the continuance of the now Lords Justices. Mr. Treasurer meaneth not to give any, but to make the most of them for the Queen's benefit. They now yield Her Majesty nothing. License to grant pensions as they fall void; Mr. Treasurer will erect no new pension, but give those that fall to men of desert. To know what entertainment the



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Lords Justices shall be allowed during their continuance in office. To know from what time my Lord of Essex's entertainment shall cease. To know from what time the Earl of Ormonde's entertainment of 3*l. per diem*, as Lieutenant of the army, shall cease, or whether it shall continue. To know whether the absent Captains' entertainment shall be stayed from the time of their coming over with Essex, or from the receipt of the [Privy] Council's letter at Dublin on November 14. To procure some money for extraordinaries, and that the expending of part thereof may be left to Mr. Treasurer's discretion. To procure warrant from Her Majesty for all the money that hath been issued by concordatum since Essex's going into Ireland. To procure her warrant for payment of the 2,000 foot above the list of 16,000. To procure her warrant for the 1,000*l.* for extraordinaries, delivered to Essex when he went his journey into the north. To have warrant for the laying forth of money for the shipping, according to an account formerly sent to the Lord Treasurer [Buckhurst]. Mr. Treasurer's desire is, that no more than 9,000 soldiers' suits be sent into Ireland for the next apparelling, unless the army be increased; for he will undertake to make 70 suits serve every company of 100. Mr. Treasurer's complaint of the victuallers for sending over corrupt victuals. His desire is that no more victuals be sent over, until he send warrant, and that the victuallers send them monthly, according to the course formerly held by Mr. Beverley. To take some order with Sir Henry Bronckerd in England for the payment of 2,000*l.*, due for the farm of the impost. To know whether hereafter powder and shot shall be defalked, as well as arms. To procure some order for present cost to be bestowed upon the *Popinjay*, that now lies at Dublin. It is very old, and not fit for the sea, until repaired. There will be great want of her service.—[1599, November.] *Copy. pp. 1½.*

[Nov.]

55. "Articles intended to be stood upon by Tyrone." *Sir Robert Cecil has endorsed these with the word, "Ewtopia."*

"1. That the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion be openly preached and taught throughout all Ireland, as well in cities as borough towns, by Bishops, seminary priests, Jesuits, and all other religious men.

"2. That the Church of Ireland be wholly governed by the Pope.

"3. That all cathedrals and parish churches, abbeys, and all other religious houses, with all tithes and church lands, now in the hands of the English, be presently restored to the Catholic churchmen.

"4. That all Irish priests and religious men, now prisoners in England or Ireland, be presently set at liberty, with all temporal Irishmen, that are troubled for their conscience, and to go where they will without further trouble.

"5. That all Irish priests and religious men may freely pass and repass, by sea and land, to and from foreign countries.

"6. That no Englishman may be a churchman in Ireland.

"7. That there be erected an university upon the Crown rents of Ireland, wherein all sciences shall be taught according the manner of the Catholic Roman Church.

"8. That the Governor of Ireland be at least an Earl, and of the Privy Council of England, bearing the name of Viceroy.

"9. That the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, the Council of State, the Justices of the laws, Queen's Attorney, Queen's Serjeant, and all other officers appertaining to the Council and law of Ireland, be Irishmen.

"10. That all principal governments of Ireland, as Connaught, Munster, &c., be governed by Irish noblemen.

"11. That the Master of Ordnance, and half the soldiers with their officers resident in Ireland, be Irishmen.

"12. That no Irishman's heirs shall lose their lands for the faults of their ancestors.

"13. That no Irishman's heir under age shall fall in the Queen's or her successors' hands, as a ward, but that the living be put to the heir's profit, and the advancement of his younger brethren, and marriages of his sisters, if he have any.

"14. That no children nor any other friends be taken as pledges for the good abearing of their parents, and, if there be any such pledges now in the hands of the English, they must presently be released.

"15. That all statutes made against the preferment of Irishmen, as well in their own country as abroad, be presently recalled.

"16. That the Queen nor her successors may in no sort press an Irishman to serve them against his will.

"17. That O'Neill, O'Donnell, the Earl of Desmond, with all their partakers, may peaceably enjoy all lands and privileges that did appertain to their predecessors 200 years past.

"18. That all Irishmen, of what quality they be, may freely travel in foreign countries for their better experience, without making any of the Queen's officers acquainted withal.

"19. That all Irishmen may as freely travel and traffic all merchandises in England as Englishmen, paying the same rights and tributes as the English do.

"20. That all Irishmen may freely traffic with all merchandises, that shall be thought necessary by the Council of State of Ireland for the profit of their Republic, with foreigners or in foreign countries, and that no Irishman shall be troubled for the passage of priests or other religious men.

"21. That all Irishmen that will may learn, and use all occupations and arts whatsoever.

"[22.] That all Irishmen may freely build ships of what burden they will, furnishing the same with artillery and all munition at their pleasure."—[1599, November.] *Draft. pp. 3.*

[Nov.] 56. "Articles set out by Tyrone for demand of peace, or else not." *Endorsed*, "For Mr. Suckling."

"First, he demandeth to have the Catholick Church, and free liberty throughout the realm, and service said openly everywhere.

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"2. That all Church livings shall be restored as appertaineth to the Catholic Church.

"3. That there shall be no Lord Deputy of Ireland but one of the nobility of England, and of the Privy Council there.

"4. That the Lord Chancellor of Ireland shall be a born man of this country.

"5. That none of Her Majesty's officers of the Courts, as Master of the Rolls, Serjeant, Solicitor, Attorney, shall be appointed, but such as shall be Irishmen born.

"6. Also, that Her Majesty may, upon her own charges, erect or build a College for the Catholics to teach their art in.

"7. Also, that every band of soldiers that Her Majesty doth keep in Ireland shall be half or more Irishmen.

"8. That none shall be pressed to be a soldier but by his own goodwill.

"9. That there shall be no Governor appointed for the four Provinces but an Irishman born.

"10. That all such as are in prison, either in England or Ireland, for the Catholic faith, may be set at liberty.

"11. Also, that those Catholic priests that say mass in corners, and will not say it openly, shall be excommunicated.

"12. *Item*, that if any man in England or Ireland be minded to go over sea for learning, that he shall be suffered to pass without any let or stay.

"13. Also, that if any fatherless child being [*sic*; be] within age, that his living shall go to the next of his kin, till he come to full age himself.

"14. Also, that all nations in Ireland shall enjoy their living as they did two hundred years ago.

"15. Also, that it shall be lawful for any man to build a ship or bark to his ability.

"16. Also, that any man that is out of the realm for religion may return safe home into England or Ireland."—[1599, November.] *Draft. p. 1.*

Dec. 1.  
Drogheda.

57. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Yesterday the Earl of Ormonde and I had a meeting with Tyrone upon the borders of Ferney, near a river, which being somewhat broad was the less convenient for us to speak freely one to another. Tyrone being on horseback on the other side the river, I told him I was to deliver to him some part of Her Majesty's pleasure tending to his good, if he had grace to measure it as he ought. He answered he was willing to hear anything that came from Her Majesty. Then I told him how Her Majesty had been informed by the Earl of Essex that he found in him an internal desire to become a subject, and had possessed her Highness with other protestations in favour of him; that Her Majesty grounded thereupon a gracious inclination not to reject Tyrone, but to reserve her favour for him, so as she might find that his desire to be a subject proceeded from a sound heart, and that the world might know that he were truly penitent for his faults past. To this he answered rather formally



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and coldly, than showing any heart of zeal, or desire to be a subject, that Her Majesty's favour was the thing he desired, and did never refuse it.

"I told him also that the Earl of Essex had acquainted Her Majesty with part of his demands and offers, to the which Her Majesty found reason to take a further time to set down her answer. But, ere it were long, her final pleasure should be signified therein, so as, if the fault were not in himself, he was in a good way to find grace, and to be restored to favour. And here, by way of advice, I wished him to consider how far the Earl of Essex had engaged himself for him, and how much it concerned Tyrone to make good his Lordship's protestations made for him.

"His answer was, he would do his best to perform any thing the Earl of Essex had promised on his behalf. But touching offers and demands that were treated upon by the Earl and him, he remembered none, other than that afterwards his Lordship sent a knight to him, willing him to set down his demands, to whom Tyrone answered, that they were long since booked and sent to Her Majesty before.

"This was the substance of the speeches passed between him and me at that time, being all uttered in the presence and hearing of the Earl of Ormonde, Sir George Bouchier, and Sir William Warren, they standing all the while upon dry ground. Then I coming out of the water, the Earl of Ormonde said he had some things to say to Tyrone in private, and that he was desirous to speak to his Lordship apart. Whereupon we withdrew ourselves more towards the top of the hill, leaving them to their private conference, the report whereof I humbly leave to his Lordship's own letter, only I put him in mind to impart it to your Honour in his Lordship's particular letter.

"After this, I sent Sir William Warren over to Tyrone, to acquaint him with some points of Her Majesty's letter written to me, thereby to draw him to a more feeling of Her Majesty's mercy, if he would implore it, as he ought; or otherwise, to let him know that she was a prince of power, and would pull him down at last, if he would still continue to dishonour her. Tyrone liked well of the contents of the letter, and thereupon came down to the water-side, and called to me that I would leave the letter with him that night, or give him a copy of it in the morning; for, saith he, upon the ground of this letter I will labour O'Donnell, and others my confederates, to seek Her Majesty's mercy, and become dutiful. I answered him it was not meet that princes' letters should be made common, neither would I leave the letter with him, or give him a copy. But, inasmuch as he said his meaning was to make so good an use of it, as to labour O'Donnell and others to obedience, I would abstract it, and bring him the next morning the most principal heads, such as should serve best to fit his purpose to persuade O'Donnell and the rest; wherewith he was contented. And the next morning, when I sent it over to him, I required him that within fourteen days I might be advertised from him what he had done with O'Donnell and the

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rest, and what course they would take together for answering Her Majesty, both touching the message which I delivered by speech, and the points of the letter. He told me he would write to me within fourteen days of his proceedings, whereupon I might take occasion to advertise Her Majesty. But whether he will accomplish with me or not, or what they will conclude amongst themselves, it is not meet I should prejudicate, though I have reason to hope for little good from them.

"This second day we concluded a cessation for a month, to begin this first of December, which Tyrone pronounced himself in the hearing of the noblemen and chief officers of the field, to the end they should be witnesses in it, and in their hearing did give his faith and honour for the inviolable observation of it, as well by himself as all his confederates; the Earl of Ormonde likewise giving his word and honour therein for Her Majesty. The copy of the instrument of this cessation I send to your Honour herewith, subscribed by the noblemen and other assistants then present, for Tyrone desired that he might not sign it, for that O'Donnell was absent: nevertheless it should be as inviolably kept, as if his hand were put to it.

"These are all our material proceedings in this parley. Some other things passed, which being impertinent, I spare to write them, fearing I have too much troubled your Honour with this.

"The principal fruit of this cessation on our side will be, that the State and Lord Lieutenant of the army have time in this interim to thrust up victuals, munitions, and all other provisions, to the forts, towns of the frontiers, and other garrisons which cannot be provided for, but under the cover of a cessation, unless it be by the countenance of an army. And, in this meanwhile, the poor subjects upon the borders may thresh their corn, and carry it into castles and other places of safety. But the best commodity by this cessation is, that we have sent him and all his rakehells back again into Ulster, which is no small ease and comfort to the poor country, that bore a double burden so long as he lay upon the borders; one, by feeding the army that came to defend them; and another, by the excessive outrages of Tyrone, that came to spoil them. Lastly, all the time of his being upon the borders, he made but one cowardly road (*sic*) into the Pale, where he burned a few petty thatched villages, and took about eighty cows good and bad, with the which he returned with more shame than glory of such a poor booty; an action very base and cowardly in respect of the terrors he thundered before his coming, that he would pierce into the heart of the Pale, and, passing over the hill of Tara, would not stay till he had looked upon Dublin.

"I have carried this letter somewhat like a journal, to the end your Honour, by comparison of one part with another, may see the whole proceedings, and ground your judgment accordingly."—*Drogheda, 1599, December 1. Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th. pp. 3. Encloses,*



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57. 1. "*Copy of the instrument signed by the Lord Lieutenant and the noblemen, touching the conclusion of the truce taken with Tyrone, primo Decembris, 1599.*" The parley took place on the said date "at Blackstone ford, near the mill of Louth, upon the borders of Ferney." Signed by the Earl of Ormonde, the Lords Howth, Dunsany, Trimletston, Dunboyne, Sir George Bouchier, Sir Walter Butler, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and Sir Arthur Chichester. p. 1.

Dec. 1.  
Drogheda.

58. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This bearer, Captain Humfrey Willis, being discharged, is desirous to repair thither, being at liberty without employment; and I have the more furthered his choice to this journey, for that your Honour may make use of him, both to tell you by what errors the late former services have so evilly succeeded, and to give good advice for a better course hereafter. He is of good experience in the services of Ireland, and particularly for the north, where he hath been employed many years in several countries, sometimes as Sheriff, and always as Captain of 100 men, which hath made him perfect in the estate of the countries, and ripe in their principal septs and factions. Besides, if his credit and charge be restored to him, he hath many friends amongst the Irish, of whom he can make good use to serve Her Majesty's turn. And, for the service of Leinster, I know few Captains in the realm more sufficient than he, nor of whom the traitors there do stand more in awe. If they see him restored to his company, wherein if your Honour do help him, you may do good to the service, and an honourable favour to the poor gentleman, who is desirous to depend wholly upon your countenance. Your Honour may also do a good deed to afford him some consideration for bringing this packet, for the which he hath received nothing here."—Drogheda, 1599, December 1. Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th. p. 1.

Dec. 1.  
[London.]

58A. Note by H. Sherwood, secretary to the Earl of Ormonde, of such requests as he was to move to Sir Robert Cecil, by direction of his Lordship.

"First, in regard his Lordship's lands are near altogether wasted and burnt by the rebels, and that, since this his last employment, he is at an extraordinary charge, far beyond the means allowed him from Her Majesty, or his own ability, it would therefore please his Honour to be a mean unto Her Majesty, that he may have the same allowance he had in the time of his former charge and government, which was two parts of the Lord Deputy's allowance, and the third to the Lords Justices, which he prays may begin the day that the charge was committed unto him.

"Next, that it would please his Honour to be a mean likewise unto Her Majesty, that (until a superior Governor come thither) his Lordship may absolutely have the command of all martial affairs there, and to dispose of such means as victual, money, munition, and apparel, as shall from time to time be sent from hence for the relief of Her Majesty's army, as his Lordship shall think fit for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service."—



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[London], 1599, December 1. *Signed. Erroneously endorsed by Cecil's secretary, "11 December." p. 1.*

Dec. [1.  
Cork.]

59. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. Considering the common calamity of Munster, and that Her Majesty's charge and the subjects' danger increase daily, without hope of speedy recovery or relief, he laboured to find out the causes that have given this country this mortal wound, and the ways to cure the same. All these he now submits, adding that thereby the government of Munster may easily be bettered, and 1,000*l.* of Her Majesty's charge be yearly defalked.

Tyrone, with a purpose to procure breathing time for himself and his country, stirred up the rebels of Munster to raise war against Her Majesty, promising to James FitzThomas the Earldom of Desmond; to Donnell, base son to McCarthy More, the Earldom of Clancarty; to Dermond McOwen, the lordship of Dualla; to Dermond McCarthy, the lordship of Carberry; and so to others. To make them more forward, Tyrone sent his forces into Munster, whereby those rebels were so animated, that they presently entered into this rebellion, which afterward daily increased.

The reputed subjects are more hurtful than the open rebels, for albeit Lord Barry, Cormack McDermody, Donnell McCarthy Reogh, and divers others of the best sort, make shew of subjection, yet their tenants and followers are more dangerous than the rebels, for, under pretence of subjection, they furnish the rebels with all intelligences, victual, and munition.

The inhabitants of Barry's country maintain in rebellion John Barry, brother to Lord Barry; the inhabitants of Muskerry, Dermond McOwen; the inhabitants of Carberry, Dermond McCarthy, who has a yearly pension of 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling out of every ploughland in Carberry, Ibawne, and Courcy's country. Thus the reputed subjects maintain the open rebels; and it is plain that the whole province is infected with this rebellion, for the rebels have free access and passage to and through all the country, and they are everywhere relieved and maintained. The whole province is grown into such a hatred of the English government, that no service can be done by any of Her Majesty's forces, unless they be able to fight as well against the reputed subjects as the open rebels, for against the English they all join; so that without a great army no part of the country is passable, by reason of the hidden treachery of the reputed subject.

The ground of this hatred in the hearts of the country is that they could not enjoy the benefit of law and due administration of justice, which they do greatly affect, the jurisdiction whereof has been greedily sought for by martial men, and too easily granted unto them, whose insolency and ignorance have exercised oppression in place of justice.

Many and great are the hurts that grow to this State by the merchants of the port-towns, who with their monies repair into England, and bestow all their wealth on swords, guns, head-pieces, powder, and lead; and, notwithstanding restraint by law both in

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England and Ireland, yet the gain is so excessive, that the merchant, stopping the searcher's mouth, makes treble gain by selling to subjects; if to rebels, as much more. And by secret confederacy among themselves, the inhabitants of Muskerry, Barry's country, and the rest of the province, being pretended subjects, buy of the merchants and sell to the rebels after these rates, viz., six cows for a sword, six cows for a culiver or musket, six cows for a headpiece, and a cow for a pound of powder, whereby the rebels are furnished from time to time, and thus by the pretended subject the kingdom is set to sale.

As means to suppress the rebellion, the following garrisons should be placed:—Bay of Bantry, 200 foot and 25 horse; Kilcrea, 300 foot and 25 horse; Mallow, 300 foot and 25 horse; Fermoy, or Glanower, 400 foot and 25 horse. These four garrisons will master all the county of Cork. Further, 800 foot and 50 horse to be sent to Kerry and Desmond, with a good commander, knowing the country and the people there. Also, for the county of Limerick, 400 foot and 40 horse at Kilmallock; 300 foot and 25 horse at Askeaton; and 300 foot and 25 horse at Limerick. But "a respective care" must be had that the companies be well paid, victualled, and apparelled. Now they are so wronged, that their corrupt diet is their poison, and, through want of apparel and lodging (not so much as straw), they daily starve and die with cold. Her Majesty's treasure is consumed in rotten victual, and excessive rates and prices of the same and of apparel. The poor soldier, though 6*l.* a year is allowed out of his entertainment, wants clothes, while he could be better furnished with Irish cloth and shoes for 40*s.* a year. If the composition might be forgotten, and the cess renewed, the greatest part of this charge (if not all) would be maintained upon the charge of the country, and save Her Majesty a great deal more than the value of the composition.

No merchant or other should bring into Ireland any munition of war, to sell or utter the same again, but for Her Majesty's service. Officers of port-towns to suffer no rebels to be relieved out of the cities or towns with any victual or munition.

Law and justice must be ministered by competent Justices, who are able to perform the duty of their place, and by none other; wherein it were to be wished that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland would allow none to be Justices of assize, nisi prius, or gaol delivery, but only the professors of the law, according to the laudable usage of England.—[Cork,] 1599, December [1]. *Endorsed*, Received at Richmond the 12th of December. [*This letter is nearly identical with Saxe's letter of October 9. See above under date.*] *Holograph.* pp. 3.

Dec. [1]. 59A. Copy of the preceding, also holograph, addressed to the Privy Council. pp. 3.

Dec. 2. 60. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey  
[Richmond.] and the Council, "or to the Lord Deputy or other Governor for the time being." Are to let them understand Her Majesty's pleasure



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concerning some matters, wherein Milerus Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, at his being in England, obtained Her Majesty's gracious favour.

First, whereas the said Archbishop suffered great loss and spoil by the rebels, to the extreme impoverishing of himself, his wife, children, and tenants, of which loss he supposes he may recover some part, if he may have leave to deal in that behalf by parleying with certain rebels, Her Majesty is pleased that they grant him a warrant or commission (to continue for six months), either to go, or to send any meet person for him, to have conference with those that are in rebellion, Tyrone only excepted, as also to admit any of them to come and confer with the Archbishop. If he obtain from them any safe-conduct for the protection of himself and his tenants, "who lie naked to oppression in respect of the situation of his living," neither he nor they are to be subject to the danger of the law.

Again, whereas the said Archbishop, by occasion of some employment in Her Majesty's service, has been heretofore unjustly vexed and prosecuted, her pleasure is, that if it shall happen that, either for matters past or upon pretence of anything wherewith he may be charged hereafter, during the liberty of the commission aforesaid, any accusation be preferred against him, or against any his deputy under the said commission, no proceedings be taken therein, until the same be certified into England, and Her Majesty's pleasure known.

Thirdly, with respect to certain arrears due by the said Archbishop to Her Majesty, amounting to 200 marks sterling or thereabouts, because these appear to have fallen within the time of this rebellion, whereby he has been despoiled in a manner of all the means of his living, Her Majesty's pleasure is that he be acquitted of the said arrears, and that no process be hereafter sent against him, so long as he reaps no commodity by his living through these rebellious troubles. Their Lordships are to see these matters performed with convenient speed.—[Richmond], 1599, December 2. [*Postscript.*] "Although Her Majesty will not in any wise that the Archbishop do that traitor so much honour as to have any conference with him, whereby it may be conceived to be for some matter of State, though it be only for restitution of his goods taken from him by Con O'Neill, yet, in respect that the Archbishop conceiveth that Con O'Neill brake his word without Tyrone's privity, and is in hope that Tyrone will cause restitution to be made, Her Majesty is pleased that the said Archbishop shall have leave to write unto him concerning any his private business." *Entry Book*, No. 204, fos. 208, 208 b. *Copy.* pp. 2.

Dec. 2.  
Dublin.

61. Sir Arthur Savage to the Privy Council. Being advertised by some of his friends that the Lords Justices had taxed him to their Lordships for leaving Connaught, he thought fit to give his reasons for the same, and to let them understand "how immeasurably" from time to time he has been dealt withal, so that their



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Lordships might, till better opportunity of his own coming, suspend him.

Upon the unfortunate loss of the late Governor of Connaught [Sir Conyers Clifford], Sir Arthur joined with Lord Dunkellin in letters of advertisement to the Lord Lieutenant [Essex]. These they intreated Sir Theobald Dillon to carry, and to deliver to his Lordship the state of the province, as he could well do. His Lordship very speedily returned Sir Theobald, with a commission, directed to Lord Dunkellin and Sir Arthur, to direct the forces; and charged them, by private letter as well as by instructions, to have great care of the victualling of the wards in Roscommon, Tusk, and the Boyle. Further, that they should see such of the Irishry as depended upon Sir Conyers Clifford satisfied, more particularly, O'Connor Don, Captain Oliverus Burke, Captain Thomas Burke, and McSwyne. Although altogether unwilling to take the charge upon him, yet was he contented so to do, till he had seen those wards victualled, and those gentlemen and companies satisfied. This could not be done without charge, foreseeing which, the Lord Lieutenant sent them 120*l.*, to be issued by Sir Arthur's direction only. If more were wanted, Sir Arthur was to use his credit, and upon his accounts it should be presently satisfied. The amount much exceeded the proportion sent; and, having engaged all the credit he had, he besought the Lord Lieutenant to give order to Mr. Treasurer that the paymaster of Connaught, who had issued every penny of the money, might pass his accounts, and that the creditors might be satisfied. The order was given accordingly to Mr. Treasurer, who promised he would write to his man to pass the accounts and discharge Sir Arthur of the like encumbrances; but the Lord Lieutenant being gone, he sent word that they must be passed before the State in Dublin. Upon any occasion of want, which he advertised, he was still intreated to use his credit, and the amount should be discharged. He therefore asked leave to go to Dublin; and, because he stayed three weeks after leave [given], to see those wards revictualled, as they now are, till the last of January, and because he declared the state of the castle and town of Athlone unto them, they impose a fault on him for leaving it, as if some evil success had happened, which by his care could have been prevented. The state of the province is yet as he left it, if O'Donnell has not altered, who, since Sir Arthur's coming, is said to have invaded Clanrickarde. The only fear is, that by O'Connor Sligo being joined with him, the rest of the Burkes of Mayo, being his brothers-in-law and kinsmen, will revolt, as Tibbott Ne Longe, Oliverus Burke, Thomas Burke, Davy McUlick, who are chiefly laid for the defence against him.

"Your Lordships may please farther to understand that, by express commandment of the Lords Justices here, I am returned, and yet not satisfied of anything I have disbursed, but my accounts agreed on only. The Lord Justice Carey, in recompense of what I have abidden all this time, and for my willingness to return to perform my duty, hath rewarded me with such words as I never

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endured either from nobleman or gentleman since I was born, as 'saucy fellow,' and many such like scornful speech[es], only for telling him that I would shew his letter to your Lordships, which should justify me, if anything happened to the Castle of Athlone for want of victual. My honourable Lords, although I have unfortunately spent my time, as I have now reason to think, yet hath there never by my demerit anything miscarried whereof I have taken upon me the particular charge, howsoever I may by private information to your Lordships be particularly taxed. I most humbly therefore beseech your Lordships not to suffer me to be [in] this manner wronged, and to take notice hereof unto him, that the like be not offered me without cause given, which he hath now no colour to pretend."—Dublin, 1599, December 2. *Holograph. pp. 3½.*

Dec. 2.  
Mallow.

62. Captain Francis Wilmot to the Earl of Essex. Has presumed, not in the way of advice, but as his Lordship's meanest servant and best wellwiller, to offer his poor opinion concerning the managing of the war in Ireland. If Essex allows anything thereof, will be most happy; if not, prays that his zeal to do him service be not rejected, since he stops there at Essex's commandment, to put his life in hazard for part of the performance. Cannot tell the meaning of any occurrences where he is, for he is restrained from knowing them. Castlemaine is lost; the enemy has blinded them with the colour of the cessation, and with their whole armies dwells upon them, close to Cork, eating and spoiling upon their nearest neighbours. Some 800 foot and 100 horse are drawn to a head, seeking to impeach them, but it doth little hinder them. He lies himself at Mallow, appointed there with a weak garrison, unable to do service. Notwithstanding he offered to go with the garrisons of Mallow, Kilmallock, and Limerick, into the enemy's country, and give them the like measure that they were offering, which he thought would have been a means of dealing with them upon even terms, or would have recalled them from those parts, where they yet remain, doing much spoil. But he is not worthy to be called to the councils of his commanders, therefore prays he may not be in the reckoning, when account shall be demanded.—Mallow, 1599, December 2. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Dec. 3.  
Dublin.

63. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey, the Earl of Ormonde, and the rest of the Council to the Privy Council. "I, the Earl of Ormonde, having appointed a parley with Tyrone upon Thursday, the 29th of the last, Sir George Bourchier being then with me, did the Tuesday before send for me, the Secretary, who came to me to Ardee upon the said Thursday very early in the morning; and, attending me to the parley, did there deliver to Tyrone such part of Her Majesty's message, as he was commanded by Her Majesty. And I, the Earl, being returned hither yesterday from that meeting, I have in a summary manner acquainted us, the Justices and Council, with my proceedings,



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tending principally to discover that traitor, and to do my best to remove him and his forces from the borders of the Pale.

“And touching the success and issue of the parley, I, the Earl, and [the] Secretary have, by our particular letters now sent, set down our whole doings to your Lordships, to the which we, the Justices and Council, do refer you, as a course most fit to inform your Lordships at full of all material circumstances and observations occurring in that business. But touching the disloyal and corrupt heart of that traitor, though we all, by sundry his late precedent actions, foul and monstrous, and from time to time advertised to your Lordships, were fully satisfied that he was sufficiently discovered before, yet the venom of his stomach breaking out at this parley, as well in open speeches as in other his behaviours, affirming publicly that his conscience and the Catholic religion were the causes that carried him into this rebellion, in which quarrel he would die and live (*sic*), we now hold him desperate, without hope of recovery, and do think there is no cause for Her Majesty to depend of further discovering him; and therefore we do altogether humbly join in this request to your Lordships, that it would please you to be earnest suitors to Her Majesty to resolve presently of means to preserve this kingdom; and, as a chief step thereunto, to haste away a Governor to take charge thereof, wherein albeit we have often written to your Lordships, by our late despatches, and that we hope the desolate estate of the realm is thoroughly apprehended there, as we have freely and truly urged it from hence, yet, things running daily to greater extremities, and the Archtraitor growing more and more hardened in the pride of his heart, we are driven on still by fresh necessities to press your Lordships to have speedy care of the safety of the kingdom, which, in the uttermost discharge of our duties, we assure your Lordships cannot long consist without present succours of men and money to be sent from thence, with a superior person to command the whole. For it is not now to depend further upon temporising, seeing the sore is grown to another nature than to be cured by such kind of medicines; and we inwardly fear that, if God and Her Majesty put not a present hand against it, the main blow to be stroken for the kingdom is not far off. For the traitor knoweth the weakness of Her Majesty’s army, and we know what dangerous impressions he maketh daily in the minds of the subjects by his cawtelous insinuations and pretext of religion; all which he carrieth to his great advantage, and maketh use of them to our prejudice and further ruin. And all these we have often urged to your Lordships, with many others, to draw your Lordships to a thorough sense and feeling of the languishing condition of this despairful State, the succour and relief whereof we humbly pray for at God’s hands, and do most humbly lay ourselves down at the sacred feet of Her Majesty for preservation of it (being so royal a member of her imperial Crown) against the rage of a barbarous rebel, raised out of the dust by the honour and bounty only of Her Majesty.

“I, the Lieutenant of the army, have now sent your Lordships



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a list of all the companies of horse and foot appointed (as we have written before) to lie upon the north borders against the Arch-traitor. By the division of which list (*wanting*), your Lordships may see how many companies were assigned for the army at the Navan, containing in list 2,800 foot; and, by the same division, it may please your Lordships also to see how, upon a view and muster I took of them in mine own person, they rise in men extant but to 1,132 foot, and yet of that number 2[00] or 300 might have been 'cooled out' for unserviceable. So as if it had come to a day of fight, your Lordships see with what numbers I must have been driven to have put it to a trial. Touching the horse companies, they are in like sort divided by the list, and the numbers also assigned to the frontier towns and other places of guard. The particular explanation of all which I do humbly refer to the list, which I protest is truly collected, as near as I can gather. And touching the great deficiencies, though the Commissary of the Musters doth lay the principal cause to the numbers of men that be sick, yet the odds and difference being so great, and Her Majesty standing charged with so many numbers in pay, and hav[ing] so few to fight for her, we will not rest satisfied with that answer; but, to search out the frauds to the bottom, we will presently, God willing, give order to the Mayor, port-reeve, and bailiffs of every town, where soldiers are garrisoned (wherein I, the Lieutenant, had written to the towns before) to make an exact search of all the sick soldiers within their particular jurisdictions, and to certify the same unto us under their hands, whereby we shall be able to judge whether this unreasonable defect in numbers grow by the sick men, or out of some other deceit; which, being discovered, we will not fail to see the offence punished, in whom it shall be found. We doubt not but great numbers are sick, partly by their own disorder and hardness of the climate, but more by the unseasonableness of a great portion of their victuals sent out of England, which being made ill-conditioned by evil carriage at sea, and by long and close keeping here in the several magazines for want of issuing, and partly by removing it (*sic*) from one place to another, where it could not but endure many casualties, much of it hath been perished and lost; and a great part of that that was preserved hath proved so unsavoury and unwholesome, as we think it was one main ground of this great sickness of the soldiers. And therefore, under your Lordships' reformation, we humbly wish that from henceforth some competent proportion of money might be provided to furnish the soldiers with corn here, as it may be gotten, and that hereafter better choice be had of other provisions to come out of England hither, where they cannot be so speedily issued, and by many other casualties do grow to perish, greatly to the endangering of the soldiers in their health, besides the loss to Her Majesty and the undertakers; the remedy whereof we humbly leave to your Lordships' grave consideration.

"Touching the forces of the country formerly assented unto by the nobility and chief gentlemen of the Pale (the proportions

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whereof we have sent to your Lordships before, being 1,600 foot, and about 400 horse and carbines), albeit at the breaking up of that assembly commissions were issued from the State to the several noblemen, sheriffs, and principal gentlemen in every county, for the levying and mustering of those numbers, to be ready to answer me, the Lieutenant of the army, when I should call for them, and albeit I did write severally to the noblemen and countries to bring those forces to the Navan to join with Her Majesty's army, which I had drawn to a head to resist the Arch-traitor, yet none of them appeared, except the Lord of Howth, who brought out of the county of Dublin, some 200 foot and horse so badly appointed, as he said he would never venture his life with them. And leading them in his own person, I dismissed them back again to lie for the defence of their own borders, his Lordship remaining with me still, and accompanying me to the parley. Your Lordships may see, by this example, what is the disposition of the Pale, and what we are to look for of them, when the Archtraitor with all his forces lay so strongly upon the borders, prepared to break in to spoil them, and yet none of them rose out to make defence. Only the Lord of Howth is to be regarded, to whom it may please your Lordships to procure some letter of thanks in Her Majesty's name, which will be a comfort and an encouragement to him hereafter. We have sent to your Lordships herewith a copy of a letter written to us from the Lord of Delvin (*wanting*), together with some instructions he gave lately to some of his men to deal with Tyrone, and Tyrone's answers to them, the consideration whereof we humbly leave to your Lordships.

"Lastly, we are now in hand, during the time of this cessation, to send up more victuals to the two forts in Leix and Offally, and to put up to all frontier towns of the borders and places of garrison such provisions of victuals and munitions as we can make, to the end they may be there ready to answer the use of the army, if, either during or after the cessation, we shall be driven to draw the companies to a head upon a sudden."—Dublin, 1599, December 3. [*Postscript.*] "After the writing of this letter, the Lord of Delvin came hither, to whom I, the Lieutenant of the army, had written before his coming. But as yet we have had no conference with him." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th. Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "This is to be read by your Lordship" [? Mountjoy]. pp 3½. Enclose,*

63. i. "*Instructions for my Lieutenant, Thomas Leicester, and my servant, Matthew Archbold, to treat and parley with Tyrone, by virtue of the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Army's (sic) authority, dated the 25th of November, 1599.*"

"*First, you are to acquaint him that I, understanding he was come with his forces of purpose to destroy the English Pale, and specially myself and my country, that I sent you to know what moved him to so wrongful an act, he nor any of his competitors having no claim or title to any of our lands or possessions, which we held from Her Majesty and her progenitors these 400 and odd years.*



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"Item, you are to tell him (if he pretend he doth the same for the advancement of the Catholic religion, as commonly he giveth out) that all the inhabitants of the English Pale, for the more part, and specially myself, are Catholics, and were so when he was not thought to be one; and many of us, having heard and read more than he did, could never find in Scripture, General Council, by the Fathers, or any other authentical authority, that subjects ought to carry arms against their anointed Christian Prince, for religion or any other cause, and specially against so gracious a Prince as we have, whose bounty and special favour we have ever found, and he himself most of any. Therefore this gross and inexcusable ignorance is not sufficient for him to seek our destruction, who must regard our duty unto our native and gracious Prince (enjoined thereunto by God's commandment) more than what life or living he can deprive us of. Therefore tell him, if the advancement of religion be the ground of his wars, that he may do well to set the same down under his hand, to the end it may be made known unto Her Majesty, who no doubt will take such a course therein, as must be to the contentation of every honest and reasonable subject, and that he may withdraw his forces from annoying myself or any other of Her Majesty's subjects, until Her Highness[s] pleasure unto his demands be signified, or at least until the Lords Justices, [the] Lord Lieutenant of Her Majesty's army, and the Council's acceptance thereof be known within a certain time; which course if he shall deny, let him understand that the world in general must judge that he useth pretence of religion but as a cloak for tyranny, for which he may expect no other reward in this world, or in the world to come, than every other persevering in like purpose have had.

"My scope and purpose is, that you endeavour to gain some time in hope of relief, and that we may thresh and keep up part of our corn, foreseeing you do not exceed your instructions in any point that may touch Her Majesty in honour, or my own credit; and, if he deny to grant some tolerance, you may assure him I stand here at Kyllowe, less than three miles off from him, with certain foot companies and 200 horse, with which Her Majesty's army at hand will be able, not only to defend the country, but also to offend him, and then post one unto me secretly, and come after yourselves with his safe conduct. This 26th of November, 1599." Signed. Copy. p. 1.

63. II. "The proceedings of us, the said Thomas and Matthew, with Tyrone, the 26th of November, 1599, by warrant from the Lord of Delvin, granted by the authority of the Right Honourable the Lord Lieutenant of Her Majesty's army, with Tyrone his answers."

"We coming where Tyrone was, he bade us welcome, and turned back, being on horseback, and alighted on the side of a hill beyond Crose Kyle in Plunket's country, and there sitting down apart from his company, called us present, and demanded what was the cause of our coming; to which we answered verbatim according our instructions.



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*"To the first, he replied with a protestation that he sought not to possess or enjoy, for himself or any of his, any livings or land in the English Pale, but sought rather a reformation of abuses, and to establish the Catholic Religion.*

*"To the second, he answered that the English Palemen were a kind of Catholics, and said, howbeit the Lord of Delvin taketh upon him to be one, and that he endured trouble for the same, when himself was a schismatic, yet he knew that the Lord of Delvin would not hazard the loss of a foot of land, or forego his good meat, drink, and lodging, to advance the Catholic Religion; therefore said he would not spare those that would serve, and did maintain others to serve, against him, but said that, upon certain motions delivered him by Sir William Warren, from the Lord Lieutenant of Her Majesty's army, that he granted a cessation till Friday next, whereof Westmeath might take the benefit as well as others.*

*"We demanded he should grant us some days after Friday, lest if there were no further cessation, his forces might suddenly spoil the subjects, and that he might send direction to the Leinster rebels to keep the cessation. To which he answered that he would talk with his brother Cormac and the rest. After which conference he granted a direction, which was sent to the Connors, &c., to keep the cessation, but denied to grant any further days, saying his forces would be such as could not steal upon us.*

*"We desired him as we were wished by Sir William Warren, at his return from him, that he would appoint the Connors to come to the parley a Friday, and bring John Moore with them, which he denied, saying they durst not venture coming until himself went where they were, lest they might be cut off by the way. And so he called for his horse, and drew towards his camp; and we departing returned back, 26th November, 1599." Signed, Tho. Leicester, Matthew Archbold. There is an endorsement by Sir Robert Cecil, but the words are illegible. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 3.  
Dublin.

64. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. By the enclosed, signed by Her Majesty, it will appear how long it is since he was first established Archbishop of Armagh. Since that time, has been employed in Ireland as a Privy Councillor, and has always used his uttermost endeavours to perform some acceptable service for Her Highness.

*"There hath not been in my time, nor is at this instant, in this kingdom, any Judge or Privy Councillor besides myself, but hath in good measure tasted extraordinarily of Her Majesty's bounty by way of suit, as did Sir Lucas Dillon and Sir Nicholas White, who had goodly livings bestowed upon them, and as hath done likewise the now Chief Baron and Master of the Rolls here, who, by a lease lately given them by Her Majesty, have benefited themselves. And Sir William Gerard, my predecessor in office, had gifts better worth than 3,000*l.* bestowed upon him."*

Writes not from envy at the welfare of any, but that Sir Robert may see how some have been more fortunate than others. Though it is not meet that he be the trumpet of his own desert, yet

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beseeches Sir Robert to understand that, as well in the governments of Sir William Pelham and Lord Grey, wherein he had the care of the Pale committed to him, as also in the late government of Sir Robert Gardener and himself, he preserved the Castle of Dublin from three several treasons plotted in those times for betraying and taking thereof. Will not trouble Sir Robert with any further particulars on his own behalf, yet in all those years he has not been troublesome to Her Majesty or the Privy Council for any suit, but has contented himself with the promotions from time to time bestowed upon him.

"And now, through the iniquity of the time, in which I have lost even almost all the poor living I had, I assure your Honour I am brought so backward in mine estate, as I have now no means to live, but by the bare entertainment which I receive from Her most excellent Majesty; yet my charge never so great nor heavy unto me, as at this instant it is. For, besides the losses which I have sustained myself by these wars, my poor children, who have lived in good reputation in their country, are now forced with their families to return and live with me, who was never so ill able to relieve their miserable estate."

Prays, therefore, for Sir Robert's help upon a special occasion now offered him to be a suitor. Thomas Breminham, of Dunfert, co. Kildare, is lately deceased. His eldest son has been before, and is now, in open action against Her Majesty. He is the man that, at the bridge of Johnstown, defeated Esmond's company, and there slew a number of English soldiers. Since his father's decease, he has razed his castle, and has so wasted his small living, that there is not a halfpenny worth of profit to be had thereby. Prays that he may have a fee farm upon a reasonable survey of the land Thomas Breminham died seised of, or at least a lease for a good number of years, by which (though it be now of no value) his decayed estate may hereafter be in some measure repaired, when, please God, the country is recovered. Encloses a letter (*wanting*) written by Lord Burghley to him, shewing his affection. Will seek to continue his dependency upon the same root, and endeavour by his best services to deserve Sir Robert's affection. Purposely sends over his servant, the bearer, to attend Sir Robert's answer, and prays for his speedy return.—Dublin, 1599, December 3. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th. pp. 2.*

Dec. 3.  
Dublin.

65. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. That a fee farm or lease of Thomas Breminham's lands may be granted to the Lord Justice Loftus, Richard, the eldest son of the said Thomas, having been, and still being, in open action against Her Majesty. Richard Breminham was the principal actor in the killing of some of Captain Esmond's company. The Lord Justice Loftus has served Her Majesty long; he is now old, and has many children. This favour from Her Majesty would comfort and encourage him much, as he has never had, as he says, any lease or grant of land during his time of service. Will acknowledge



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the favour as a special one done to himself, who has often tasted good from Sir Robert.

"This short cessation that now is taken, is but to increase the Traitor's strength, and to make his combination the greater in the Pale; and that O'Donnell's forces may join with his. For, within these five or six days, I am sure he must have gone back, for his provision of victuals was near spent, and their time of Christmas draweth on. There is no hope to make this Archtraitor a good subject, and therefore Her Majesty must resolve to prosecute him. And, if his helpers out of Scotland were cut off, his traitorous and insolent pride would soon abate. The late letters from the Baron of Delvin doth move me somewhat to think the best of him; yet I have a jealous conceit of him. For I understand by my intelligence that Rory McCooly, brother to Ever McCooly, having preyed in the country of the Baron of Delvin the Saturday, and had [*sic*: ? having] taken from thence divers cows and a horse worth 30*l.*, the Monday following the prey was restored, and Rory McCooly laid by the heels, until the horse was delivered. Tyrone's secretary told my intelligencer that the Lord of Delvin was not openly joined with them, but said that they were sure of him, as soon as they should bring a sufficient power that were able to back him. He told me also that the secretary shewed him divers articles of demands, that they intended hereafter, if occasion served, to prefer to Her Majesty; but because they were not yet perfected, until O'Donnell's next meeting, he could not get a copy of them. But, imperfect as they were, he was suffered to read them. The articles were 18 in number; those that he could remember, your Honour may perceive by the enclosed [*wanting*; but see Nos. 55 and 56 above]. I am promised to have a copy of the articles shortly after their next meeting.

"Yesterday, by my Lord Chancellor's good means, it was our hap to take one Fitzsymons here in Dublin, a very seditious priest and Jesuit. The taking of him will cost me 20*l.* He is committed to the Castle of Dublin. When he is examined, he shall be sent into England.

"It were a good deed that some good portions were offered to take away some of these principal archtraitors' heads. That course would make them all afraid and mistrustful even of those that are nearest about them.

"Your Honour must send away some more money with all speed, or else we shall be undone; for, so God help me, I have borrowed so much, that my credit will stretch no further.

"There hath been divers companies cassed of late. The arms of them are slenderly looked unto; and, though it do not properly appertain unto me, yet I am sorry that it is no better looked unto by those to whom it doth appertain. I pray write some sharp letter unto us, to look better unto it. I am loath to write so much as I see. Here is much armour sold at half prices, which were better to be bought for the Queen; which would be profitable for Her Majesty, and keep the rebels from buying of it. But I see none willing to lay out five pounds for Her Majesty's service.



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—Dublin, 1599, December 3. *Endorsed*, Received at Richmond the 12th. *Holograph*. pp. 3.

Dec. 3.  
Dublin.

66. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "At my return from the parley, I understand sundry letters have been written from the Court to some particulars here, that the Earl of Essex shall be sent again to govern; and, for proof thereof, his Lordship's officers, that were selling his things before, have upon the sudden altered their course, and do make no further sale, but reserve all for his Lordship's coming. If this be so, I humbly beseech your Honour, even for all the service and dependency I have professed to you, to procure my revocation from hence during his Lordship's government, that I may not be continued here to mine own disgrace, and not to be in case to do Her Majesty the service I ought. His Lordship, you know, was hardly conceited of me before; but now, since he hath discovered that I am an open professed party on your side, I know my portion will be far more sour and full of peril. In which respect, I have no other way to provide for my safety, and prevent disgraces, than to leave this place for the time. In which point, I humbly pray you to favour me, that I may leave it with Her Majesty's privity and license, which I will account as a great suit granted unto me; otherwise, rather than I will live under the greatness of one that hath in his hand authority and will to hurt me, I will venture to lie in the Tower or Fleet, if it shall please Her Majesty so to set her displeasure against me. During all the hazards this kingdom hath run since Tyrone's rebellion, your Honour knoweth I have not sought so much as to remove any (*sic*) foot from hence, where all others of my sort have avoided the place, or sought to do so; and by my tarrying I may assume that I have profited the service, though I have hurt myself. And now in the end, to be delivered over to the humour and will of so great a man, and my estate utterly left without recompense for my 21 years' service in this malignant country, I humbly submit to your Honour how I should carry my resolution; whether to adventure upon Her Majesty's displeasure in coming away, or, by tarrying here, to pass under so many dejections as I am sure to find. This suit is just, and it is as reasonable and easy, if my poor service be justly weighed, and my safety respected; all which do lie now in your hands, to whom I owe my heart, and I can owe no more."—Dublin, 1599, December 3. *Signed*. *Endorsed*, Received at Richmond the 12th. p. 1.

Dec. 4.  
Westminster.

67. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Ormonde. In favour of the bearer, the Archbishop of Cashel, who has received great detriments and losses by the continuance of the wicked rebellion in Ireland. Ormonde to yield his best assistance and favour to the Archbishop, and to take order that one Darby Odere, who is withholding the Archbishop's lands and goods from him, may give some satisfaction, or restitution of the same.—Westminster, 1599, December 4. *Copy*. p. 1.

Dec. 4.  
Dublin.

68. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "Upon my repair to the Navan, the 22nd of November, from Dublin, I caused

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in my own presence to be mustered the companies both of horse and foot appointed to attend me there, saving such as I returned to other garrisons for the better strengthening of them. Upon which muster I found that, of 1,900 foot in list, there were not present above 1,132 strong, and of 430 horse but 291, as, by a certificate under the Commissary's hand herewith sent your Lordships (*wanting, but see 44 vi. above*) may appear. How many were absent by sickness I could not learn, but directed my warrants for the better enquiry thereof, which are not yet returned. The noblemen and gentlemen of the Pale were likewise, by their own consents, appointed to draw thither of their own forces 1,600 foot and 420 horse to attend the present service, as formerly hath been advertised; all which failed, saving some of the noblemen themselves, being not attended on with above one or two men a piece, except my Lord of Howth, who brought so far as Skyrne a few horse and foot, which were so badly furnished, as himself told me he would in his own person attend me, but not adventure his life among such a company. The Lord of Trimletston in like sort delivered unto me that he was in one part of the shire, and the Sheriff in the other, to raise the forces of the country, who answered them plainly that they had rather be hanged at their doors at home, than be killed in the field. And my Lord Slane, my Lord of Louth; and my Lord of Killeen, affirmed that the countries under their command denied either the aid of horse or foot; and the Lord of Gormanston excused his absence by reason of sickness; in whom (and generally through the Pale) I find nothing but slackness and coldness, to further either Her Majesty's service, or their own good and safeties; besides that many young gentlemen among them are daily starting forth, and running into rebellion, which till now was never seen.

"Tyrone, with all his forces, being then come within fifteen miles of the Navan, whose forces were, as I was credibly informed, 5,000 foot and 900 horse strong, and the day that I came to the Navan burnt some houses towards Athboy, in my Lord of Killeen's country, but took not from thence, nor in all the preys they made upon the borders of the Pale at that time, above 80 head of cattle, young and old, and some 400 sheep; which happened through the negligence of some of the country people, who quitted a bridge, called the bridge of the grange, between Kenles and the Navan, and suffered only three horsemen and two shot to break through the same, and carry their prey from them. All which I had prevented, for that I was then in a readiness to make my repair downwards, but that munition and victuals were not sent to the Navan beforehand, as I was promised, neither were the troops then come together, as I directed they should, which impediments forced me to stay one whole day at Drogheda.

"At my coming to the Navan, when I saw the country failing of their forces, and the army there no stronger than your Lordships by the list may see (who seemed to be much weakened by reason of sickness, want of stockings, brogues, and other necessities), upon whose good or ill success the state of the kingdom rested, I called unto me Sir George Bouchier, the Marshal, Sergeant-Major, and



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other Captains of best judgment, to hear their opinions, whether it were better to attempt the dislodging of the traitor, or remain where we were till the troops at the Naas might be drawn unto us, and so make one strong bulk. Who were of opinion that it could not be but most dangerous for us (the traitors being strong, and we so weak) to attempt them for that present. Whereupon, I resolved to draw unto me part of the forces from the Naas, for which purpose I hastened Mr. Marshal thither. In the meanwhile, Sir William Warren received a letter from Tyrone, wherein he was desirous to speak with me, if I would appoint a time and place for our meeting, as by this enclosed copy of his letter (*wanting, but see No. 40 above*) may appear unto your Lordships. The next morning I sent Sir W. Warren unto him to conclude of the place, which accordingly he did. Upon whose return unto me, I dispatched a letter unto the Lords Justices, to send Mr. Secretary Fenton unto me to Drogheda, to accompany me to the parley, to signify Her Majesty's pleasure and gracious message to Tyrone, which, at our coming thither, in my hearing he delivered, as by his own letters I know your Lordships at large will be made acquainted.

"Your Lordships may please also to be advertised that at this treaty I have taken a truce with Tyrone and his confederates for one whole month, beginning the first of this instant of (*sic*) December, as by a copy of an instrument signed by myself and the Lords then present (*wanting, but see No. 57 i. above*) may appear. In this parley I noted these things principally; that divers of the Pale before my coming had relieved him both with gifts and victuals for his money, [and] that they had secretly parleyed with him, when Sir W. Warren was with him. At our assembly he did openly publish that religion was the original cause why he took arms, and did so continue, and [I] found him more insolent than at any other parley. He openly protested that he would send 2,000 men, either Scots or Irish, under the conduct of his son-in-law, Richard Butler, into the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, whereunto I answered that he might do well to take a strict muster of them at their departure, for before their return I hoped he should find good checks upon them.

"The commodities that we gain by this cessation is (*sic*), that we shall victual the forts, castles, and garrison places, viz., Athlone, and the rest of the castles in Connaught, and also Philipstown, Maryborough, Cahir, Ballyraggett, and all the garrison places, where I have placed the army, as by the list herein sent may appear; in which garrisons there is victual but for very few days, as by the Victualler's note may appear; the supply of which I leave to the Lords Justices and Council, whom I have acquainted therewith.

Besides, we have gained this month, being the fittest for them to make incursions, and the worst for us. The subjects may thresh their corn, and put it [in] safety; the bridges may be ensconced, the fords and other passages stopped, the weak soldiers and horses in the meantime relieved, and the Pale, if they have any will (of whom, for the causes before remembered, I have little hope), may



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in the meantime arm and muster their men. And, for that I have no hope of any further cessation, I must still be an humble suitor unto your Lordships to put Her Highness in remembrance, that it may stand with her gracious pleasure to send a Governor, as shall be best to her liking, during whose absence I have not, nor will slack (to the uttermost of my power) all the faithful service I can.

"I may not forget to put your Lordships in mind to send a force of horse and foot by sea to Lough Foyle, which will be the fittest place to annoy the traitors in those parts, and stop their incursions into the Pale.

"I have thought fit to make your Lordships acquainted with such letters as passed between my Lord of Delvin and me, having herewith sent your Lordships the copies of them, who is himself now come hither unto me, and as yet have no cause to condemn him."—Dublin, 1599, December 4. *Signed.* pp. 3½. *Encloses,*

68. i. *Sir William Warren to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey.* "I have received a letter from Tyrone, which I have sent hereinclosed; whereupon I sent Thomas Barnewall to him into his camp, who brought me answer from him that he would not speak with him as yet. His reason I will forbear to express at this time, fearing lest it might turn me to some harm, if it should be known. Things have been handled contrary to my expectation, which I fear hath prevented me; yet I have written to him again, and expect his answer in the morning, which I will acquaint your Lordships withal. I am informed that Tyrone doth expect the coming of the Lord of Delvin to join with him, which I would be sorry should be so; yet, hearing of it, I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordships withal. Tyrone is (sic) a very great force together, and hath done great harm. He hath both his wife and his daughters in the camp with him, and the most part of all their wives with them, which maketh me think that they regard our army but a little. God strengthen us, or weaken them."—Navan, 1599, November 23. *Signed.* Copy. p. 1.

68. ii. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to ———.* "You may tell Sir William Warren that he shall find me here upon the borders, betwixt this and Clancarroll. Let him draw near, and send one of his men before, and I will send for him. And so fare you well. From my Camp, this first day [of] December [November 21-December 1], 1599. The Secretary commends him to you." *Signed,* "O'Neill." Copy. p. ½.

68. iii. *List of the army of the Navan, as garrisoned on 1 December, 1599.* Foot, 4,000; horse, 530. pp. 1½.

68. iv. *Victuals in the store at the Navan, on 2 December, 1599.* *Signed by John Eaton.* p. ½.

68. v. *C[hris]topher Nugent, Baron] Delvin to the Earl of Ormonde.* "I have written often to your Lordship touching the extremity wherein I still rest, and yet can hear nothing from you. To-morrow, being Monday, is my uttermost day of tolerance, either for parleying with Tyrone, or to abide the brunt and extremity of all his forces, bent upon the destruction of me and this whole county. Therefore, seeing I have no present means to prevent the

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same with force, I beseech your Lordship send me authority to treat and parley with him myself, or whom else I shall appoint, thereby to win time, until your Lordship (to whose relief myself and the whole country is referred) do draw down with the army. If this course be not held, Her Majesty shall, within these two days, have as little good of this county (which often before was preserved by my stratagems) as now she hath within Offally or Leix. Therefore I eftsoons beseech your Lordship to post me your authority and advice touching the premises by the bearer, as you regard the preservation of this distressed country, myself, my wife, and children, which, having no sustenance but our corn and cattle, cannot live by warding a castle, where the same may not be contained, nor the castle long kept without it."—Clonin, 1599, November 25. Signed. Copy. p. 1.

68. VI. The Earl of Ormonde to Baron Delvin. "I received your letter this 25th of November after midnight, wherein you desire to have commission for yourself, or whom else you shall appoint to parley with Tyrone, hoping by that mean to put him from burning and spoiling that country. I have thought good hereby to advise your Lordship to forbear to parley with him yourself, and do wish you should stand upon your guard to withstand his malice, preferring the remembrance of your most bounden duty to the Queen's Majesty before the regard of loss of corn or cattle, which is the course myself and all good subjects must hold. Nevertheless, for your better enabling to divert him from seeking the spoil of you and the country, I do hereby authorise you to send any one or two of your men or friends unto him for causes of good treaty, foreseeing always that such as you send have special regard to the honour of Her Majesty and your own credit."—Navan, 1599, November 25. [Postscript.] "This authority for parleying to continue for the space of five days next after the date hereof, and your proceedings to be certified unto me with all speed." Signed. Copy. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

68. VII. C[hristopher Nugent], Baron Delvin, to the Earl of Ormonde. "Presently upon receipt of your Lordship's authority, I sent my Lieutenant Thomas Leicester and my servant Matthew Archbold to treat with Tyrone, according the instructions agreed upon by myself, Sir John Tyrrell; and the chief gentlemen, the copy whereof (containing, I hope, nothing prejudicial to Her Majesty's honour or my own credit) I send your Lordship, as also Tyrone's answer to the same. The scope and meaning of our side was only to gain some time, wherein we might be relieved, or at the least lay up part of our corn safe from his cruelty, without which (had he gone forward, not being resisted, as he began) he might, without any more stroke striking, force us, in very short time, for want of sustenance, to forsake both country and castles.

"It may please your Lordship to be advertised, during these eight or nine days, that Tyrone and his forces of the one side, and the Leinster rebels on the other side, are burning and preying of myself and my neighbours at their pleasures, that I had no more forces to be commanded upon all occasions but my own foot company; for



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*having written to Mr. Shane (whose company only of the garrisons your Lordship assigned to answer me) that he should send me 50 of his men for three or four days, leaving the rest for the defence of his house, he answered me that they could not be spared from thence, but wished rather to have the assistance of another company thither. And as for the country, every of them thinketh himself and all the people he hath, too few to keep his house. Therefore, I beseech your Lordship, if the wars do hold, that some better course be taken for defence of this poor country, which had been quite destroyed ere this, as is well known to the whole shire, had not myself extraordinarily strained my best endeavours and ability to preserve the same for Her Majesty; or, if such course may not be taken, that it would please your Lordship of all favour with speed to signify as much, that I may during this short cessation convey my wife and children to Dublin.*”—Clonin, 1599, November 28. [Postscript.] “*It may please your good Lordship to understand that my company are destitute of clothes and lendings for this present time, and I beseech your Lordship that they may be provided for as others.*” Signed. Copy. p. 1.

68. VIII. Lord Delvin's instructions to Lieutenant Thomas Leicester and Matthew Archbold, to parley with Tyrone. [Original of No. 63 I. above.]—1599, November 26. Signed. p. 1.

68. IX. *The proceedings of Lieutenant Thomas Leicester and Matthew Archbold with Tyrone, and the latter's answers.* [Original of No. 63 II. above.]—1599, November 26. Signed. p. 1.

Dec. 4.  
Dublin.

69. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers him to his letter to the Privy Council. Finds little hope of the traitor's conformity, and therefore wishes Her Majesty would choose some superior Governor of Ireland. Will do all he can in her service.

“Upon my return (after the conclusion of the cessation), I hastened hither to the Lords Justices and Council, as well to acquaint them with my proceedings in this parley, as to bestow the army into garrison places, and to deal with their Lordships for the victualling of them, the forts of Offally and Leix, the castles of Cahir, Ballyraggett, and Ferinlare; which, being committed by me to their Lordships' care, I am now returning towards the county of Kilkenny, to use all the means I may for prevention of Tyrone's practices. I have thought fit herein enclosed to send you a note of such motions as I left in writing with the Lords Justices and Council, to be by them effected before the end of this cessation; assuring you, upon my credit, had I not made head against the Archtraitor Tyrone at this time, he had overrun all the Pale. In taking view of the forces I had with me, I found such exceeding deceit, as it appeared unto me that Her Majesty is greatly abused in them, and the commanders so unwilling to serve, as I am daily troubled with their suits to go for England, and yet hitherto, for my part, I have not given leave to any.” Prays for the bearer's speedy dispatch back.—Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th. pp. 1½. Encloses,

69. I. “*Things motioned by the Lord Lieutenant of the Army to the Lords Justices and the Council, 4 December, 1599, after return from the parley with Tyrone.*”



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*That during this cessation they would cause all Her Majesty's forts and castles to be victualled, if possible, to the last of March. That they would give present order that the garrisons now placed by him upon the borders may be supplied with victuals and other means, and that a proportion of victuals be sent to Navan before the fine of the cessation. That in this cessation the bridges and passages upon the Boyne be fortified and guarded, and the fords stopped. That those of the Pale may be driven to be better in readiness against the fine of the cessation. That the companies of horse and foot in pay may be reinforced before that time. That it would please their Lordships to cause some special place in every of those garrison towns to be fortified, where the companies may safely draw together, with their victuals and munition, foreseeing that they have water within the place to be fortified, where a few men may defend the same. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 4.  
Dublin.

70. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. Desiring him to give all furtherance to Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, to whom he has given license to repair to England. Napper's long and painful service in Ireland.—Dublin, 1599, December 4. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 4.  
Dublin.

71. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "This traitorous and villainous libel, whereof I send your Honour a copy (*wanting, but see No. 25 and No. 25 III. above, and the endorsement of the latter*), is divulged and spread abroad by these Popish priests and Jesuits (whereof this country doth swarm), and [they] do mightily infest and seduce this bad nation, being apt to embrace anything that may have any colour (how false soever it be) to maintain their rebellious actions. The Bishop of Meath, thinking it fit that this traitorous and villainous libel should be answered, hath framed something in answer thereof, which I wished might first be considered by your Honour and others in England, before it were made known here, and therefore I persuaded his Lordship first to send the same unto your Honour, which I know he doeth, desiring your Honour to accept of his Lordship's dutiful and well-willing mind."—Dublin, 1599. December 4. *Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 12th. Holograph. p. 1.*

Dec. 5.  
Dublin.

72. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being lately at the Council table, when Tyrone's seditious libel was presented to the Lords Justices, I earnestly desired to have a copy thereof; which being granted unto me, as often as I did sithence peruse it, so often did I conceive it to be a thing very needful to be answered, to prevent, if it might be, some of the dangerous effects which the deviser and publishers of that seditious matter and subject intended to work amongst Her Majesty's good and loyal subjects of the Pale, to whom especially it is directed. For which respect, I thought it agreeable with my bounden duty to my most gracious Sovereign, to sequester myself for a few days from other business, and to devise an answer to that pernicious writing. And having now made an end of this labour, considering it concerns Her Majesty and her government so nearly as it doth, I thought it meetest to stay

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the publication of my answer, until I had first sent it to your Honour, and may understand your pleasure, whether it shall be thought meet to publish this answer, and in what sort. For the matters of fact therein rehearsed, I know I have not erred, and for the points of learning, in regard of the shortness of time, and my forced absence from my study and books at Ardraccan, I have borrowed some matter and reasons from the Bishop of Winchester, out of his learned book against the Jesuits." Prays that his performance may be accepted, and that both it and this letter may be shewn to any that is learned.—Dublin, 1599, December 5. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Dec. 5.  
Whitehall.

73. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Justice Carey and Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "Because Her Majesty hath resolved to make answer to many letters of yours very shortly, you may not expect by this packet of mine any matter of importance; and yet, in respect of some mistaking of my former letter in a matter concerning the sending over of the two gentlemen, Sir Thomas Wingfield and Mr. Stafford, I have found it necessary to touch a little the effect thereof. This night, and not before, the one of them arrived; the other is yet upon the way, in respect of his disability to travel with any expedition. They are both come, as I perceive, upon the occasion of my letter to your Lordship, but altogether without any instructions from the State. The reason why I wrote for them was this. There was a bruit that the State there intended to send over some one of the long robe of the Council to make relation of the state of Ireland; and the Earl of Essex, the late Lieutenant, did also deliver that he heard that divers of the Council would come away. Whereupon there grew that restraint which followed; and, when Her Majesty desired it might rather be by some martial men that the information should come than by any other, and that it was reported that Sir Thomas Ma[ria] Wingfield meant to come over of himself, the purpose of my letter was, that either he or the other should be directed hither with such relations; of which you have performed part, but by the obscurity of my letter in that point, I find that they are sent over unfurnished with instructions from the State there; whereof this inconvenience is happened, which I wish might forthwith be repaired, that it is suspected and commonly bruited that, seeing they had nothing committed to them from the State, but came away privately, without taking their leave, or making it known, that of necessity this must be with some purpose to give underhand informations against the Council there; which is a touch to the reputation of the poor gentlemen, who, having been already more unfortunate than others of less merit, are afraid to be scandalized by this accident, which hath grown surely by some mistaking in you, and some darkness in my letter. I pray your Lordship, therefore, and you, Mr. Secretary, make it known there how this matter happened; for I protest before God there was no other purpose in sending for them but this, that they were men that might be best spared, and that their experience, added to their instructions you would have given them, would have been more satisfactory than any letters by messengers of vulgar knowledge. But in the main point there is no prejudice; for, since they were dispatched, the large joint letter



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from the Council, touching all particulars both sensibly and discreetly, hath very well informed Her Majesty of many things that were doubtful, and their personal relations also will serve to very good use at such conferences as Her Majesty useth to hold in consultations for the service of Ireland, in which Her Majesty's Council heareth such men's opinions, as are fit for a council of war. So as if you do but make it known there speedily, how it fortuneth that the Council were not acquainted with their coming, and that it grew by my error, there is no harm done. Wherein I pray you be careful, because it hath some reference even both to myself as well as them, of both whom this time is apt to take jealousy without cause, as God knoweth.

"I pray you recommend me humbly to my Lord of Ormonde, and let his Lordship know that I am ashamed of my last forgetfulness in not signing my letter to him, but I will make amends of it by my next, till which time I pray you desire his Lordship to hold me excused; for I will write particularly of all things contained in his letter, which now I cannot so conveniently do, neither do I think my letter should find him at Dublin."—Whitehall, 1599, December 5. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 199 b-200 b. Copy. pp. 2.*

Dec. 5.  
[Dublin.]

74. Sir William Warren to Sir Robert Cecil. "For my long silence your Honour hath pleased to excuse me. I did find the Earl of Essex very honourable to me during his Lordship's being here, which I was very willing to deserve any way so far as I might, especially in anything that might conserve Her Majesty's service. Yet will I never forget your honourable favours shewed to me in England, when others, as your Honour writeth, would not, for which my service shall ever rest ready to the uttermost of my power, and would think myself happy, if I might be employed by your Honour in any sort, wherein I might shew my thankfulness.

"Whereas it hath pleased Sir Geoffrey Fenton to write his opinion of my sufficiency in my employment to Tyrone, it is a thing I never desired at his hands, therefore I am the more thankful for his good conceit of me, although it be a service I would willingly have forborne, and did use all the means I could to avoid it, because I knew there was but little gain and less credit gotten by being employed to so base a traitor. Yet when I saw that I could do more than others, and had those means that others had not, to further Her Majesty's service, I was contented to be employed to him, which hath been both painful and chargeable to me, and as yet altogether unrecompensed. And, to prove that I did Her Majesty good service oftentimes in my employment, when Tyrone's forces hath been together, and ready to invade the Pale, and our forces no way able to make any resistance, I did handle the matter so with him, that I did both stay his fury, and got him to yield to cessations from time to time; by which means we gained a great deal of time of him, and saved the subjects from spoiling. And now, last of all, when he came into the Pale with a great force, and did refuse either to yield to any cessation or to parley with the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, yet I did carry my business in such sort, being employed to him, that I did not only cause him to draw all his forces out of the Pale into Ferney,

but I brought him to speak to the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Geffrey Fenton; and when they all could not get him to yield to any cessation, I got him to yield to a month, in which time he hath promised to know O'Donnell's demands with all the rest, which he undertaketh shall be reasonable, and withal told me that if Her Majesty would be pleased to grant a free liberty of conscience through the whole kingdom, that then he would undertake that all his confederates should yield and pay to Her Majesty all such rents and duties, as heretofore she hath been paid by them; and for performance thereof they should put in such pledges as she should demand; and that he himself, for his own part, would put in both his sons as pledges for himself.

"But, to be plain with your Honour, I will presume to deliver my opinion of him and the rest. I do assure your Honour that there is little trust in any of them. They are both proud and strong, and will never yield to any reason till they be beaten; for, upon the least occasion that may be proffered them, they will be all in arms again. What kind of peace that may be, I leave to your Honour's consideration. They have all the goods of the kingdom, and do encroach upon us daily. And, to gain time of them this winter, by making of cessation from one month to another, I hold it very necessary, by reason of the weakness of our army, and therefore have been the more willing [to be] employed to him. I dare assure your Honour they are not such devils as they are thought to be. They are men easy to be dealt withal, if we can happen upon the right course. There are many factions amongst themselves, and many of the best of them would fall from Tyrone, if there were a Governor here that they thought they might trust. O'Connor Sligo, that is now joined with them, did assure me, and so did others of as good account as he, that he would not only join with us himself, but that McMahon, Tirlogh McHenry, Tyrone's brother, one of O'Donnell's brothers, James McSorley, with all the men of Clandeboy, divers in Connaught and the Brenny, would fall from him, if there were a Governor settled here, that would undertake the matter thoroughly.

"I found some of the Lord of Delvin's household men with him, and as I came by the way did meet with his steward going into his camp, which was very strange to me, considering there was no cessation at all at that time. It was reported that he is determined to join with Tyrone. What credit may be given to these reports, I leave to your Honour's consideration.

"Whereas your Honour writeth you would be glad by my good success to have occasion to continue me in Her Majesty's good opinion, and to procure Her Majesty's confirmation for me in the charge of Carrickfergus, which your Honour thinketh a fit garrison for me, if Tyrone prove a good subject, howsoever he prove I care not, I will ever hold myself as honest on Her Majesty's service, as he that she committeth most trust to in her privy chamber. And for Tyrone, I dare assure your Honour he will ever continue a proud, ungrateful, and malicious traitor, unless he perform now what he hath promised me, of which I am in some doubt.



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"For the government of Carrickfergus, I do humbly entreat your Honour's favour to be a mean for my continuance there, otherwise that Her Majesty will be pleased, in consideration of my long service, to give me some means to live upon, and I shall ever hold myself, as already I have been, much bound to your Honour, if now by your honourable means I may either enjoy that government, or have means to live quietly at home.

"Concerning some reports delivered your Honour of Tyrone, wherein it seemeth he hath accused your Honour of some practices against him by Lapley, for my own part I protest before God I never heard him speak of any such matter, but that day the Earl of Essex did parley with him; and then he said openly that you went about to poison him, and that he hoped with plain dealing to cut off your Honour's head with his sword. And for Sir Henry Brouncker, he vowed upon a book that he never had any ill thought of him in all his life. I fear he that hath informed your Honour of these reports hath abused you greatly. He hath promised upon his return from O'Donnell to impart to me his knowledge of all these matters more at large. If your Honour shall think fit to send me instructions in secret how I shall proceed with him, I doubt not but I shall find means to prevail better than others can or hath done as yet.

"My often employments to Tyrone hath always yielded Her Majesty good furtherance in her service, for I can and will boldly assure your Honour that the State here have had no intelligence of any importance, since my coming into Ireland, but what they have had from me, or by my means; which I fear the Lords Justices and Council will forbear to acquaint your Honour withal, but rather attribute all things to themselves, and make my service fruitless to me.

"Upon Tyrone's motion for liberty of religion, one Richard Owen, standing by who[m] sometime was the traitor Sir William Stanley's man, wished him to stand upon the Church living, whereunto he answered that he had no reason to deal with that; he would not presume to proffer Her Majesty that wrong. Sir Geoffrey Fenton received a letter from Her Majesty, wherein she was pleased to take notice of some speeches supposed to be delivered the Earl of Essex by Tyrone, which was, that he would never draw his sword against his father's son, not remembering his duty at all to Her Majesty, unto whom he oweth all duty; which letter Sir Geoffrey thought it very necessary for some respects to shew Tyrone, and sent the letter by me to him. Tyrone, perceiving that there was notice taken of his speeches, answered presently, 'they are wise men that made that report to Her Majesty, as though I should make more account of any of her subjects than of herself,' and withal used this protestation, 'I protest to God I do respect her little finger more than all the subjects she hath.'"—[Dublin,] 1599, December 5. *Signed. Not addressed, but endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "W. Warren to me." pp. 3½.*

Dec. 7.  
Dublin.

75. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my return from the parley, I understand the Lord Bishop of Meath hath digested an answer to Tyrone's libel, by way of refutation of the

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most material and monstrous parts of it, which the Bishop and some of the Council thought meet should be published out of hand. But for my part I wished it might not proceed for a time, for that to encounter a libel so scandalous in the highest degree against our Sovereign, and that before it was known what operations it had or could work in the hearts of the people, might be to raise conceits and apprehensions in the minds of the unsettled multitude, when they should see an answer proclaimed to a matter that was not as yet published; only I wished that the answer might be first sent to your Honour to consider of it, and thereupon to receive Her Majesty's direction, whether to divulge it or suppress it; to the which the Council did assent, and I think the Bishop hath now sent his labours in that answer to your Honour.

"There are fresh alarums of the speedy returning of the Earl of Essex to his government, and some have written from thence, that there is a necessity to lay it upon his Lordship, for that none other will take that charge, though (as is written) Her Majesty hath made offers to many. For my part, to your Honour I say, if his Lordship come with a purpose to stay Tyrone with ceremonies, or to temporize him on by treaties, I look for no good by that course, for that he is dangerously altered since his Lordship's departure, inasmuch as he hath openly disavowed Her Majesty to be his prince, and laboureth to introduce a foreign government. This is the highest language a traitor can speak, and to one poisoned with this cup there is no course to smooth with him, but to take him down with the sword. His quarrel hitherto hath been for popular grievances, and to remove some some country burdens over-heavily charged upon him, as he thought, by some Her Majesty's ministers. But now he aspireth to cantonize the kingdom, or at least to prescribe limits and bounds to Her Majesty, wherein I never read that a rebel went so far, unless he were utterly reprobate. And therefore having banded himself apparently both against God and his prince, I hope God, who never forsaketh the protection of kings and kingdoms against the rebellion of their subjects, will now take the quarrel in hand, inasmuch as this traitor hath raised arms against his anointed prince, which is directly to make war against God. I pray your Honour secrete me in this from all others, unless it be to Her Majesty."—Dublin, 1599, December 7. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Dec. 10.  
Richmond.

76. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. "We have received many letters from you of late, which do rather contain advertisements than require present answer; with which carefulness of yours Her Majesty is very well pleased, yet, in respect there are many particulars in matters of charge, wherein we are not satisfied in such exact form as in former times we have been (when the expense was far under this proportion), where now Her Majesty's treasure melteth like wax before the sun, you must not hold it strange if, by this letter of ours, we do descend into such a course, as may make things clearer, when both you on that side and we on this side hold a course so to understand each other, as Her Majesty's service may not run into any confusion; for, if there be not foresight used, and order observed, great expenses and



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disorderly accounts will impoverish the richest monarchs in Christendom. We will therefore begin with some of the general heads, which we often touched, but never received other than dilatory satisfaction.

"As first concerning the treasure. The whole Council have often written unto you that there must needs be great sums of money in your hands, by defalcations of victuals and arms, by checks, and by such payments as were made here of great numbers of horse and foot, when they lay at the seaside in England. To all which, besides some additions by your receipts of revenue and other casualties, although you have made some answer by representation hither of many extraordinaries which you have been put to, yet, because it may appear we reckon not all things by guess, but conclude most upon your own certificates, we think it not amiss to remember you that, although you had money to pay the army full from the first of March, yet Her Majesty hath freed you of the sum of above 5,000*l.*, which she hath paid here in England to that portion of the army that arrived not in Ireland till mid April, so as that sum hath not been issued by you for that service. You have also certified that you have defalked 15,000*l.* for victual long since. For the checks also, we think you will not yourselves deny but the sum of 6,000*l.* at the least must be defalked before September last. Of the revenue yourselves confessed then 1,400*l.* Now if in these heads here be at the least the sum of 26,000*l.*, wherein we omit many other particulars, then compare with them your extraordinaries represented, and you shall see that all your own demands cannot be multiplied to 12,000*l.* And yet we do omit both account for checks, since the late Lord Lieutenant arrived in England (which cannot but be great by all men's reports and your complaints of want of men), nor [*sic*, ? and] for defalcation of any victual, since there was an order given that the soldier should take half victual and half money.

"Of all which things when we had considered, and reckoned how many months' treasure hath been sent, which was sufficient to make full pay till the 10th of October, Her Majesty resolved forthwith to send you other money with all speed. For although we must needs deal thus particularly with you in these reckonings, because you have heretofore pretended that you have lacked a thousand pounds to bestow upon a sudden for necessary uses, yet we know well that the army is behindhand, and therefore have ordered to have you furnished with a round portion of money, for which purpose there is delivered into the hands of your men 20,000*l.* to be presently sent to Dublin, and 5,000*l.*, which shall be sent to Munster, where it is incredible to hear the lacks they complain of, whereof we do not marvel, when it is but a few days since you sent money thither, after so long time that they have wanted. In which point we do wonder you would trust so young a man with money, that is so bad a deliverer of the same, if it be true, which you the Treasurer have certified, that he should be come into England with 300*l.*

"As concerning the victuals, whereto we perceive you impute the overthrow of so many men, it hath not a little moved us; and

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therefore we are resolved to have the matter fully examined, thinking it strange, if the Commissary found it so bad, that it hath been all this while unadvertised; but because it cannot be but fraud is used in some body, we pray your Lordships do your parts to discover it; for we forbear to send any more over, until you send Newcomen or some other over, for the further consideration of those things that are necessary, and specially because yourselves desired lately that money might be rather sent over than victual.

"For the apparel, it is pretended by them that it hath been shipped ever since the first of October, but that, by reason of contrary winds, it hath been hindered; and now we see both certificates from you of 7,000 suits arrived, whereunto the merchants have added that there were 16,000 complete suits before, besides a great portion of hose and shoes. We did also take order with them to provide both Irish stockings and brogues, as things that will better serve the soldiers' necessities, whereof we desire to be advertised. And for the request that was made by the Lord Justice Treasurer, that at the next time, if the army increase not, there should be sent over but 9,000 suits, you know first that there is no more apparel now to be sent till the summer, at which time, if the army keep the proportion as it is, we do not see, but some of the common soldiers must go unapparelled. But we will leave any further speech thereof till better leisure. Only we must say this, that where you affirm now, that you will make 70 suits suffice to furnish every band, it may thereupon as confidently be gathered that in every 100 you find a notorious deficiency, and so that you have in your hands, by checks, very great sums of money.

"Where you have written to us to know when the entertainment of the late Lord Lieutenant should cease, you must assure yourselves that Her Majesty will not allow you in account any further sum for his entertainment, after you once received Her Majesty's letter for the establishing you her Lords Justices, wherein he had only left you by way of provision; and you must understand that Her Majesty's meaning is, that the entertainment formerly allotted to the Deputies must be that which must be allowed to you two, and the Earl of Ormonde is apportioned as the Earl of Essex found it when he came over; whereof we think fit to advertise you now, before the treasure's coming over, to avoid uncertainty in your reckonings.

"What will be the issue of the parley (if there be any) we shall hear by your next letters; whereof when Her Majesty heard, she was sorry that the despatch was not arrived, which was written by the Lords from hence concerning that point of any further treaty, in answer of your letter of the 24th, wherein you of yourselves did think it fit to try no further. But Her Majesty well remembers that that was impossible to be with you so soon, and knows that those that do deal in it, upon this sudden exigent, will do nothing in it indiscreetly, to Her Majesty's danger or dishonour.

"Concerning your demands for warrant to pay the 2,000 men, we presume you have it already; and for the warrant for you to employ such sums as are defalked for victual upon other uses, whereby you exceed not the charges of the list or establishment, we think, if you had any of Sir Henry Wallop's men there, they would tell you



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that the hour is to come that ever their master had any such particular warrant; but if, when you are better informed, you can shew us good reason why you must have a warrant, Her Majesty shall be moved to sign it.

“It is very strange to see how many come over hither, suitors for money, with fair shows of just debts, subscribed by those in your office, both now and formerly, amongst the which we find that the provincial Governors, that have made great demands for beeves, which we do know well enough are to be defalked upon all that spent that victual, do make it an ordinary thing to be suitors for those sums, when the parties that owe the goods themselves (after these great payments made) come hither often to sue again to the Queen, a thing which much distracteth us upon petitioners’ requests. For though it is true that often the Governor or Captain gives his ticket to the country, he will receive his full pay after, never acquainting the Treasurer what bills he hath formerly given out to the country; no, nor the Treasurer and his men (which is a very great fault), when they sign the tickets, do ever give them any certain date; which whosoever considers it narrowly, shall see that it is the cause of infinite prejudice to Her Majesty. The computation that we make now hath been to supply an army of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse, with payment of all fees and wages due to the officers and pensioners of the kingdom; wherein, as you know, the pay of the General of the Horse is extinguished; so we doubt not but the pay of the Quarter Master now ceaseth. And for the Lieutenant of the Horse, who is here in England, we doubt not but you have likewise stopped that allowance, as also the Lieutenant of the Ordnance, Surveyor of the Ordnance, and Clerk of the Munition, which have been newly erected, where it is not unknown to you, that Her Majesty payeth a Master of the Ordnance, and all inferiors in that office, by former establishments. If there have been any Colonels and Captains, that are come over into England without license of the late Lord Lieutenant, or the Lords Justices, or the Earl of Ormonde, you may not forget to check them from the day of their departure to the day of their return. And for any other that have had license, and were not returned thither within ten days after the 17th of October, at which time they were all commanded to repair to their charge, you may not forbear to check them from the tenth day after that warning day, for them and their retinue, until their arrival.

“Concerning your demands for extraordinaries, Her Majesty considers well that it is fit to supply those things, they having been ever heretofore provided for. But when the titles are examined of the concordatums lately passed, it seemeth strange that you of the Council could imagine that, when she provided so powerful an army, and allotted 5,000*l.* only for extraordinaries, she must find that to be consumed in paying new Captains and companies, and 1,100*l.* at one time in reward to those who were pretended to be cessed for their offences; where it is well known that concordatums have been expended in and about necessary transportations of victual, either by land or sea, for espial, for payments of packets, messengers, and

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other petty charges, which could not be comprised within the general titles. And therefore Her Majesty hath willed us to write unto you to send us an abstract, what particular sums have passed by concordatums since the 5,000*l.* was issued, to the intent that she may consider of a portion of treasure to maintain those accidental charges. Because the treasure will go slowly, and that we would be glad to acquaint you with our desires in time, that thereupon a better correspondency may follow, we have sent you this with more speed, and have caused some remembrances to be set down in a paper hereinclosed, which may serve to some purpose, for the keeping of a better method in Her Majesty's service."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, December 10. *Enclose,*

76. I. "*Certain remembrances concerning the provisions for Ireland, sent in the said despatch.*"

*The Commissaries of Leinster and Ulster to certify to [George] Beverley, and he to the Council of Ireland, the state of the victuals in the magazines at Dublin, Carrickfergus, and Newry. Infrequency of Beverley's certificates. The Commissaries for the Musters to certify to the Mustermaster at Dublin how many soldiers are allotted to those magazines, and whether the soldiers may for money victual themselves in those parts, when the magazines are spent. The Commissaries for Cork in Munster and Galway in Connaught to do the same, and also to send duplicates of their certificates to the Privy Council, the passage from Cork and Galway directly to England being much more speedy. Directions as to the issue and storage of victuals, so as to prevent their corruption. Davies, the factor of Darrell and Jolls, sent to Dublin to assist the Comptroller of the Victuals in making a perfect and speedy account of all victual sent for February next and the six following months. Robert Newcomen, Victualler for Ireland, to repair to England with the said Davies, or rather before him, and to bring all his books and reckonings, "whereby Her Majesty may have a perfect knowledge and account of the matter of victual in Ireland, which now lies wrapped in the folds of much confusion." Mr. Treasurer to certify all imprests delivered by him for victuals, as also the defalcations made for victuals from 30 September to 30 November, 1599, those from 1 March to 30 September, 1599, having been already certified by Beverley the Comptroller. Victual for two months, for 3,250 men ordered to be presently sent to Cork and Limerick, upon certain intelligence of great want in Munster. Wonder therefore that the Lord Justice Carey dehorts sending over victuals till he send word. Divers monies for salt and bags. A brewhouse in Cork to be secured. Short cast of one hundred thousand pounds of biscuit in Beverley's account. The Lord Justice Carey to send over as soon as possible a particular and perfect account of all receipts, defalcations, and checks, of all issues, and of all remains, to 31 December, 1599. Henceforth, victual and treasure for Munster not to be sent by way of Dublin, but directly to Cork. Five thousand pounds now sent to the latter place by Watson, Mr. Treasurer's man. Monies for the victualling, &c., of the Popinjay. The Master of the Ordnance to send a certificate, both to the Treasurer in Ireland and to the Privy Council in England, of all issues of arms and munition, from 3 March to 30 November*



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[1599], *and of what remains in the four provinces, considering how largely munition was provided for.*—Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 200b-205b. Copies. pp. 10.

Dec. 10.

Cork.

77. Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power to Sir Robert Cecil. They presumed to write to him on behalf of Florence McCarthy, lately arrived out of England with Her Majesty's letters to the Lord Lieutenant, both for his father-in-law's lands, and for some convenient charge to serve Her Highness. By reason of the Lord Lieutenant's absence, these letters took not effect, and McCarthy craved their aid and advice. Could not give weapons and munition to his people and followers, as the store was small. The recovery of his country will be very available to Her Majesty, and so much the more prejudicial to the traitors, they having placed their chiefest abode in that country, as their greatest strength and fastness. Think that McCarthy should be assisted by all good means, considering he is at present driven to entertain some five or six hundred Connaught men, whom he does not altogether trust. Think also that he should be graced with the title of McCarthy (now usurped by the bastard Donnell McCarthy), the better to enable him to obtain and defend his country.—Cork, 1599, December 10. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 10.

Dublin.

78. Sir Henry Harrington to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have here stayed, ever sithence the coming over of my Lord Lieutenant, with small encouragement, having neither horse or foot in pay, or entertainment any way. I have lost my blood and limbs, my eldest son slain at the Blackwater, my land that I have here moiled for this thirty years all burnt and waste, and in the possession of the rebels. I hope your Honour, and the rest of the Lords, will be pleased to employ me, or give me leave to return. Here I have not any means or help, but what I have out of England. It is a place of no great pleasure here to live; but, to do Her Majesty's service, I shall think my life and what my estate will bear well spent in discharge of my duty. Here are many employed, that are not acquainted with this service, which is a great discouragement to those that have spent their whole time here, and [are] no way thought of. Here be divers companies, that are in the list two hundred, that are little better than a hundred. If it please your Honours to direct your pleasures to the Lords Justices, that I may have two hundred foot, I will see them well furnished and strongly kept. There is no border in Ireland that hath more need to have men than the Byrnes' country, which annoys all these parts to the gates of Dublin. I have had the charge of that country this twenty-three years. If I had any company to stir, they should not daily spoil as they do. I am able to rise out thirty horse well appointed, without charge to Her Majesty, to answer me in these parts, with good guides and spial, which must be the mean, if any service be done here. My Lord Burgh discharged my horsemen, I being in England; they are in my debt for horses four hundred pounds, serving now in broken companies, which will do little service. The Lords Justices have been in hand with me to erect fifty horse, which will be very chargeable.

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If your Honours please to write to the Lords Justices that I shall not be discharged of them without warrant from your Lordships, I will make them up, which will cost me five hundred pounds, with all the help I can make. There is not any hasty to desire horsemen, though furnished to them, upon this pay. I will see them well manned, horsed, and appointed, if I may have 15*d.* a day, which is as little as may be, to be tied to lie in garrison. If I may have these two hundred foot, I will not desire the horse, unless your pleasures be to have me erect them. My attending this service hath been out of my way ten thousand pound[s], by the death of my uncle, John Harrington, which my younger brother enjoys since my last coming over. God put in Her Majesty's heart speedily to look upon this distressed country.—Dublin, 1599, December 10. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Dec. 11.  
Richmond.

79. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Justice Carey. "Although, for the present, I find Her Majesty resolved to expect the success of that hopeless parley with the Traitor, before she send any greater forces into that kingdom, for which the season serveth so ill, yet cannot I suffer a packet to pass without my private recommendation. I will take care for those particular things recommended to me by Watson, which are not to be done (some of them) until the arrival of [the] Deputy, who shall be the Lord Mountjoy, whom you will find very compatible in all Her Majesty's service. The Earl of Essex is at this present, as he was, without any return to Her Majesty's favour, and, for his state of body at this time, very dangerously sick of the flux. What army Her Majesty will send is not yet set down, but she is fully resolved to plant at Lough Foyle; which matter being well used, I doubt not but the Traitor will speak in another style, especially if our peace be concluded with Spain, for which purpose Her Majesty sendeth over presently her Commissioners.

"I pray your Lordship to call upon the Master of the Ordnance, as well as he can to give us some taste, what is the remain of all the powder. For there was a 100 last sent with the Earl, whereof we never heard how much hath been issued, and therefore are now to seek in what proportion to supply this doubt. I pray your Lordship therefore to give order, that we may receive more exact and frequent certificates, for we receive great prejudice by lack of them. Furthermore I pray your Lordship to take order, that we may have certificate what is become of all those materials that were provided for Lough Foyle, whereof you shall receive a note hereinclosed (*wanting*). When Sir Samuel Bagenall had them, he was commanded to leave them at Dublin, because his troops, after the overthrow of the Marshal, were diverted from the service of Lough Foyle. If these things be forthcoming, they may be fit to supply that service; which if they be not, it were good to be understood so, and by whose default it happeneth."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, December 11. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 207. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 11.  
Savoy.

80. Sir Henry Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. "At my late being at the Court, at what time I had there with me my cousin Thomas



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Lee, he received, as I since understand, most indecent and contumelious words of the Archbishop of Cashel; with which, if he had then acquainted me, I had also presently informed yourself, and the rest of the Lords of the Council, thereof. But, having understood of it but since my last speech with you, I could not but with the first impart it to you, which I have done by his own letters hereinenclosed." Prays that the matter may be heard as soon as convenient, that the Archbishop return not "before he have either convicted my kinsman of that he hath charged him, or else be disproved by him of slander."—Savoy, December 11. *Endorsed*, 1599.

*Signed. p. 1. Encloses,*

80. 1. *Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. Being restrained from liberty, is bold to send "these rude lines petitioners" to pray that, since Her Majesty and her Council desire to be satisfied of his behaviour in her service in Ireland, the Archbishop of Cashel, who is now in England, may be called before Sir Robert, and commandment laid upon him not to depart for Ireland, until he has made proof of his most slanderous and unjust speeches against Lee. The Archbishop has called him traitor before divers witnesses. If he can prove it, is ready to undergo the law; if not, trusts he shall have justice against him. The matter being so heinous and capital as it is, beseeches that this Irish bishop and he may be "convented face to face." If Lee is convicted by him, he craves no favour; if Lee has wherein to accuse the Archbishop, he trusts he will be heard. Protests his loyalty.—Endorsed, 1599, December [11]. *Signed. p. 1.**

Dec. 12.  
Dublin.

81. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "These two writings enclosed came to me yesternight at one instant, the one containing matters of Spain, brought by a ship of Tredagh, arrived in that harbour two days past; and the other some discoveries from my Irish priest remaining with Tyrone. I send both to your Honour as they came to me, having no matter to discourse upon them, other than that I see Tyrone runneth his course, as I have formerly fore-shewed to your Honour; and I fear this great assembly of the confederates will beget some dangerous attempt against the Pale, where there is a daily falling away of some one or other; and many more will follow, when they see the Archtraitor prepared to break in with his main strength. For the Lord of Delvin, touched in the advertisements, I cannot think he will start in his own person, for that he will not lose the stake he hath at home. But it may be he will suffer his country and tenants to make their way with the rebels, wherein his own safety, houses, and goods, will be included. The place of this great meeting, named in the advertisement Maggheriquerk, is in the Dillons' country in Westmeath, upon the borders of Longford; a corner aptly chosen, for that as well they of Ulster as Desmond, and the confederates of that side, may make their passage free without danger. I fear greatly that this meeting, being upon the borders of Westmeath, the sequel will be, that all that country will be griped by the rebels, part by compulsion, and the rest of free will; and then there is a main gap set open for them to run into*

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the heart of Meath and Kildare, against which I pray God Her Majesty's forces be of sufficient strength to make resistance; otherwise the small life of the kingdom which remaineth (being the English Pale) will be in great danger. Tyrone giveth it out cunningly, that this great assembly of the confederates is to consider of the grievances of their several countries, and to see what demands and offers they are to make to Her Majesty. But assuredly their inward meaning is, to draw the Pale to them, either by force or device, and so drive Her Majesty to stand to the port-towns; and yet I fear some of them will run with the stream. I hear as yet nothing from Tyrone, who (as I wrote in my last) took fourteen days' respite to send me his answer to Her Majesty's message, which I delivered him at the parley, and I see not how it may stand with Her Majesty's honour that I should send to him for that answer, he having published so many impudent protestations against Her Majesty, unless by that course there may be time won upon him, which nevertheless I greatly doubt of. He keepeth as yet the cessation for Ulster, but his adherents in Leinster and the Pale do make booty both of men and goods, as they can snatch them; so as, by keeping the fire burning in the heart, he seeth it will languish all the parts, and in the end consume the whole; and yet will he sit quiet at home, and keep his country safe, and his men from hazard.

"I am sorry to see the sending over of a Deputy so long foreslowed, who if he had been here, or might be here, before this next meeting, it would be enough to break the neck of all their conclusions; but I have so often pressed this, as I fear I do but offend, seeing nothing hath ensued thereof of so long time. Yet the ruined estate of this kingdom, declining daily from ill to worse, will not suffer an honest man to use silence, humbly leaving to your consideration what reckoning is to be looked for of this realm, that hath no head to stir abroad to guide it, and the army which is, or ought to be, the assurance of the whole, destitute of experienced men to command. And lastly, the soldiers for the most part undisciplined, and out of use how to obey, or to be held in order. I humbly pray your Honour that I may be secreted in this."—Dublin, 1599, December 12.

[*Postscript.*] "At the signing of this letter, this third advertisement out of Connaught was brought to me, out of which some are too forward to ground a suspicion against the Earl of Clanrickarde. But I hope that nobleman will stand fast, and I wish there were a better temperance used than to provoke him and others of his rank by over-hasty and ill-grounded suspicions, a course which doth no good to be used towards men of stomach in this unsettled time." *Signed. Seals. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 20th. pp. 2. Encloses,*

81. 1. "*A declaration made unto Sir Geffrey Fenton, knight, by John Weston, factor unto Mr. Nicholas Weston, Alderman of Dublin, who was lately in Spain.*"

*John Weston came out of Lisbon thirty days past in a ship called the Fox, of Tredagh, and landed at Rush. There came*



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with him in the same ship one Captain Mealings and one Captain Hawkins, who landed at Rush also, and from thence rode to Tredagh to get passage for England. These Captains (as I heard themselves say) had letters from the Governor of Lisbon to some of the Council of England.

The *Adelantado*, with about the number of a hundred sail, manned with twenty thousand men or thereabouts, set forth of the Groyne in Galicia, of purpose, as it was reported at their going forth, to meet the Indian fleet, and to safeguard it home. But after they had been a while at sea, there rose very foul weather, so as about half their fleet was lost near the "Tersoreys" [*Terceira, Azores*]; those that scaped were all scattered, and were driven, some into Lisbon, and some into sundry other harbours, being most of them crushed, and having lost their masts.

There was one Richard Brady, that was called the pilot for the Earl of Tyrone. He was in a ship of some two hundred tons. It was said that being with his ship in Brest, he with the rest of his company were committed to prison, being accused that they had a meaning to carry the ship into England, or else into Ireland. All this happened about Michaelmas last; but a little before Weston's coming from Lisbon he heard that there was an ambassador of Spain dispatched into England. There was great hope of a peace to be concluded between Spain and England, at which there was great joy made, especially by the Portuguese, who rejoiced very much to hear the news.—*Dublin, 1599, December 10. Endorsed by Fenton. p. 1.*

81. II. ——— to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. "At the last meeting I would have seen your worship, but, fearing mistrust, I thought good to advertise you that the Earl of Desmond did write a letter that Thursday you were talking with Tyrone. The effect was that Tyrone should not be angry, for that he came not to him this last time, and that the cause was, his people were not ready; but that he would have met with Tyrone the first day of the next month in Maygherequirke, in a place, but the name of the place I have forgotten. But in that country they meet with all their forces, with all their confederates, O'Donnell with all the rest. And I fear there will come many to them at that time, that were not with them yet; and at that meeting they mean to conclude what to do; which conclusion I fear will be to no good for this poor country. They mean to do great hurt to my Lord General, I mean my Lord of Ormonde his country, and make account that many of that country will join with them; and (to tell you) I think my Lord of Delvin will join with them; at least all his country will. Do not trust Donnell Spainagh, for he did write to Tyrone that he would promise you something, but he will deceive you all, if he can. I have no more to write, but they mean to do great hurt upon this next meeting, except there be some extraordinary order taken with them, if they can. This is all I can write at this present, but I am bound this week to Tyrone; if I hear any more, you shall know it."—*Tredagh, 1599, December 6. Endorsed by Fenton, "Intelligence from Tyrone's camp, 6 Dec., 99." p. 1.*

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81. III. "Intelligences out of Connaught." "On Monday was fortnight, O'Donnell, accompanied with O'Connor Sligo, Mc-William, and others, camped within two miles of Galway. He took about twenty cows and eighty garrans, that were flying to Galway. The next day he passed by Athenry towards Clanrickarde, and camped within four miles of the Earl of Clanrickarde, his chief house, called Baleloughreough, at a ford. Thither came to him that night by night (sic) McHubbert, a chief follower of the Earl of Clanrickarde's, between whom and O'Donnell there was very long and secret talk, unknown to the intelligencer. Soon after there were sent to O'Donnell from the Countess of Clanrickarde two "boardes" of wine, which O'Donnell received, and there did drink of one of them with his company, and carried the other away with him. The intelligencer had some speeches with O'Donnell, both in his travel to that ford, and after he had encamped there. O'Donnell told the intelligencer his purpose to go into Thomond, from which purpose the intelligencer saith he did advise O'Donnell [*? to desist*], telling him of many dangerous passes, and that he was sure to be fought with. O'Donnell told him that he knew the Earl of Thomond had but 800 men, and that the Earl of Clanrickarde had but the like number, and that he esteemed not those forces. The intelligencer saith O'Donnell had there three thousand foot and three hundred and fifty horse, but nevertheless returned back early on the next morning, as the intelligencer thinketh by the procurement of McHubbert.

"He also telleth that when the two sons of the Baron of Leitrim, Redmond and John Burke, perceived O'Donnell's purpose to retire, they dealt earnestly with O'Donnell to leave some sufficient strength with them to tarry and go forwards; and they demanded of O'Donnell one thousand, which O'Donnell denied, telling Redmond he had then another purpose; and then they in displeasure, as it seemed, departed from O'Donnell with their own strength of four hundred foot, which before were part of the 3,000, and did draw themselves towards the pass of Athlone. But within a mile of Ballinasloe, Sir Thomas Burke met with some of their company, and killed some of the best of them, about six as it is reported, John Burke, the Baron's son, and a son of Redmond Stoores. For cause of knowledge, he saith he was in company with O'Donnell two days and two nights, and saw and heard as he hath testified." *Endorsed, 1599, December 12. p. 1.*

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Kinsale.

82. Florence McCarthy to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although my fortune doth still continue in one hard mood, for want of means to recover and defend me [and] my country, and to serve Her Majesty against a sight of weak and senseless traitors, whereby I was not since my coming able to do anything worth the writing unto your Honour, yet notwithstanding, because your Honour shall not think me unthankful for your great favour towards me, nor unmindful to do your Honour any service that lies in me, as also lest any matter had been inferred over against me, as is done here already, I thought fit to acquaint your Honour with



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the state of this province, which is now commanded for Her Majesty by Sir Warham Sentleger and Sir Henry Power, whom I met at Cork at my landing there, at which time, James Mc-Thomas, which they call Earl of Desmond, stood about Castlemaine with all his forces, to suffer nobody to go in nor out. But while his Connaught buonies [bonnaughts] were there, and his Munster men, my wife, that defends such another castle thereby, called Castle Logh, against her base brother, and my brother-in-law, O'Sullivan, that dwells thereby, could with friendship send in a messenger; but after the buonies were changed, and that Desmond himself, with his chiefest and faithfullest followers, and with Captain Tyrrell and his company of four or five hundred, came about it, those poor English and Irish men, that were in the castle almost famished, were constrained to deliver it, a little after my landing, which all Munster could not have taken from Her Majesty, if I were possessed of my country, which comes to that castle gate on the south side. Sir Warham and Sir Henry Power were very careful to relieve it, but their forces were so weak, and the weather so foul and so rainy, that no English forces could go over Slieve Luochra; besides that I perceive all the Lords and gentlemen of these parts unwilling to serve and hazard themselves and their men, the Queen's pay being given to those young fellows and Captains of small skill and ability that are preferred there, although most of those Lords and gentlemen do bear the rebels no affection. Whereby I could wish that Her Majesty had entertained those that are able to bring good means to the war, and that manifested their evil will to the traitors by killing or spoiling them, or by being killed or spoiled by them; whereof there are a great number, for the rebels doth nothing but kill and spoil everywhere daily, as I know of late by experience. For after Castlemaine was had, Desmond came with his forces to Drishane in Muskerry. His forces consisted of twelve hundred foot without any horsemen to be spoken of. I had Sir Warham and Sir Henry Power's warrant to parley or send to any rebels, and was then in Dowall within four miles of them, and sent to them for assurance to parley with them. They all swore to do me no hurt, and sent Captain Tyrrell and Piers Lacy for me. Where when I came, it passes how joyful they were all of my coming, only they misliked that night mine English attire, but much more my piercing speeches in Her Majesty's behalf, and against their foolish, senseless, damned action, to the undoing of themselves, and all men else near them. That night I said nothing, but the next morning I entreated them that they would not favour mine adversary, my base brother-in-law, nor help him with any of their men, nor defend my country for him against me. Whereupon they sent me aside, and they and the Bishop McCragh consulted concerning me, and sent me word by Piers Lacy that, if I would promise to take their part and to friend them, they would within four days settle me in my country. I told them that my kindred to them, and also my friendship in times past was well known to themselves, and craved their bishop's

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aid in regard of my religion. But, as God judge me, all would not avail; for, by God's life, they promised me no favour, their answer being that my country was the back and strength of all Munster, and that, if I possessed it, I should destroy them all in a moment for Her Majesty, which they would with all their endeavour hinder me of, except I were sworn at the least to do them no hurt, which, God is my Judge, I refused to do. Whereupon I departed with as little favour as they could afford me; but, as I was with them that night, after their supper of beef and water, which is all the meals they make in a day, they had not for their twelve hundred men but two beds; the one for the Bishop and another divine of great account among them, his name is Dermod, and the other for Desmond, where he would needs have me to lie also, whereby one of Her Majesty's and another of Tir-owen's lay together that night; whereof, and of my being there, my Lord Barry made up great matters everywhere here. But Sir Warham and Sir Henry Power told him that I went by their advice and warrant, but he never thought to tell them, how himself promised his daughter in marriage to Desmond, which Sir Warham and Sir Henry doth well know. At my departing from the rebels, I took one of their best Captains with the hundred men from them, and so went to Cork, to acquaint the Council there with their intentions. Whereupon Sir Henry Power caused all the forces hereabouts to be gathered, they being gone through Muskerry into my father's country of Carberry, where they spoiled the three best and wealthiest followers that I had, having lodged all their forces in their villages, and consumed all their corn and cattle. I went to them again, upon assurance at their coming out of Carberry, thinking to bring them and the Queen's forces to meet; but all the wit in the world could not persuade them to be one hour out of their bogs and woods, whereby they could not be fought withal. After their departure, I took Sir Warham and Sir Henry's advice for my journey into my country, to recover it. I told them what forces of Connaught men I entertained, which are about five or six hundred, and how I could not make up any number to be spoken of of mine own men, for want of weapon[s]. Whereupon (because Her Majesty's store house here is not well stored of munition now, as myself hath seen), they thought fit to write unto your Honour in my behalf, and to signify how beneficial the recovering of my country would be unto Her Majesty, and what service I am able to do her, if I might have means. Wherefore I humbly beseech your Honour, as I have always found you a most honourable and careful friend, to be a mean by acquainting Her Highness and the Council with what is certified in my behalf, and (by furthering it) that I may obtain some honourable charge, and that I may have weapon[s] and munition for three hundred, all in pikes and culivers, which I will answer out of mine entertainment; or, otherwise, that Her Majesty's pleasure may be signified to the Council of Ireland, both herein and concerning the title of McCarthy, which the bastard hath taken upon him, and which



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is a great motive to the foolish country people to follow him. For they will hardly follow such a man as I am, that will not suffer himself to be called McCarthy, where they may find one that is publicly so called. Which matter is one of the chiefest causes that detains me out of the country; for, if I overcome the said bastard and buonies that be with him, the people of the country, which are almost altogether for me, will against my will call me McCarthy, which will, for fear of imprisonment if I came in, and for fear of being reputed or accounted a rebel if I stayed out, make me leave Her Majesty's service, and run back into England, or into France, or to some other place of Her Majesty's friends, being long since weary of imprisonment, in which calamity I spent a dozen years already."—Kinsale, 1599, December 12. *Holograph. pp. 1½.*

Dec. 15.

83. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. "Whereas at the coming over hither of the Earl of Essex, Her Majesty's late Lieutenant of Ireland, and since that time, divers gentlemen and others of their retinue, having charge and entertainment there in Her Majesty's service, did likewise come into England, whose absence and discontinuance from their charge and service being much disliked by Her Majesty, order was thereupon given you for the stay and checking of their entertainment, by letters from us, signifying Her Majesty's pleasure in that behalf, we are hereby to let you understand that, albeit Sir Christopher St. Lawrence be of that number, yet Her Majesty is graciously pleased that (notwithstanding the said former direction for the checks) nevertheless, in regard he is the son of a nobleman, and for his own part hath heretofore well deserved in Her Majesty's service, and withal had the leave of the said Lord Lieutenant to come over, you shall forbear to make any stay or check of any entertainment, either for himself or any of his retinue that came over with like leave, during this time of his and their absence, but shall make payment thereof unto him and them in such manner as if he had been present. And forasmuch as he, now departing from hence with Her Majesty's good favour, returneth to follow her service there, her pleasure is, that you shall yield him good grace and countenance upon any meet occasions, and also appoint unto him such charges and entertainments there, as were assigned unto him heretofore by the said late Lord Lieutenant, and he, the said Sir Christopher, did execute before his coming over, which we pray and require you to see performed."—1599, December 15. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 209. Copy. p. 1.*

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84. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council to the Privy Council. "We have received your Lordships' letters of the last of November, in answer of ours of the 17 of the same, wherein your Lordships do rightly apprehend the horrible treasons of this detestable Archtraitor. And we are in good hope that your Lordships have received our late several despatches to your Lordships touching the state of this distressed

kingdom, as also those concerning the late parley and cessation until the end of this month, betwixt the Earl of Ormonde and Tyrone, which cessation is very evil observed on the rebels' part. For Sir Arthur Savage having received from hence some money and munition for the victualling and furnishing of Athlone, as he passed towards Mullingar before his convoy by us assigned to him and very sufficient to guard him, was robbed of his money, and enforced to return back to his carriages; and after passing betwixt Mullingar and Ballymore, having with him the convoy of the garrison of Mullingar, in the mid way sent back the said garrison (as Sir Arthur Savage hath written to us) upon the assurance that Francis Shane made unto him that the rebels were all gone, and that the said Francis Shane's company, being an hundred foot, would within half a mile meet them; but the rebels, having espial on them, returned before Francis Shane's company came up unto them, by means whereof the carriages of the munition, being ten barrels of powder, with a proportion of match and bullets, was all lost, saving three or four barrels of the powder, which by good hap was thrust into a castle thereby. Sir Arthur Savage and the Provost Marshal of Connaught retired back to Mullingar, and Francis Shane staying longer than the rest, his horse was shot, and himself taken. We have received like advertisements from Sir Samuel Bagenal of some breaches upon the northern frontiers, and from others of like breaches committed by the Connors, who do daily break the cessation, and have lately taken Mr. Wakeley, an English gentleman of the Pale, and a loyal subject, prisoner. Though these mishaps do grieve us much, yet have we given order for the relieving of Athlone both with victuals and munition.

"It is a very great comfort unto us that Her Majesty is pleased to send over a nobleman to take this great charge in hand, as also that Her Highness is pleased to send hither some more treasure, whereof, we do assure your Lordships, the army at this instant standeth in great want; and yet have we borrowed very near 3,000*l.* to supply them. And whereas your Lordships are resolved to send unto Cork in Munster by Bristol the sum of 4,000*l.*, parcel of this month's pay, I, the Treasurer, do answer that, since your Lordships think it fit for Her Majesty's service, I am contented to obey your Lordships' command, and will give order to my paymasters there accordingly, humbly beseeching your Lordships that the like order may be taken for the delivery of the apparel for the soldiers in that province, the sending whereof from hence thither is both chargeable and troublesome. And where your Lordships do find fault that I, the Treasurer, do not keep so many men to attend the service as my predecessor did, I do allow four in London, and nine other paymasters in the several garrisons and provinces here; and it may well be that Watson nor any of my agents there can advertise your Lordships what defalcations are made of victuals, arms, or checks, for that the books from the several provinces are but lately brought unto me, and some of those not yet thoroughly perfected by the ministers thereof, nor



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the book of the checks made up, because the Comptroller of the Musters is not yet come hither. And further, where your Lordships do think that I, the Treasurer, have great sums of money remaining in my hands, I assure your Lordships, with your honourable favours, it is nothing so, for then would I not borrow so much money for Her Majesty's service as I have done; and I humbly beseech your Lordships to consider that there be many causes, which daily require the issuing of great sums of money besides the weekly lendings.

"We have signified your Lordships' commandment to Newcomen, and have willed him to prepare himself with his books and reckonings to repair to your Lordships, but we doubt what satisfaction he can make to your Lordships, because there are divers others that have dealing in those matters besides himself. And this day, being called before us, and acquainted with your pleasures, he signified unto us his readiness to obey the same; but, inasmuch as he is but a particular Victualler for Leinster only, and we conceive it to be your Lordships' pleasures to be satisfied for the whole, we thought it meetest to stay him for a time, in regard of the necessity we have of his service, until we may hear your Lordships' further pleasure, whether the Comptroller of the Victuals shall rather attend you with all the certificates touching that matter. Lastly, your Lordships do think it a matter most improbable that Her Majesty should pay such full numbers, where every one saith that there are few Captains of hundreds able to shew threescore, we must confess to your Lordships that it is most true, and yet your Lordships know that, if the rest be sick, they must receive pay; and the Captains murmur and are discontented that they should be so straitly and narrowly looked unto by us, as they are.

"We have also received another letter from your Lordships of the 18 of November touching Sir Henry Brouncker's account for the impost; for that it is alleged that divers payments have been formerly made by his agents to Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Thomas Norreys, Sir John Dowdall, and to the Treasurer, order shall be presently given for the due examining of the said account. But, touching the payment of this last year's rent, being 2,000*l.*, and payable, the one half at Bartholomewtide, and the other half at Michaelmas last, or within two months of either of the said feasts, I, the Treasurer, do assure your Lordships that I have received not a penny thereof. Sir Conyers Clifford was slain before Bartholomewtide, and then nothing due to Her Majesty, neither had he any warrant or authority from me to receive any part thereof. The like I say for Sir Thomas Norreys, who died the 22 of August, and therefore not knowing that any of them had received any of it, I have not defalked any part of the same upon the several entertainments of Sir Thomas Norreys or Sir Conyers Clifford.

"And further, it may please your Lordships to understand that we have lately by good hap, and upon promise of reward of 20*l.*, procured the apprehension of one Henry Fitzsimmons, a priest

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and a Jesuit, who, about a year since, came from beyond the seas, and ever since his arrival hath been a busy traveller and practiser in the Pale. He was born in Dublin, and by birth is allied to many gentlemen of the Pale. The special cause that moved us to seek his apprehension was because we received very credible intelligence, that Tyrone did direct such as brought his seditious libels into the Pale by name to the said Fitzsimmons. We have already examined him only upon some general points, whereby we find him to be a very dangerous person. And there hath been an information delivered to us of some disloyal speeches lately uttered by the said Fitzsimmons concerning Her Majesty's right and title to this kingdom, concerning the which, and all other matters that shall be thought requisite, we intend with all convenient expedition daily to examine him, and to acquaint your Lordships with our proceedings.

"We have often written to your Lordships to send over the Captains that are now there, but none of them is yet arrived save Sir Theobald Dillon, who hath received great loss both by burning of his towns and preying of his cattle, even in the time of this last cessation."—Dublin, 1599, December 15. *Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 24th. Signed. pp. 7.*

Dec. 15. 85. [Meyler Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert  
Westchester. Cecil. "Omitting other circumstances, I do marvel that your Honour sent me no answer upon any of the several letters I wrote since I left you; for which cause I must now make a repetition of their contents. First, I sought your Honour to write to me the very necessary article, which you left unwritten, concerning a promise to such as would deliver, according to the former articles, Dr. Cragh or Father Archer, or any such principal, being a thing very necessary for the furtherance of the matter pretended; assuring your Honour, although you do make more account of the getting of James FitzThomas and John his brother, than of them, yet that it were many times better for the quietness of Ireland to have them than the others. Also, I wrote to you to send to me unto Ireland the nurse of James Fitzgerald; and now I pray that I may speedily know whether she be sent or not, for, in her absence, I must use other unfittest and more dangerous instruments, being persuaded that Lady of Desmond was never beloved by such, with whom I must deal now; yet I must do as I may, if not as I would. By reason of so many strange reports, I do presume with boldness to exhort Her Majesty to have present and speedily (*sic*) care of Ireland, and not to use accustomed delays in sending him, which is to be sent at the last as Lord Deputy, but use the time while time is, being but short; *in mora periculum*. The cessation of arms is admitted by Tyrone of purpose to spend the holy days merry, according to his own manner, which he could not do for lack of commodity but by that means, as shortly you shall know by the sequel of his actions. *Ergo dum tempus habemus operemur bonum*. I pray that you would desire Mr. George Carew, when he cometh to Ireland, to appoint the Archbishop of Cashel amongst his chap-



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lains, whom (with God's grace), he shall find more serviceable for matters necessary for his intent and place there, than the one half of the rest of them. *Non recuso laborem ad solvendum debitum*, yet I fear that proverb to be verified in myself now, as it was divers times before, Service offereth stinks; yet there is a comfort, *Bona voluntas reputatur pro facto, et nullum bonum irremuneratum*, &c. I hope your Honour will interpret my words and writings in the best sense, yourself knowing that I do lack both fit words and true orthography, whereby it is easier to understand my mind than to read my writings. Yet I dare not, nor may, use any other help from a dictator or secretary in those matters. Therefore I pray your Honour to judge and accept my good meaning, although words or wri[t]ings might err.

"I spake in the way with a servant to the Lord of Upper Ossory going thither. His request is not great in his master's behalf, whom I know to have received some hard measures, where he should be relieved, as [a] good and loyal subject. Therefore in my simple opinion it were not amiss, after granting his reasonable requests, to shew good countenance with fair speeches to such chief men of that land as do hold good courses in this dangerous time; and that Her Majesty might in policy be pleased to write some comfortable words to the Lord of Upper Ossory, to Sir Charles O'Carroll, and to Sir John McCoghlan, they being hitherto very good subjects, and settled in such places, where every of them might do good service, if they were enabled thereunto. And if any of them were at Tyrone's command, he will not make doubt to overrun all Munster and Leinster, &c. I am fully persuaded, if your Honour had rightly understood my meaning, you would not be against Her Majesty to grant pardon to so many as will receive the same, as I sought it; that is, to such only as would give security for their loyalty henceforth. Upon which condition (as I think) none except the chief principal beginners should be denied of pardon, which I leave to your Honour to consider of in due time. The Lord Deputy is also to be admonished to receive upon the like condition as many Irishmen as he may to the service; whom I fear to have but very few, so itself (*sic*); yet I am in hope to bring to him some of good account upon the same condition. And the Lord Deputy shall know by experience, that it were better for him to have five hundred such Irishmen there than twice so much of such as hath not any experience in the country factions, &c. I am sure your Honour shall be weary of my letters, by reason of my tedious discourses, and intermeddling with many matters impertinent, as some would say, to my profession. Yet they are not so altogether impertinent to me, as the words spoken by Mr. Bared were to him, whom I would were sent to Ireland for this year, to be a partaker of my pains, trouble, and profit, and at his return to preach as of a thing well to him known."—Westchester, 1599, December 15.

[*Postscript.*] "Here I send (*wanting*) certain additions to the former ciphers; some of them are used in this present letter. I hope you will give a copy of them to Sir George Carew, by reason

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that it is one manner of writing by ciphers that serveth betwixt me and you both; therefore let the same be kept with the first.

"I would I had known from the Lord Admiral and your Honour, with Her Majesty's consent, what I might offer or promise to Maguire, to O'Rourke, to O'Dogherty, and to O'Boyle and others, chief ones, if they will forsake Tyrone and join to England. All the said persons are very near in kindred to the Archbishop of Cashel, and so is Sir Arthur O'Neill, and Tirlagh McHenry, and the most of the other chieftains that way; therefore let me understand from you, &c. (*sic*). The proffer being good, I hope to have occasion to write to your Honour. I am sure that it [is] easier to draw them from Tyrone now than ever before; and the reason is, every of them hath been persuaded that it was easier for Tyrone to win Her Majesty's favour than for themselves, and now he going so far in treason that he is not like to be received again, and therefore if they be well handled, no doubt they may be drawn. Their enmity and hatred is such of old, and their burden is so great." *Signed*, "1070." *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil's secretary*:—"Archbishop of Cashel to my master, from Chester." *Several of the proper names are in cipher, but these have been deciphered by the Secretary. The spelling of the letter is peculiar. Holograph. pp. 2½.*

Dec. 15.

85A. "An accusation taken before me Sir Robert Gardener, knight, Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Bench, in presence of William Usher, Clerk of the Council, by direction from the Lords Justices and Council, the 15th of December, 1599."

"Henry Duckworth, a tailor and an Englishman, being of the age of 38 years, or thereabouts, saith that upon Thursday was a month, as he remembereth, he was at George Blackney's house in the parish of Swords, where that day there dined the owner of the house, the said George Blackney, and his wife, Mr. George Taylor of Swords, Henry Fitzsimmons, Edward Orpey, Giles Reed, all three priests, and Tipper, sometime Clerk of Swords.

"Which persons, some sitting, some standing, at after dinner at the fire, Henry Fitzsimmons began to speak of the success of the Irishry, saying, 'You see what fortune O'Neill and his kern and followers have against the Queen's forces; but where God blesseth, all things prosper; a land that is won by the sword, and kept by the sword, without authority from the Pope, is not lawful by the word of God.'

"To which Mr. George Taylor answered, that King Henry (but which King Henry the said Taylor named not) had a full authority from the Pope, and was of him admitted full Prince of this realm of Ireland; and said further, that O'Neill, O'Donnell, and Maguire, surrendered their lands to the King, and took them again, and swore themselves to be true to the Crown of England, as I can prove by record; and the same authority that the King had, the same authority our Queen now hath.

"To which Fitzsimmons replied, 'Yea, when the King was a Catholic; but, the Queen being none, the case is altered; and as for record, they may put in records what they list.'



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"To which Mr. Taylor said, 'I am sworn to the Queen, and will be true to her, while breath is in my body.' And thereupon Taylor rose up, saying he could not abide to hear any more of those speeches, and so departed.

"The said Duckworth being asked who[m] he had acquainted with this matter, said that about a fortnight after he heard the said speeches, he happened to work in the Vicar of Swords' house, called Mr. Huettsen, who asked where he had wrought before, to which Duckworth answered, 'at Mr. George Blackney's house.' Huettsen demanded who was there, and what speeches they used, whereupon Duckworth told him, and to none else till now, as much in substance as before he hath declared, all which he affirmeth upon his oath."

*Attested copy. pp. 1½.*

Dec. 15.  
Dungannon.

86. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir William Warren. "Seeing the conclusion of cessations is so prejudicial unto that which I pretend, henceforward I will conclude none, if present redress be not done. In this last concluded between the Earl of Ormonde and me, there were sundry breaches by your side committed. For Sir Samuel took a prey of O'Hanlon, of which I [was] made acquainted. One of my men apprehended was (*sic*) by Sir Samuel, and one of my horsemen's sons killed, and a horse of mine taken away by the said Sir Samuel's men. Many other things were done contrary to the due course which in any truce should be observed. And chiefly the cessation is greatly violated by the apprehending of Father Henry Fitzsimmons, a man to whom (as before God I protest) I am no more beholden than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion, but undertake generally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland according my often protestations. I must undertake, be it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics, and do feel myself more grieved that any should be for his religion restrained in time of cessation, than if there were a thousand preys taken from me. Wherefore, as ever you think that I shall enter to conclude either peace or cessation with the State, let him be presently enlarged."—Dungannon, 1599, December 25 [15-25]. *Signed, "O'Neill."* [*The endorsement stating that this letter is a copy is erroneous.*] p. 1.

Dec. 19.

87. "A collection of such meet places upon the north, [as are] to be planted with garrisons for the most speedy suppressing of Tyrone and the rest, and breaking of the northern combinations, in the united strength of which hath hitherto consisted the life and edge of this dangerous rebellion against her sacred Majesty in Ireland." *This advice, according to the endorsement, was by Captain Humfrey Willis.*

"At the Derry, upon Lough Foyle, in O'Donnell's country, being eleven miles from the Liffer, and so from Strabane, 3,000 foot, 2[00] horse. [*In the margin:—"Here some fit men of experience and travel in the country to be waged as assistants to the Commanders."*]

"Of these foot, shall lie at Liffer, and at Castle Finn, four miles above the Liffer, on the river, 300 foot. At each of these is a ford,

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both for our main garrison and the rebels to pass from Tyrconnell to Tyrone, and must be kept open to us; besides these small keeps lying further up into the country, equally between Tyrone and Tyrconnell, may serve as apt means readily to entertain all meet spial and intelligence out of both the traitors' countries, and with speed minister them to the main garrison, and with good diligence they may be able to intercept any advices running between the two Archtraitors. All the rest to lie at the Derry, so shall you presently gripe all O'Dogherty's country, and master it within you, which is a plain champaign country, rich of cattle and corn, and shall put O'Donnell beyond the mountains, and keep him from Tyrone; which done, a faction will easily be wrought against O'Donnell, both amongst the McSwynes (of whom the chief man is now with Her Majesty) and divers other principal followers of that country, over whom he doth extremely tyrannize; who will join with the forces, and be a speedy means of his overthrow. Without this separation there is little hope to distress either of the Archtraitors in any short time.

"At Ballyshannon specially [*here the same marginal note as above*], to keep the rebels of Tyrconnell from Connaught and Maguire's country, 2,000 foot, 100 horse; of which must be left a ward of 150 foot at Belleek, being a passage three miles above Ballyshannon. These two garrisons shall meet in twelve hours, and so put O'Donnell into a nook of his country, where they may have him and his goods at their will.

"For the garrison at the Derry, must be remembered two large ferry-boats at the least, to pass between the garrison and O'Cahan's country, both to fetch firewood, of which otherwise they can hardly be provided, and also to transport men upon any occasion of service. If two good boats were prepared to lie at Belleek, they have free passage by the Lough Erne as far as Enniskillen, and may [be] of great stead to that garrison, and will do much spoil upon the cattle of the islands at starts, and take all the cots [small boats] between that and Enniskillen.

"At the Cavan, 1,000 foot and 100 horse. [*In the margin, "Here Captain Hugh O'Reilly."*] The country is champaign. These shall serve as well on O'Rourke, McMahon, and Maguire, as within O'Reilly's country, and shall keep all their forces from Tyrone. This garrison shall be victualled always from Kells, with horse only, without troubling the army. Of these must be laid at Bealtirbirt, near the mouth of the Lough Erne, 150 foot, which, with the help of two good boats, will take all the cots between that and Enniskillen, and spoil the islands at their will.

"At Mucknow, being twelve miles from Monaghan, twelve miles from Dundalk, and so from the Newry, 1,000 foot, 100 horse. [*In the margin, "Here Captain Fleming."*]

"At Armagh, 1,000 foot, 100 horse. These garrisons shall take in Ferney, Clancarroll, the Fews, O'Hanlon's country, make McMahon quit his country, and keep Tyrone below Dungannon, and free all the borders of the Pale. These two may be victualled from the Newry, with horse only.



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"At Coleraine, 1,000 foot, 100 horse, with a couple of good boats, which must serve for passage into O'Cahan's country, so as this garrison and that at the Derry may meet in ten hours, and march in bulk as far as Clanconkein, where Tyrone purposeth his chief fastness for his cattle and wealth.

"At Knockfergus [*in the margin*, "Here Neill McHugh and Captain Norton"], 1,000 foot, 100 horse, whereof to lie at Castle Tuam, 100, at Belfast and Edendoghcarrick, 100. This garrison, with the help of the former, will be a sufficient strength to overrun the Clandeboys and the Route.

"Castle Tuam is the passage between Tyrone and Clandeboy over the Ban, which, being kept, curbeth Tyrone, and barreth the flying of his cattle between the two countries upon extremities.

"So as all these several forces of Tyrone's bordering assistants are cut from him, and he left only to the trust of his own followers to defend him, which then will not be many, there shall need no garrisons in the English Pale. It shall be all freed by these fore-mentioned; only the Newry and Dundalk must be guarded, as staples for victualling.

"The cause of my experience in these parts is that I have served in the north twelve years. I have lain in garrison at Armagh, Monaghan, the Cavan; I was at the taking of Enniskillen, at Castle Skea, the Omay, Strabane, Donegal, and divers other places in Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

"I am humbly bold to remember your Honour that some allowance be made to the several garrisons for entertaining of guides and spial, which must be carefully cherished, and specially at the Derry and Ballyshannon and Coleraine.

"Great secrecy is to be used in the resolution and sending of these three garrisons, and that they may be ready to settle at one instant as near as may be, lest the rebels should mainly prepare against either of them. Moreover, the Lord Deputy, with 2,000 foot and the horse of the Pale, will with ease be able to reduce all Leinster.

"I have prescribed the garrisons in these several places so great for that if they have not a competent strength of horse and foot to stir and sally into the several countries upon drafts, the people will not fear them, nor come under them; so as they shall (as they have hitherto) live cooped in walls, rather to encourage the rebels than do service, and protract the war to an exceeding length, with great disadvantage." *Unsigned. Endorsed*, 1599, December 19. *pp.* 4.

Dec. 19. 88. Captain — Carlike to ———. The garrisons for Ulster should be placed in the beginning of March next, for two causes: one, to hinder the rebels from sowing their corn in the plains, which they usually do from March till mid-May; the other, that their cattle, being weakest from March to May, must of necessity starve, if they be pinned up in the woods and bogs, not having the pasturage of the plains, from which, by the garrisons, they shall be barred.

The two chief garrisons would be at Lough Foyle and Armagh. Each would consist of 3,000 foot and 300 horse, that one might invade without resistance, if the other should be beleaguered, and pen up Tyrone between Blackwater and Mullagh Nagorye, which

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is but a small country to pasture his cows in. The garrison at Armagh will waste the gallowglass country, the county of Monaghan, and O'Hanlon's country, and draw from Tyrone McDonnell, the chief of the gallowglass, and his followers, some 300 men at least of the McMahons, Rossebane, Patrick McArt Moyle, Brian Asawe, and McKennan, which gentlemen will bring with them 80 horse and some 400 foot at least; also Henry Oge McHenry McShane, Tyrone's Lieutenant of horse, who will bring with him 100 horse, 200 foot; O'Hanlon, with 30 horse, 200 foot; Sir Tirlogh McHenry, with 40 horse, 200 foot; the Captain of Farny and his sept, with 40 horse, 200 foot; Tirlogh Brassell's sons, with 120 men; besides others.

The garrison to be placed at the head of Lough Foyle, between Tyrone and Tyrconnell, will take from Tyrone O'Cahan's country and Sir Arthur O'Neill's country, and from O'Donnell Innisowen and the country to Barnesmore, some sixteen miles, which is the heart of Tyrconnell; and draw from Tyrone Sir Arthur O'Neill and his faction, who is able to make 600 foot, 60 horse, and draw in O'Cahan, who is able to make 160 horse at least, and 300 foot. From O'Donnell, by the placing of this garrison, will fall Sir John O'Dogherty, with 400 foot and 60 horse, McHugh Duff and Neill gar O'Donnell with 80 horse, 400 foot at least, the two best of the McSwynes with 400 foot, besides other gentlemen of Tyrconnell.

After the placing of the aforesaid two garrisons, reasonable garrisons should be placed at Ballyshannon, Coleraine, Belfast, Dundrum, and Cavan. Thereby Tyrone and his followers will be so penned up that they will not know where to look for the pasturage of their cows and other cattle, which are their life, and without which they are not able to keep wars. From March to May it will be requisite that these garrisons be well reinforced and kept strong; and afterwards, these last places being strengthened with some forts, Her Majesty's charge may be lessened, the pride of the rebels being once pulled down when their cows and cattle are at the weakest. The garrisons of Coleraine, Belfast, and Dundrum will take from Tyrone's contribution 70,000 cows, and weaken him by 1,200 shot at least, and 200 horsemen, besides kern. The garrisons at Coleraine and Dundrum may be victualled with fish, if there be but some few fishers pressed thither.

If the horsemen for Lough Foyle might be had out of Scotland, that service might be the better performed, and a great part of Her Majesty's charges saved. Besides, their horses and arms are fittest for the Irish service, and themselves nothing behind, for they are as good night walkers as the Irish thieves.

Also, if some of the foot companies, and the rest of the horse companies, were raised in Ireland itself, Her Majesty's charges would not be so great as to have them sent out of England, and yet the service would be better followed.

The number for the whole of the garrisons aforementioned would be 9,000 foot, 860 horse, to be kept strong from the first of March to May. Of the preys of cows taken, the one half should be to



Her Majesty's use, and the other half to the takers thereof, for their encouragement. If the redshanks be entertained, they must have a month's warning to provide themselves, and be imprested with a month's pay, because of their poverty, and [have a] half share of the preys they take. If there be occasion to use their service longer than a month, they should be cessed on the countries between Coleraine and the Newry, without Her Majesty's further charge. *Unsigned. Endorsed, "Captain Carlile, 19 December, '99." pp. 3.*

Dec. 20.  
Richmond.

89. Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council. In favour of Richard Plunket, esquire, of Rathmore, co. Meath. His constant loyalty and good service. His great losses. Her special royal protection to be granted by letters patent to the said Richard, and to Alexander, his son and heir apparent, and to be of that force, that all suits, judgments, &c., against them may be stayed, as well from the 18th of May last, as for one whole year after the date of the said letters patent. The said son Alexander, who is in prison, because jointly bound with his father for his debts, to be released upon receipt hereof. The said Richard to have bestowed upon him the charge of one of the first companies that shall fall void.—Richmond, 1599, December 20. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 206-207. Copy. pp. 2.*

Dec. 20.  
Richmond.

90. Another copy of the preceding.

Dec. 20.  
Kilkenny.

91. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. That Gerald Comerford, the Attorney-General of Connaught, may have paid the several sums due to him by divers concordatums and warrants. Connaught being waste, there is no revenue therefrom. Recommends Comerford's suit to the Privy Council for payment, as he has served faithfully in Connaught these seventeen years past, and was greatly hindered by the rebels.—Kilkenny, 1599 December 20. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at London the 12th of February. p. 1.*

Dec. 20.

92. "A declaration of my employments by Sir Conyers Clifford into the county of Sligo, into the Brenny, O'Rourke's country, and into O'Donnell's country, with the estate of those parts, and my opinion of the same." *The endorsement runs, "The declaration of John Baxter touching matters in Ireland, delivered to me, 20 December, '99."*

In March 1597-8, when O'Rourke came in to Sir Conyers Clifford, Baxter was sent to the county of Sligo, to confer with certain of the gentlemen there, who were in action. After four days, he brought certain of the Connors and McSwynes to Sir Conyers, where they made an agreement in behalf of all the county, and never after joined with O'Donnell (notwithstanding the loss of Ballymote), until Sir Conyers was killed, and O'Connor Sligo yielded as a prisoner. For they had a great hope that Sligo should be made up, and O'Donnell kept from them. They endured many losses by O'Donnell's ranging through the country; and, when O'Donnell saw "our" [the English] shipping arrived

at Sligo, he made all their corn to be cut down with swords, and they were forced to yield to him, by reason of the overthrow in the Curlews.

The day after Sir Conyers was killed, O'Donnell came to the island where the English shipping lay, and entreated Tibbott Ne Longe, son to Grany O'Malley, to bestow some wine on him, and to come out and drink with him. But Tibbott would not by any means go; yet in the end, upon pledges, Captain Coatch, Baxter, and Murrogh Nemner (brother to Tibbott) went out to O'Donnell, and carried a barrel of wine. "In which time of our drinking, O'Donnell did shew unto the said Murrogh the head of Sir Conyers Clifford; and dealt secretly with him, to have himself, Tibbott, and the rest of their crew, to betray us, and take all our shipping; which they might have done, had not Tibbott been very faithful to Her Majesty," and revealed all to them.

Two days after, O'Connor yielded himself to O'Donnell, and they came together again to the island, where they encamped a night. As Baxter was acquainted with all matters thereabouts, and with O'Connor's whole mind for his proceedings in those parts, he was desired by O'Connor to come and speak with him. After Baxter had assurance for his safe going and coming, he went, and lay in their camp all night. "In which time he declared unto me his whole grief, and with weeping eyes desired me to make known unto the State of Ireland, that what course soever he held, either in journeying with O'Donnell or otherwise, when he could get any good opportunity, he would shew himself a true-hearted subject to Her Majesty; and in the meantime desireth all his friends to conceive no hard opinion of him."

In the summer of 1598, by reason that O'Connor Sligo was in England, and all his country in doubt that he would not come again, Baxter was sent to remain in the county of Sligo, to encourage them there in their duty, and to get news from the borders. At that time, O'Rourke sent to him to come and speak with him. O'Rourke was newly broken from Sir Conyers, and joined with O'Donnell, his reason being that Sir Conyers was not able to defend him from his bad neighbours. O'Rourke told Baxter in private, that if Her Majesty would put Sligo up, and leave O'Connor there, and a garrison, he would presently come from O'Donnell, and undertake, with the help of the Connaught men, to banish O'Donnell and the northern men clean out of Connaught. For, if Sligo were once up, many in O'Donnell's country would come away, as he is a very tyrant among them; so that most of Connaught and his own friends at home bear a secret hate to him for his cruel dealing. But now they must needs do as he doth, until his passage be stopped, either at "Bellachannye" [Ballyshannon] or at Sligo. Now they care not for any forces by land, but they much fear shipping; and if Her Majesty determine to send any forces to those parts, none can go by land, except there goes an army another way to the north, which must busy them on all sides. Thus there will be time to clear all the passes and passages. But to go by land, as the case



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stands now, will be very hard, for no carriage can be got to furnish an army through Connaught, the country is so waste and all in action. The only way is by sea, and to weary them out with strong garrisons "upon their noses." For that purpose Lough Foyle is a very good place, in the heart of the north, between O'Neill and O'Donnell. Donegal, in O'Donnell's country, is a fine place, and a great abbey very well seated, where the ships may land at the doors. There is all O'Donnell's munition, and 120 or 140 friars dwell there.

The abbey of Assaroe, by Ballyshannon, is also a good place, and the country thereabouts is "all champaign ground, full of corn and cattle, which they cannot keep from our garrisons." When the country sees that Her Majesty will take it in hand thoroughly, and settle thereabouts, they will cut one another's throats, and some will come in and help to guide upon the rest. Yet there is no fire or shelter for an army, except at the abbeys.

"Now for Sligo, there is an island in the mouth of the river, more than half a mile long, full of big bushes, where 5,000 men may encamp; and at every tide they may gather great store of oysters, cockles, and mussels, and great store of coney, all which will be a great help with Her Majesty's store. The ships may ride round about the island, and [it] is not above ten score (*sic*) over to the main[land]. If Her Majesty send but 500 men by sea, with victuals and munition, they may settle there till Sligo be put up; and in the mean time O'Donnell will not be able to keep a cow in that county, and then all his cattle will be driven to hunger, he having so many, and his country so bare of grass. O'Rourke, in like sort, will not be able to keep any within a dozen miles, and by our lying there we may make provision for the building of Sligo within that island, having lime brought thither, and masons, and prepare all things ready, and make mortar as much ready as will put up a great strength upon a sudden, where 300 men may lie, and build within, and defend themselves against a whole country; for barks and boats may bring anything under the wall, and I dare undertake to do this at any time, if there be any stirring in other places. And for the keeping of our provision in the island, Her Majesty [to] have great store of deal boards and fir poles, which will make houses for the present time. This island is but three miles from Sligo, and we may go either on fair sands, or by water, in despite of any. And, let every man say what they will, until that strait be stopped up, Connaught will never be well; which done, 200 men at the Boyle and Tusk (if they be not lost) will soon banish all the McDermond and O'Connor Roe, except they come in. And, if they see a garrison at Sligo, not a Connaught man will stop with O'Donnell, except McWilliam, which perchance will be glad to take a reasonable agreement to live in his own country. And for the Reillys, which are in the county of Roscommon and the county of Galway, or any else, they will be glad to live at quiet, when they see this about, and they have lately brought great store of cattle out of Munster thither."

As for the placing of a Governor in Connaught, it were a good policy for a time to make either the Earl of Clanrickarde, or his son the Baron [Dunkellin], Governor; for, as the case stands now, "no English Governor can do much good, the country being all gone. And a stranger will be new to seek to learn the course of such a place; and they, being headstrong, will never seek to any by fair means. But for one of them, the country all know them, and they the country; and the most part allied unto them, which went out for very poverty and want, which would seek to them to come in, in that they are their natural Lords, and that they do love them. And again, they would fear them in this respect, that whatsoever they would do or say, it would be told the Governor by one or other of themselves; so one would persuade another to be at quiet, when they see their own country lord Governor amongst them.

"There have (*sic*) been by many of us Englishmen a hard opinion held of all Irishmen since this action; and some will say, 'if he be an Irishman, he will have an Irish trick.' This ill conceit of all for the bad demeanour of the wicked ones, has much grieved a great many, and has made "the good subjects at this hour very weak and out of heart, and scarce able (if the Queen would employ them) to do any service, or defend themselves. But Her Majesty must countenance the good subjects, and employ them, and give them entertainment; for one of that country birth, that have continued firm hitherto, will do more service than the English, except he be a long standard there, of good acquaintance and many friends in the country." If those had pay, a number that are now in action, would come and serve for entertainment, when they saw their friends had means to keep them, and do more service than "the poor English, which are half dead before they come there, for the very name of Ireland do break their hearts, it is now so grown to misery."

If Her Majesty mean to continue the wars, there must be another course held for the sick men than there is. "For now, if he be sick, he shall be sent into England, so that many under that colour come away, being very well able to serve. And the sick men also would recover, if they had good means or relief; for let never so many go thither out of England, but in short time they will have the Irish ague, either for want of their good lodging, their warm fare, or change of air; and then if all that be sick be not relieved there, but sent away, England will be oppressed, and Her Majesty greatly charged. But there must be a guest-house, as is in the Low Countries, to relieve them that be sick, and those that be hurt. With what heart can any man serve Her Majesty, when they see a number die in the streets for want of relief, many a one hurt and maimed, and little account made of him?"

If Her Majesty condescend to give them a peace, all the realm will be undone, except they will yield to give Her Majesty 10,000 men out of the land, to be employed some other way, for there are so many idle men (if there were a peace), who would contin-



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ually be spoiling those who would live quiet, by reason they have nothing to live upon but by the sword.

Last Lent, Baxter was sent into O'Donnell's country, and while there conferred with two or three Spaniards, who had been there ever since the Spanish fleet was cast away. They told him for certain that the King of Spain would never help them to any force, only he would now and then supply them with some money and munition, with good store of which there came a ship while Baxter was there. It also brought from Spain O'Donnell's messenger, by name Hugh Duff O'Deavan. Baxter learnt that the Spaniards were all unwilling to come for Ireland; only the bruit went thereof. Also, while Baxter was there, two Scottish barks came in with provisions. All these much supply their wants, or else they would never be able to endure. If there were some galleys now and then to watch and search those parts, they might sometimes light on some good booty. There are three very good galleys with Tibbott Ne Longe, son to Grany O'Malley, his brother, and O'Malley, that will carry 300 men a piece. These, if employed by Her Majesty, would do much good in the north, and the Malleys are much feared everywhere by sea. There are no galleys in Ireland but those; for one was built by an Englishman of Sir Richard Bingham's, who was there killed, and his galley taken; and since two others made by him.

Whilst there, Baxter had much private conference with divers of the best in O'Donnell's country, and had drawn them to that pass that, if Sir Conyers Clifford had once got to Sligo, and begun to build there, many of that country would have come to O'Connor Sligo; for example, Teig O'Rourke, brother to O'Rourke, who had married O'Donnell's sister, came away, and many with him, and stayed for the Governor's coming. So did all the county of Sligo, as aforesaid; for a number that are in action had rather be under the English Government than as they are; "but our succe[s]se[s] have been so ill, which make them to do and continue as all the rest doth."

Baxter has been employed in Her Majesty's service these many years; in Sir Richard Bingham's time, in all services in Connaught, both by sea and land; and also by Sir Conyers Clifford. He was for a time a dweller in the county of Sligo, upon some land held from Her Majesty. "I did use myself so well among them in those days, that ever since they did bear a love unto me, by which means I have been suffered to travel among them, where never an Englishman but myself would be; yet I have been taken by some stragglers that are not subject to any, and have lost much by them." Thought it his duty to deliver the foregoing. *Unsigned. Apparently holograph. pp. 3½.*

[Dec. 20.] 93. "A declaration touching the building of Sligo, without any let to the other services, the charges thereof, the time, and the benefit which may ensue after the doing thereof." *The endorsement runs, "John Baxter his advice touching Sligo."*

For the charges of lime (which must be transported from

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Galway), of five barks to carry the same, and other things necessary to be bought, with mariners and masons, and their wages during the same time, Her Majesty shall deliver 300*l.*, which will be all the money required to settle a garrison there, "either of 500 to 100, or, if need require, it shall be strong enough to be guarded by 30."

For men to guard till the place be made fortifiable, there will be required but 200 Englishmen, whom the Earl of Clanrickarde will be content to spare out of Connaught; Tibbott Ne Longe and his 100, who lie in his own country, and are never used out of that, and he will be most willing to further that service, to recover O'Connor Sligo, whose sister Tibbott married; also Tibbott's brother, his mother, and O'Malley, who will spare 100 men, but they have no pay from Her Majesty, so Baxter will desire nothing but one tun of sack, of the impost in Galway, which will please them more than 100*l.* A letter of thanks to be written to all these, commending them, and assuring them of Her Majesty's favour. This will greatly encourage them, and thereby all their galleys may be had during that service, without any further charge.

If it be thought good by the Earl of Clanrickarde, or any occasion fall out, when at Galway, either to want any of the above said men, or to increase the number, 100 of the young men of Galway may be required for one month. These will be willingly granted, for they all say continually that, until Sligo be up, Connaught will never be quiet. And so say all in Connaught. Victuals must be sent along with them, and a ship, or two barks, for the same, to serve their turn during the fortification. Victuals must be left for the Englishmen, until a greater garrison be sent, for when the work is done, all the Irish shall be sent away.

"For the time of doing this, all things must be made ready in Galway, and set forward, so that we may be there about the time that our forces shall land at Lough Foyle, or rather a week after, for at that time the forces of O'Donnell will be together there, so that very few shall annoy us. And if any do, I will undertake to build a strength, before any shall come, to defend ourselves, and afterwards work within, in despite of them all, with this number of men, and no further charge to Her Majesty. And when this is done, if any occasion shall serve hereafter, that more men shall go and continue there (which I am sure there shall), then the Abbey will receive a thousand men, which is not a musket shot from the castle, and in twenty-four hours will be made strong enough to defend themselves against all Ireland."

After a garrison is settled in Sligo, Baxter undertakes that the most part of that county shall come in to him, and draw home to their towns, with the little cattle left them, and help to resist O'Donnell, if he shall offer to come that way. If O'Connor be not kept in hold, he will be one of the first, for they all know that O'Donnell cannot hurt them, when the garrison is once planted. Baxter had drawn them in before from O'Donnell by commission (which he has to shew), and because no strength could



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be made to defend them, they were forced to yield again to O'Donnell, after the Curlew journey. There are but few in all that country, who will not gladly be ruled by Baxter, "for that I am of long acquaintance, and have dealt much in their behalf both before the wars and since."

Then O'Rourke (if O'Connor can get away) will leave O'Donnell, and is the best rebel in Ireland of his word, and would gladly live quietly in his own country.

So, if Ballyshannon be won, then the possession of Sligo, which is but twenty miles off, will do much good. And if Ballyshannon cannot be taken (of which there is doubt), then Sligo will be the only means to get it hereafter, and in the meantime will help to settle Connaught, and stop a passage from O'Donnell of three or four score miles; which in every man's opinion will do great good towards Her Majesty's service.

When all this is done, there will not be many in all Connaught, but will come in to the Earl of Clanrickarde, and the rather that O'Donnell shall be kept from them; and this work will be one of the best in the judgment of all those that know Connaught, and no hindrance to other services. If this work is to go forward, then it should be bruited abroad that the lime and other provision is going to Lough Foyle, to build a castle there, and no speech be made that they are going to Sligo.—[1599, December 20.] *Unsigned. Apparently holograph. pp. 2.*

Dec. 21.  
Dublin.

94. The Lord Justice Loftus to his servant, Robert Leycester, in London. "We have written a joint letter to the Lords concerning John Moore, whose case is now very extreme, the Connors refusing to accept any thing else for him, but only Tirlogh McHenry's son, and his house, or that otherwise they will presently hang him, wherewith we have acquainted their Lordships. I pray you solicit Mr. Secretary, with that earnestness you modestly may, for a speedy answer of that letter, lest otherwise it may come too late."—Dublin, 1599, December 21. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 21.  
Dungannon.

95. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Philip III., King of Spain. "Since nothing can be more beneficial to a Christian commonwealth than to have men, eminent in learning and virtue, to sow the word of God, instruct the people, [and] eradicate vice from the minds of men; of which men, alas, this realm is destitute, owing to a lengthened war and the activity of heresy; wherefore, most powerful King, nothing could be more desirable for our commonwealth than to have such men, whom we cannot possess, unless your Majesty, in your wonted kindness for the welfare of the whole commonwealth, the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and the extirpation of heresy, assign some allowance to our college at Douay, containing nearly one hundred students, living solely on the liberality and alms of others. Almighty God long preserve your Majesty to the universal Christian commonwealth and to us Irishmen. Given at Dungannon, on the last day of December

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[December 21-December 31], 1599, Your Majesty's most faithful subject, O'Neill." *Latin. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 21. 96. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Archduke. Praying for an  
Dungannon. annual allowance to the college at Douay. Has very often written to his Highness about the war in Ireland, and how the English are weakened daily. Has concluded a truce with them, but has cancelled it, as the English were endeavouring to send to the Low Countries the soldiers they had in Ireland. Prays for the long life of his Highness.—Dungannon, 1599, December 31 [December 21-December 31]. *Signed, "O'Neill." Latin. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 23. 97. James Ware to the Privy Council. The difference between  
Dublin. him and Mr. [Christopher] Peyton, Auditor General for Ireland, who has petitioned against the appointment of Ware as an Auditor for the Wars, an office granted him on the coming over of the Lord Lieutenant [the Earl of Essex].—Dublin, 1599, December 23. *Signed. p. 1.*

Dec. 24. 98. Sir Robert Cecil to [Meyler Magrath] Archbishop of  
Richmond. Cashel. "My Lord, you must not think that you are forgotten in all things whereunto you receive no answer; as, for example, the matter for the Irish nurse is dispatched, for she is sent away. But for the other two, considering their profession, I would be sorry that of all this great matter, the only issue should be the taking of Archer and Creagh. And therefore you must not think that we, that are Councillors of State, will leave it under our hands, as a matter to be shewed to traitors, with whom you must deal, of whose acceptance, if it were offered them, you are not assured. For the other parties of the north, with whom you pretend to have a desire to deal, you may be assured, if you can do any good with them, that they shall be well used, and so shall any of those principal men, that would forsake that Archtraitor Tyrone. For the other matter, that you have not liberty to promise pardon to the meaner sort, it is not because Her Majesty intendeth not grace, but you must have so much discretion as to imagine that, when the Deputy comes, something must be left to him, and not all things, both north and south, to my Lord of Cashel. For Sir George Carew, when he comes into Munster, he will use you with all the favour he can; and, for the Deputy, he will be in Ireland, or at the seaside, by twelfth day. And thus, wishing you good success in all your honest actions, I commit you to God."—The Court at Richmond, 1599, December 24. *Entry Book, No. 204, fo. 207 b. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 24. 99. The Lord Justice Loftus and others of the Council to the  
Dublin Privy Council. The difference between James Ware and  
Castle. Christopher Peyton, as to the office of Auditor for the Wars. Delay caused in declaring accounts that have been sent in. Ware is "a sufficient man in that faculty, and of honest carriage." Desire their Lordships' decision in the matter.—Dublin Castle,



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1599, December 24. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 28th. p. 1.*

Dec. 24.  
Drum-  
conragh.

100. Sir William Warren to Sir Robert Cecil. Not being so well dealt with by the Lords Justices, for his dispatch to Carrickfergus, as he thought after his long service he deserved, he has presumed to make his grief known to Cecil. After he had received direction for his going to Carrickfergus, and was upon his dispatch, their Lordships refused to let his company of horse go with him. These he raised himself, altogether at his own charge, and they being English for the most part, he could the worse have forborne them, considering the service there lieth altogether upon horse. Begs Cecil to be a mean that the Lords Justices may suffer his horse to go with him, and that he may have the government confirmed to him by Her Majesty, together with the ward of the Abbey, which was always joined with the government, until of late it was sold by Sir John Chichester to a base fellow called John Dalwe, sometime a tailor, and afterwards ensign in Sir Henry Wallop's company. Has therefore stayed his journey to Carrickfergus till he hears from Cecil, for which cause he has sent over the bearer.

Encloses "an unreasonable rabble of Tyrone's demands, not as sent from himself, but a copy of them gotten underhand by a gentleman," whom he often employed thither by direction from the State. If it were possible for Her Majesty to yield to these foolish demands, assures himself that within a fortnight after Tyrone would have as many more as unreasonable. These articles were written and devised by Ascote, who both wrote and devised the libels or proclamations, that were signed above by Tyrone, as if he were Prince of Piedmont.

Received also a proud letter from Tyrone, concerning the committing of a Jesuit [Fitzsimmons], who now remains in the Castle of Dublin. This letter, which was delivered to him upon a sudden, he sent to the Lords Justices, and never kept any copy of it. His travel to Tyrone has been always very chargeable. Is forced to impart this, because he hopes to be employed no more that way. How he was employed by Sir John Norreys is not unknown to Cecil, and how he was recompensed. Was commanded by Essex to repair to Tyrone upon some proffers made by the latter. Afterwards Essex himself spake with Tyrone, but what they said he knows not. Last of all, was entreated and commanded by the Lords Justices to go to Tyrone, and was told that Her Majesty had commanded them to send him.

"I assure your Honour that I never went to Tyrone, but I was forced to bribe his friars, and Jesuits, and his traitors, to further my business, which for my life I never durst make the State acquainted withal; for, if it had been once known, they would have laid a plot to cut me off; either going [to] or coming from Tyrone. For I protest to God I never went to him, but I was in danger to lose my life before my return; and, in proof that almost nothing can be kept from him, Sir Robert Gardener and

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Sir Geoffrey Fenton, having secret conference together in their closet of matters concerning Her Majesty's service, of good weight, Tyrone had knowledge of all the circumstances that passed betwixt them, within five days after. He is now gone to meet O'Donnell at Strabane, and, as I am informed, they mean to come up together into the Pale, and do what hurt they can. I fear, as the State is now governed here, they may do what they please. In proof whereof, there lieth in camp within a mile of Maynooth, which is but ten miles from Dublin, three hundred of the base Geraldines and Delahide[s], now in this time of cessation, and take up beeves from the subjects daily, saying that they will give Tyrone's bill for payment, which is a great scorn to any honest mind to hear the like; yet is it contrary to the last articles agreed upon by Tyrone. I, understanding of it, went to the Lords Justices, and told them of it, and withal told them how easy it was to cut them all off in a night, which I did proffer to attempt myself. Yet there was no answer made me, which upon my credit is very true. I protest before God, I had rather die than live to see such base traitors reign in such sort. Also there was certain soldiers, that did run away from divers Captains to the traitors, and served them, whereof there was some English, and born in England; and, upon this last cessation, they came into the Pale, and took meat and drink at their pleasure, all which I informed the Lords Justices, but especially the Lord Chancellor, and told him, if they would give me leave to kill them, I would undertake it should be no breach of cessation; yet was I refused. I fear the like opportunity will not be proffered again."

Has sent by the bearer his warrants for some money due to him by Her Majesty. Hopes through Cecil to get payment, and the rather because he never troubled Her Majesty for any payment. The debt is but small, not above 400l.

Refers to the bearer for some secrets to be delivered by him. Dares not commit them to paper. If Cecil has occasion to commit anything to the bearer's trust, he will discharge it honestly. Prays Cecil to be favourable to himself in his suits.—Drumconragh, 1599, December 24. *Signed.* pp. 24. *Encloses,*

100. 1. *Demands made by Tyrone.* [*Duplicate, with slight variations, of No. 55 above.*] *No date.* pp. 2.

Dec. 24.

101. "The declaration of William Tipper, delivered to Sir Robert Gardener, knight, Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Bench in Ireland, the 24 of December, 1599."

"Being sworn and examined, he saith that about a month since, he was at the house of George Blackney, where there were present Mr. George Taylor, Henry Fitzsimmons, Charles Reed, a priest, Edward Orpey, a priest, a tailor, this examine, and Blackney and his wife. And they sitting at the fire, he heard Henry Fitzsimmons ask Mr. Taylor and say, 'how came we by this kingdom?' Taylor answered, 'we conquered it, and won it by the sword, and after it was confirmed by the Pope to the king;' but to what king he knoweth not, but heard him speak of King John, and he thinketh he meant him; and that the people of the kingdom yielded up



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their lands to the king, and took it of him again. And so we hope we shall hold it for ever, which is all at this time he doth remember." *Attested copy. p. 1.*

- Dec. [24.] 102. "The declaration of George Taylor (written with his own hand, and delivered to the Lords Justices and Council) touching such speeches as happened about a month past at Mr. Blackney's house, betwixt Henry Fitzsimmons and the said George and others, which, as he remembereth, were as follow. The said Henry, having talked of the state of the country, uttered that the rebels had won a great part of the country. 'No,' said the said George, 'I thank God they have not won any part of the English Pale, though they have wasted a part of it; and I hope in God, the Queen's Majesty with her force will soon pull them down.' Said Mr. Fitzsimmons, 'How came the English to the possession of this land?' The said George answered, 'By conquest.' Fitzsimmons answered, 'Every conquest is not lawful.' The said George said, that soon upon the conquest it was allowed by the clergy, and, as I heard say, confirmed by the Pope, and withal the Lords and chief men of the land did give up their titles and government unto King Henry the Second, and to sundry other kings since. Mr. Fitzsimmons said, 'Well, you see how the Irishry prosper notwithstanding.' Whereunto the said George answered, 'Those questions are not good, nor to be reasoned upon. Give them over, for I love not these discourses.' So taking my leave departed home."

"There was present Sir Charles Reed (a priest); Edward Orpey; a tailor that wrought, I know not his name; and sometimes George Blackney." 1599, December. *Attested copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 24.  
Dublin.

103. James Ware to Sir Robert Cecil. Apologizes for his long silence. The manifold accounts to be passed in Ireland. Post of Auditor for the wars, to which he was appointed. The chief abuse of all payments rests in the Captains' reckonings. "As formerly it hath been, so it is still, if not worse." Mr. Treasurer's clerks take upon them absolutely the making of those reckonings, without Ware's privity. His difference with Mr. Treasurer and with Mr. Auditor Peyton. Is unable to perform his service according to instructions. Petitioned for license to go over to England, but could not obtain it; but they have written to the Privy Council to signify its pleasure in the matter.

"And because it cannot be but that Mr. Treasurer hath defalked great sums of money upon the lendings for checks, victuals, and munition, it were therefore most necessary (under your Honour's reformation) that presently, upon the determination of the year, the Commissioners for the Accounts here be appointed to take a view, at the least way, of all the payments that he hath made. For herein Her Highness hath formerly sustained great prejudice, when as the Treasurer knew that not so much as a view of his payments was to be taken in this Realm, nor any abuse of his payments examined in the place where they were committed, but absolutely in England, and that after a year, two, or three,

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in which time all abuses might be buried, and benefit made in buying of bills, with the money stayed for defalcations."

As touching the Captains' reckonings, desires that Birkinshawe, who is not yet arrived in Dublin, may be joined with him in the making and subscribing thereof. So they will be able, every half year, to certify how the money is issued for the lendings, what is stayed for defalcations, and how the apparel is answered; which will be a more direct course to satisfy the Privy Council than ever has been taken hitherto. The accounts of Appsley and Smythe, the Victuallers for Munster and Connaught. Expects those of Treves and Newcomen for Ulster and Leinster. Tidings brought yesterday from Galway, that there is a ship, called the Rosemary, of Dover, arrived there with victuals, and that three more are near the Irish coast, also with victuals.—Dublin, 1599, December 24. *Signed. pp. 2½.*

Dec. 24.  
Richmond.

104. "Remembrances for the service of Ireland."

Four thousand foot to be levied. What number of horse may be fit, not yet agreed. Three thousand to be sent to Lough Foyle, to be compounded partly of the new levies, and partly of old soldiers to be taken out of the Low Countries. Of the 4,000 to be sent into Ireland, 1,500 are to be sent directly to Carrickfergus, there to make the rendezvous; the other 2,500 directly to Dublin, and thence 1,500 to be chosen and taken, and to be carried in the same shipping to Carrickfergus, and so the whole 3,000 to be conveyed together from Carrickfergus to Lough Foyle. The garrison of Lough Foyle to be at the seaside, at the port of embarking, by the 15th of March. The garrison at Ballyshannon to be planted by the strength of an army.

Munster will need no provision. Connaught shall need a proportion of victual, corn, butter, and cheese, for 2,000 for three months, to be in magazine at Galway, and victual for 100 horse. In this provision is contained Ballyshannon. Leinster will need victual for 1,000 men for three months, to be laid in magazine at Dublin. The sorts of victual to be considered of by Lord Mountjoy. Maryborough to be victualled out of this proportion. Lough Foyle will need four months' victual for 3,000 foot and 200 horse. The sorts of victual to be considered of by Lord Mountjoy. The magazine of victual for Lough Foyle to be considered of, whether it shall be at Carrickfergus or at Lough Foyle.

As for shipping, at Lough Foyle to be two crompters and two barges; at Belleek, one barge; for the service of Munster, two crompters.

For the sorts of arms, it is thought most fit that three parts be shot, and the rest pikes; and of shot but few muskets, viz., 12 in a company of 100, or thereabouts. This to be considered of by Lord Mountjoy and the rest.

*The chief engineer at 6s. 8d. Two Frenchmen for the use of petards. Preachers. Stafford. Sentleger. Governor of Lough Foyle. Governor of Carrickfergus. Governor of Dundalk. Command of the forces in Offally. Captain Kingsmill. Remem-*



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*ber in the instructions to call a reckoning of issues and remains of munitions.—The Court at Richmond, 1599, December 24. The items in italics are in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil. pp. 1½.*

Dec. 25.  
Cork.

105. Sir Warham Sentleger to the Privy Council. Their letters of November 30 came to his hands on the 15th instant, when he was extremely sick and not like to live. "Touching the disagreement here with the Council, your Lordships do fitly conclude that it doth much disadvantage Her Highness's service, but I beseech your Lordships, let the fault lie where it is. We are assigned here a Timon that endureth no man, I mean our Chief Justice, by whose only means all those disagreements have had their being. And notwithstanding both the Lords and Council from Dublin have written to him, and now your Honours, yet he holdeth his monastical course, refusing to come amongst us.

"It pleaseth your Lordships further to lay somewhat to my charge for the loss of Castlemaine. Since the first breaking out of this rebellion, which was Michaelmas last was twelvemonths, there hath not been one bit of victuals put into that house, but what the poor warders have made shift for. Yet before my coming into this province, there hath above a hundred pounds been spent and lost in seeking to victual it by water, as one Patrick Crosby can at large declare. By whom we wrote over to the Lord Lieutenant what course we had taken for the victualling thereof. Sithence my coming hither, Sir Edward Denny, who was Constable of the house, received from us the worth of 40*l.* sterling in munition, assuring us that he would victual it for some time. In the meanwhile we had victuals shipped in this town, in Kinsale, in Youghal, and at Limerick, and sent to Galway to have put with the first wind, which was all we could do. And to have gone thither by land, I protest the weather was such as no army nor carriage could march; yet I am by my commission tied to Cork, and another to command the forces. For the loss of the house, I humbly confess that it is somewhat dishonourable, but whensoever it pleaseth Her Majesty to recover Kerry and these countries, that house will soon be had.

"For the strength of the army in this province, we have charged the Commissary from time to time with the care of it, who doth all this time assure me that he sendeth a perfect list both of the strength and ability of the troops. To which I humbly refer myself, protesting that we have not here now any means, either for lendings or victuals, within the whole province (except at Limerick), which serveth only for that place and Askeaton; so as, the perverseness of the towns considered, being as they now stand, I fear that the army will ruin (*sic*). Of the carriage of our principal towns, we wrote to my Lord Lieutenant, which I doubt not have since been sent to your Honours.

"Lastly, touching the men that were informed to have landed in Cornwall, if any have passed over that were serviceable, it hath been a fault in the Commissary, or a mighty negligence in

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the Captains, whom we continually cried out on not to send or to discharge any able man, except such as was above their numbers. I am heartily sorry that I am not able to write of any service done here, with these great expenses Her Highness is at; but this kind of government of this province doth but rob Her Majesty of her treasure, the reformation whereof will I hope come thither very shortly. If these towns were well guarded, it were no matter for any more forces, for I find not one subject in Munster that liveth by Her Majesty's defence, but maketh his means by the traitors; so as they that make best show of subjection, are contributory to the hired men of the traitor, James O'Desmond, except my Lord Barry; and yet in late experience we had, we may think there is no deadly feud betwixt them.

"I do leave the estate of this province to them that have and can make it known to your Honours, and only lay down my service at Her Highness's feet, to be disposed as it shall please her and your Honours to command me."—Cork, 1599, December 25. *Endorsed*, Received at Richmond 18 of January, 1599" [-1600]. *Signed*. pp. 2.

Dec. 27. 106. The Privy Council to the Lord Justice Carey. To stay 100*l.* out of the entertainment of Sir Christopher St. Lawrence, a bill of his of that amount to the city of Waterford having been given in to the account of the late Treasurer, Sir Henry Wallop.—1599, December 27. *Entry Book*, Np. 204, fo. 209. *Copy*. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Dec. 27. 107. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey to the Privy Council.  
Dublin. In favour of Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who is returning to England on his private business. His wife and family are there. His good service. Neither term nor circuit can be holden, as the time is martial. The beeves per annum granted to Sir Robert and to Sir Anthony Sentleger, Master of the Rolls. These, payable out of Magennis's country, are all behind for the last five years, by reason of the wars. Have given allowance at the rate of 10*s.* a piece. Pray that the amount may be paid them in England.—Dublin, 1599, December 27. *Signed*. p. 1.

Dec. 28. 108. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "By my  
Kilkenny. letters of the 4th of this month, I advertised your Honours of the extremities the few good subjects Her Majesty hath in every part of this realm stand in, and of the weakness of the English forces, and want of means to keep them together, as occasion might be offered, for Her Highness's service. Sithence which time, I was given to understand, from sundry parts of this realm, of a general purpose in the rebels to meet within short space at Magheriquirke in Westmeath, from thence to set forward together to murder, burn, and destroy Her Highness's subjects in these parts, specially in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. Which news also were of late confirmed by letters from Sir Geoffrey Fenton and others unto me. Whereupon I thought fit to remain here (for a



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short time), and, by drawing of such forces as conveniently I might, to give impediment of the western and northern traitors joining together. But now, having received the Lords Justices and Council's letters for my speedy repair to Dublin (as they write) for very urgent causes concerning the universal danger of the realm (whereof I received no particular taste), I nevertheless resolve[d] to make my undelayed repair unto them, as they so earnestly desired, forced to leave these parts subject to all extremities, if the former purpose of the traitors shall hold.

"I may not omit alway to put your good Lordships in mind of strong forces to be sent with speed to Lough Foyle, without doing which the Archtraitor Tyrone may draw his forces to annoy the subjects in all parts of the realm, and, by joining with all the rest of the traitors, may endanger the whole kingdom.

"I am likewise humbly to beseech your honourable good Lordships to hold Her Majesty in mind of sending speedily a Governor into this realm, being most necessary for the furtherance of Her Highness's service."—Kilkenny, 1599, December 28. *Endorsed*, Received at London, 9 February [1600]. *Signed*. p. 1.

Dec. 28.  
Kilkenny.

109. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the foregoing.*] Is very sorry to see the great pride of the traitors, and the weakness of the army. Has no means to draw it in bulk to the field, to withstand the imminent danger at hand. Hopes for speedy supplies.—Kilkenny, 1599, December 28.

[*Postscript.*] "I fear I shall not be able to do so much good by this my journey to the Lords Justices, as the subjects in these parts shall receive harm by my absence, considering that Tyrone and all the traitors of the west mean with all their forces to meet, to spoil and destroy all they can here. I stand in great fear that some of the poor garrison towns hereabouts will not be able to hold out [against] the great forces of these traitors, when they shall assemble together." *Endorsed*, Received at London, 9 February [1600]. *Signed*. p. 1.

Dec. 30.  
London.

110. Richard Hadsor, ["Solicitor for Irish Causes,"] to Sir Robert Cecil. The good acceptance of his letter in August last, touching the necessity of disposing of some part of the lands of Tyrone's country amongst certain freeholders, for the better execution of the laws there, when time should serve, has encouraged him to deliver his knowledge in some other matters touching the furtherance of the service and the execution of the laws in Ireland.

"Her Majesty sent letters to Sir John Perrot, during his government in that realm, signifying that it was Her Highness's gracious pleasure, that all such gentlemen, and other her loyal subjects, as should die in her service, their heirs being within age, should, in consideration of their father's death, be out of ward for that time." Her Majesty's meaning was frustrated by other Governors since, who converted all the wards of knights and gentlemen of that kingdom into a perquisite belonging to

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their office, to the use of themselves and their followers, whether the fathers died in the service or not. By reason hereof, many of the gentlemen of the better sort of English race in the English Pale, and elsewhere in that realm, were discouraged from prosecuting Her Majesty's service, or from exposing themselves to any danger. If this were remedied by a proclamation of her former purpose therein, he doubts not but that all the dutiful gentlemen of ability and sufficiency in that country will serve voluntarily, upon their own charges, to the uttermost of their power, against these miscreants, to the great furtherance of the service.

Further, it is necessary that instructions be given to the Governors of Ireland for the time being to foresee that no man be authorised, in consideration of money or other private respect, as in former times hath been done, to be High Sheriff of any county, but such discreet, honest men as shall have lands within the same county, according to the laws of England and Ireland, to the end that the laws may be the better executed, and that the subjects may right themselves by due course of law against such Sheriffs as shall abuse their authority, having lands in the county whereof they are Sheriffs. Such as buy their Sheriffwicks commonly sell and abuse their power in executing justice, and, being fugitives without lands in the same shire, carry away their misdemeanours, without yielding recompense to the people for their oppression and wrongs. This abuse the people, being for the more part rude and uncivil, ascribe to the law, alleging that law to be unjust, which suffereth such enormities. So they grow to mutinies and rebellion, whereby Her Majesty's government is without just cause called in question by the people, and dishonoured by such officers.

"And, although I doubt not but that so honourable a person as the Lord Mountjoy is, will do his endeavour to reform those matters, yet I thought it my duty to deliver the same unto your Honour, upon whom a great part of the well-governing of both kingdoms resteth, unto whom only I will offer my poor endeavours."—London, 1599, December 30. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Dec. 30.

111. "A list of 2,000 foot, to be complete by the poll, and to serve for the supply of bands in Ireland," giving the counties, the numbers to be levied in each, the ports of embarkation, &c. Also, a similar list for other 3,000 foot. Also, a further note concerning these 5,000 foot, and 200 horse, which latter were to be in readiness at the port of embarkation by March 15, [1600]. The 2,000 foot, first mentioned, were to be ready for embarking by January 31, and the 3,000 foot, following them, by the 1st of March. Lord Mountjoy is reminded to send to the ports such persons as shall see to the transportation being effected.—1599, December 30. *pp.* 3.

[Dec. 30.] 112. A copy of the portion of the preceding, relating to the levy of the 2,000 foot. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 211-211 b.* p. 1.



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Dec. 113. A schedule of agreement made by Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England, Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary, and Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the one part, and Marmaduke Darell, esquire, Surveyor of the Victuals for the Navy, and John Jolls, of London, merchant, of the other part; for providing victuals at the port of Cork for 3,250 men, serving in Munster, for two months. The provisions consist of biscuit, butter, cheese, and beef. The total sum payable for the same is 3,222*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*—1599, December. *Entry Book, No. 204, fos. 209 b-211. Copy. pp. 3.*

Dec. 114. "A note of all the grand proportion of munition sent into Ireland at the Lord Lieutenant's [the Earl of Essex's] coming thither, anno Domini, 1599, over and above 2,000 swords sent out of England since his Lordship's coming, which said swords were delivered to Sir George Bouchier, Master of the Ordnance, for the store of Dublin." In the case of Newry, an estimate is given of the remainder of munition there to 31 December, 1599. *Signed by Anthony Ersfeld, Surveyor of the Ordnance in Ireland. pp. 5½.*

Dec. 115. "A note of the charge, issue, and remain, of Her Majesty's store of Galway, including the waste and expense in the service for Sligo, &c., under John Pavey, Clerk of the Ordnance there." *This list of the munition at Galway is almost identical with the portion of the preceding paper relating to that city.*—[1599, December.] *Signed by Anthony Ersfeld. Copy. p. 1.*

Dec. 116. "The opinion and advice of Captain John Baynard, your Majesty's faithful subject, a poor commander and an actor in your Highness's wars, as well in other countries, as also at the beginning of the rebellion in Ireland, coming out of Brittany, and continued two years in that country, and of late went upon his own charge into that distressed kingdom, as well to shew to your Highness the general defects used in the country, whereby a reformation may be had, as also what force of foot and horse is sufficient to be there resident, and in what sort they shall be bestowed to suppress the rebellion in general, that thereby your Majesty may be rid of a mighty charge, and the kingdom to be likewise better ordered and governed."

"Humbly sheweth, whereas all actions must first tend to the setting forth of God's glory, and the suppressing of sin and wickedness and common utility of men, therefore was there good orders and laws established in Ireland, but nothing well effected either in instructing or compelling them to the obedience of God's sacred word and your Majesty's good laws, but that the devilish Popish priests and seminaries have had, and now have, the means almost without controlment to persuade and draw them to all mischievous and traitorous practices of rebellions both towards God, Prince, and country. For this is infallible, where God is not truly served,

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the Prince is never well obeyed, neither any love or good neighbourhood between man and man. And one amongst many of the chiefest hindrances have been and is, in regard that the most part of spiritual livings, with pulling down and decaying of churches, are altogether put and converted to temporal uses, and besides I may justly complain upon the most part of the grand spiritualities, in respect they are so careful of their posterity, that there is little ministry of that inestimable jewel of God's word throughout the kingdom.

"Secondly, that protections, which have been the cause from time to time to bring in rebels, do increase, and cause to be continued these many years rebellion in the land. For they come in but to serve their own turns, for the better furnishing and abling of themselves in all courses and plots of mischievous rebellion; and of many I will but only set down one instance, that one Feamaque [Feagh McHugh] and Walter Rougher [Reogh], betaking them to the glynns by Dublin, having been divers times brought to that exigent as they could no longer continue, that then they would make such friends as they got protections for themselves and followers; so that by this means they continued almost twenty years. For I am of this opinion that protections are altogether unnecessary.

"Thirdly, that no rebel, of what degree soever, should be taken in, unless he doth bring in with himself his sons and followers, which he can and may very well perform. For commonly, if the father come in, yet his sons and followers keep out. Also, that he put in good pledges to the State for all their loyalties; for, being in rebellion, he will be a thousand strong, and after he is come in, if it happen that the State command him to do the part of a good subject, as to go with his forces into the field, that then he will not bring twenty persons in all, neither will he be at any charge in furnishing them to the wars. For amongst many great rebels that have been taken in, I will recite these few, namely, the Lord Mountgarrett, the Lord of Cahir, "Don Hyspan" [Donnell Spainagh] Thomas McEdmond, and many others. So that although the grand rebels come in for the safeguard of their countries, yet the troops of the rebels are not much the weaker, but are commonly supplied by him from time to time to work more mischief.

"Fourthly, it is most necessary that if Irishmen have companies in your Highness's pay, which have been thought the best course to do service in that country, that they are very strictly looked unto, whether they are good subjects or no. For I could never learn that they did any service, but rather did bring up soldiers which proved to be rebels, and went away with your Majesty's furnitures, being delivered unto them. Besides there can never be a true muster taken of them by means of this; for, if they have but two hours' warning, they will be soon furnished of their nation to satisfy the Commissary. So treasure is spent upon them, furnitures lost, rebels increased, and no manner of service done by them.



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"Fifthly, that no Captain of the English, being in your Majesty's pay, should entertain and muster above six Irishmen in a 100, for that they make a continual practice of running away, and especially they carry with them their furnitures, and so become rebels, which hath made the rebellion from time to time much stronger. And withal they have learned our discipline and orderly carriage in fight, which knowledge hath brought them to this pride and strong rebellion. And of many I will bring but one instance. I had in my company in Ireland but eight Irishmen; they all ran away with their furnitures; besides [they] did entice two Englishmen with them, and so became rebels. For I did see some of them afterwards amongst the troops of rebels, and [they] were become their chief leaders."

"Sixthly, that the cities and towns in Ireland should be forced to set forth and maintain so many young men out of their several towns to do service with our troops, as they have English to guard and defend them. For they are grown mighty rich, and therefore well able to bear it. Besides, they may do great service, in respect they are best able to endure the hardness of those wars. For an instance, I saw in the time of Sir William Russell that there were some 200 taken out of Dublin and other town[s] in the north, which, when they came into the field, did more good service than 500 of English, for they stripped themselves as the rebels, and so became fit to do service upon them."

"Seventhly, there is no regard had and looked unto, throughout all the cities and towns in Ireland, of the inhabitants, but that the rebels may and do as well furnish themselves as the good subject. And besides the merchants do both bring out of England and other countries all things necessary for them, which hath been one of the chiefest means of all their continuance this long time. For they regard in the cities and towns nothing so much as their own private profit; besides it, [there] appeareth their general good will for the maintenance of rebellion, which hath been manifestly proved."

"Eighthly, that no searchers or other officers belonging to any of the haven towns should permit or suffer any soldier to pass, unless he hath the General's pass, or by such as the General doth appoint. Especially [that] there be better looking unto, at the going away of the shipping and barks; for this hath been one of the means that our forces have been left so weak. So that the common speech goeth, that any man may be transported, giving a month's pay, or by bringing their furnitures, either to the officers of the water, or to the master or mariners of the ships and barks. For I have noted that numbers have been transported into England without passport. Besides it is an occasion generally that they have no mind to stay in that land to do any service, for still their hope is, by some means or other, to get for England."

"Ninthly, that the most part of the magazines of victuals is so corrupted and naught, that it doth rather tend to the weakening and sickening of the poor soldiers than relieving of them, which hath been the chief means to put them clean out of strength and

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heart. For the soldier would rather content himself with two shillings in money than five shillings' worth of those victuals, considering that the Victualler out of England and the Victualler there taketh such care for the enriching of themselves, as that they make provision of the worst; and so quickly it cometh in short time to be stark naught. For myself have seen that, when the soldier hath been sick, and not able to eat those victuals, and thereby constrained to sell them he could not for his better relief then get the third penny they stood him in; for, being never so sick, he must lack his allowance in victuals. And therefore I hold it most necessary he should have his lendings in money, until he were recovered of his sickness. I came by chance where it was disputed whether more men perished by the Victualler, or by the sword and hardness of the country. For this one thing I should hardly be persuaded to the contrary, that it is impossible for a man of nothing to become in short time huge and rich with honest and good conscionable dealing.

"Tenthly, that those that are provant masters and do furnish the soldiers with clothes, and such lacks of necessary (*sic*), they likewise are so careful of their exceeding gain, that they both make provision of the worst, as also so scant in stuff, that the soldier wears it out long before his other suit comes due unto him. For I have accounted it, that the suit that stands the soldier in 40s., I will make the like in Ireland under 30s. And yet all such commodities are dearer there than in England, for the soldier would best content himself of such clothes as will keep him most warm, which will be provided in the country.

"Eleventhly, there is no provision extraordinary for sick and hurt soldiers, but that either he dieth, or seeketh in his misery to get away, or else continueth in the country long sick; and so, generally, they are kept so weak and out of heart, that they are not able to stand against the rebels, which, to perform that country service, do consist only upon strength of body. For I myself have seen such lamentable spectacles both of sick and hurt soldiers, that have died in the open streets, merely for want of some succour. And therefore, in remorse of conscience, I have made sundry motions to the State there, that there might be some houses erected in every province, either made of some abbey or church. I have laid down to them that the charge would not be great, for the soldiers' entertainment, with good and honest ordering, would make him well, and so thereby being recovered, his body would be seasoned to agree with the nature of the country. For that soldier which is once recovered would be better than three others to perform those wars. For commonly, when as they come out of England, they are in short time extreme sick, so such houses would be the means to save many thousands. For the wars in that country will be soonest ended with few troops being well kept, clothed, and victualled. For I have noted that they have no succour or relief generally of the inhabitants, although they hold amongst themselves that charity is a grand merit. Besides, we may perceive, by the small comforting or succouring of our soldiers, their natural hatred to our nation.



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"Twelfthly, it is most necessary that there should be no commander employed to have command of men in the wars, but such as are of experience and honest conversation; as that either he hath risen by degrees of a soldier, or at least hath been of long continuance; for there have been many that have and do thrust themselves forward to have command, that neither know what belongs to preserve a soldier, much less to instruct and marshal him. For the wars are carried by judgment, experience, and well ordering, when it cometh to the substance of battling and fighting; for by the defects of Commanders, as well Colonels, Captains, and other officers, their want of judgment hath been the cause of routs, and so consequently we have thereby received overthrows of such base people in that kingdom."

These abuses are very true, for he made his observations when in Ireland. Her Majesty must deal with Ireland, as a good physician, who takes away the cause of the disease before he enters upon the cure. Compares the state of Ireland to those kingdoms of which the prophets did mightily complain, "that there was no true service of the Most High God, no upright justice, and too much corruption used in the land. And therefore God grant a reformation."

Recommends that some privy seals be sent to "those huge, rich men, that are in their several cities and towns," who would partly lend enough money to end the war. They have got such great wealth by traffic, "as also by the great treasure that hath been consumed in that country, which is hoarded up among some of them." Is clear against prosecuting armies. The surest way is to plant garrisons in every province. Ulster is the root of all the rebellion in Ireland, and hath grown very strong. When prosecuting armies have been employed, the rebels have assembled their forces in their great fastness, viz., their woods, bogs, and islands, and have also placed their cattle there, and have fought with all advantages. They are both strong and expert, and will give a proud onset on front, flank, and rear of an army, so that without well-ordering, it may be routed.

Recommends a force of 8,000 for Ulster, viz., 2,000 at Lough Foyle, 2,000 at Ballyshannon, 1,500 at Armagh, 200 at the Blackwater fort, built by Lord Burgh, 500 at Monaghan, 300 at a church eight miles from Newry (for so Sir John Norreys once determined), and the other 1,500 at Carrickfergus and in Clandeboy. There must be choice of expert Captains for the garrisons, and good espial upon the rebels. These will disperse to their several countries, and their huge herds of cattle will be ended. The garrisons will also raise factions amongst the rebels. To the objection that the latter will gather their forces together, and assault one garrison after another, he answers that soldiers will soon entrench themselves strongly enough against their forces. When the Blackwater fort was at the weakest, Tyrone gathered all his forces together, and assaulted it. The garrison then had the killing of numbers of them, with the loss of very few. "For they are very cowards,

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if they see they have not some retreat to run away; for the Earl could not get them any more to give the onset upon [the] fort." Desires to be an actor in the garrison that shall be thought most dangerous to be held. For "the small rebellions" of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, thinks 3,000 men should be bestowed in each of those provinces, and that they will be sufficient, "in regard the one half of the Irish in those provinces are not entered into rebellion." So the whole force in Ireland will be 17,000.

By the planting of these garrisons the rebels will be soon suppressed, or else brought into that weakness and subjection, that they may easily be reformed. When the country is brought to some orderly government, then the statesmen and governors must take care that throughout all Ireland there shall never any precedent be shewn of such strength as the Munster rebellion had through its secret suddenness, but that there be good espial among the rebels. For the people are very apt and prone to run out in rebellion, and will soon grow, and come to a great head and strength. "And besides, I hold it very good that the policy were used in some sort to the Irish, as the Spaniards do use to the Portuguese, in respect of the natural hatred they bear to our nation, dreading expellation."

The aforesaid measures being taken, Her Majesty will soon be rid of a mighty charge, and in time a great revenue may be drawn out of Ireland. Prays Her Majesty to pardon his presumption and his rude and simple inditing, proceeding from "an unlearned clerk, being truly bred a soldier, and risen by all degrees from the lowest of the field to a Captainship." Desires to continue his course of life, and begs that Her Majesty may have some consideration of his poor estate, and that he may be employed in Ireland. Is altogether voided of other means of preferment.

*The note on the dorse addressed to the Queen by Baynard speaks of "the entrance of the new year," but this document is endorsed, "1599, December." Unsigned. pp. 6½.*

[Dec.] 117. An abridged copy of the preceding, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil.—[1599, December.] pp. 4½.

Dec. 118. A certificate of the companies of horse and foot in the province of Munster, mustered in December, 1599," shewing in each company the numbers of English and Irish, and the numbers of sick men. The total of able men in the foot companies amounted to 2,097, whereof 1,823 were English, and 274 Irish. The companies were disposed in the following garrisons:—Dungarvan, Youghal, Cork, Kinsale, Mallow, Kilmallock, Lime-  
rick, and Askeaton. *Signed by W. Jones. One large sheet.*

Dec. 119. Barnaby Rych to Sir Robert Cecil. "In November last past, eight years," he delivered to Her Majesty a caveat of this rebellion now broken out in Ireland, which, although it were then but in hatching, was yet very easy to be discerned; and he informed Her Majesty how she might then have prevented



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it, without a penny charge to her purse. She seemed graciously to accept his endeavours, but they were crossed, although he was soliciting for three years. That he did not this without judgment, the sequel has now made manifest. He asks no better testimony in this matter than Her Majesty's own report. Sends herewith a true copy of what he delivered to her in November, 1591, as it may be of service at present. How beneficial his representations might have proved, had they been considered, he leaves to Sir Robert's consideration. Is well assured that 500,000*l.* will not again repair the neglect. His former endeavours to do Her Majesty service have banished him out of Ireland, for fear of his life, which has been several times assaulted. If, by Sir Robert's favour, he might be returned thither again in any able sort, and does not yet perform those several services for Her Majesty's great advantage and profit, he will submit to any punishment whatsoever.—[1599, December.] *Signed. p. 1. Encloses,*

119. i. *Caveat delivered to Her Majesty in November, 1591.*

*Having spent the greatest part of twenty years in her service in Ireland, and having observed meantime the state of the country, he has noted a wonderful alteration. "I do see the realm mightily increased in substance and wealth, rich in plate, rich in all manner of furnitures and wares, their houses high-rented, their lands in many places let out for 30*l.* and 40*l.* a year, that at my first coming into Ireland would not have yielded 10*l.*" These blessings God has endured the country withal, by a most gracious government, and with no little charge to Her Majesty's purse. "I do likewise see many that are there in authority, under your Highness, purchase store of lands, build fair houses, give great sums of money with the marriage of their children; to conclude (most excellent Princess), I do see them thrive of all hands throughout the whole country, your Majesty only excepted; but I cannot see that your Majesty's revenues are augmented, or your continual charge out of England any whit at all abated."*

*But these miseries may be thought matters of too high importance for a man of his sort to look into, "knowing that authority is able to suppress verity." Dares not therefore signify particulars of some abuses, but ventures to deliver such "a general ill," as it is very requisite for Her Majesty to know, and most expedient for her to reform.*

*The whole realm of Ireland, by a most princely government, and to Her Majesty's great charge, is mightily increased in wealth. With this the people are likewise increased, and daily do more and more increase, in all manner of obstinacy, contempt, and perverse demeanour. To avoid further tediousness, it is to be proved that, amongst the whole Irish, for every one subject that shall be found faithful to Her Majesty, the Pope hath twenty assured to him, "not in private manner, as men that stood in awe, or were afraid to be known what they are, but openly protested, making no doubt at all manifestly to impugn your Majesty's laws and proceedings."*

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There is "nothing more nourishing to these inconveniences" than the Irish clergy, nine tenths of whom seek to suppress Her Majesty, and to advance the Pope. "Moreover, our Bishops throughout the country are so negligent of their charge, that friars, Jesuits, seminaries, massing priests, and such others, have free and common recourse throughout the diocese[s], and every city, town, and province is so plentifully replenished with them, that there is almost neither nobleman nor gentleman, but he hath some of them in his house, and keepeth them openly without controlment; and these vowed Catholics, your Majesty's vowed enemies, have drawn all obedience from your Majesty to the Pope." Cannot conceive why Her Majesty should still enrich a people so obstinate, so froward and so alienated from their duty. Princes should by all means endeavour to advance their subjects in prosperity; but they must be subjects that receive this benefit; "but these be the Pope's subjects, and therefore your Majesty's protested enemies, and greater policy for your Majesty to reform them than to enrich them." A great number are against a reformation, but it is necessary. Notwithstanding it cannot be suddenly settled, but must be wrought by degrees. Yet the country abiding in its present desperate and dangerous estate, it is most requisite that speedy redress be sought to assure Her Highness a better security, and more certainty of the country than now. To defer this, is but to win time for those who are gaping after opportunity, either of some foreign aid, or of some other attempts to be made on England or Ireland. They are prepared to break out then. Craves leave to give briefly, as a soldier, his opinion concerning the premisses.

First, the state of the country is to be considered. "If it be not in far worse case than I have yet delivered, let me suffer death." If there be no other policy than reformation, there is no readier nor better mean to perform it than by force. "For if gentleness, mercy, and clemency, might have prevailed, they have had thirty and odd years' experience of a most gracious government, and your Majesty sufficient trial of an ungracious and thankless people. And, to speak truly of those that are by nature given to murder, theft, robbery, rape, ravin, and spoil, for a man to think to win them by courtesy, is like as we should set a mild and humble spirit to encounter a tyrant that is void of all remorse." Secondly, to prevent their expectation of any foreign help, or of any other intestine rebellion, Her Majesty should have strong garrisons settled in Ireland.

A very easy means to bring the country, not only to contribute the charges of a new supply, but also to clear off some part of the ordinary expenses, would be to send 2,000 men out of England (to raise any force of the Irish is very dangerous, as after they are trained, they are ready for any rebel that will start out), and settle them in such several parts of the realm as men of discretion shall think requisite. Then Her Majesty should send over for some of the Irish nobility, who are suspected, and "let them remain" in England, and "let their revenues from time to time be conveyed over to them." They are the ringleaders of the multitude, and some



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of them are very dangerous, and will give no example of obedience. Then, besides the noblemen, there are in Ireland knights, esquires, gentlemen, lawyers, "and such other like," perhaps some 3,000 persons, and not less than 2,000. Nineteen hundred of them live in disobedience to Her Majesty. They have received many gracious favours, have been freed from the cess, whereat they did so much repine, and have to pay no subsidies, fifteenths, and many other impositions often levied in England. When they draw Her Majesty to a charge, they themselves should bear the burden, and feel the smart of their own contempt. As in England 20l. a month is imposed on recusants, why should not 20s. a month be imposed on those thus perverse towards Her Highness? They are very well able to bear the sum, and would never much grudge to give. A great number would be brought to a far greater contribution. He speaks it of his own knowledge, and their willingness is not to be wondered at, if all were known, and the matter accordingly considered. By these means sufficient sums could be levied to pay the garrisons, and might be gathered monthly, if not in ready money, certainly in corn and cattle. There would likewise be raised good round reckonings amongst merchants, citizens, and townsmen, of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Galway, Drogheda, and divers other cities and towns, which are replenished with men of great wealth, who will not stick to keep seminaries openly in their houses, And these people that will do so much for their Pope, why should they not do somewhat for their Prince?

If the above course were holden, Her Majesty would have forces to prevent many perils, and the charge would be borne out, without exacting on her purse, and without any oppression of the poor. It would be levied only on the rich, who are able to bear it, and whom Her Majesty ought in policy to bridle; or, otherwise, they will not fail to turn her to a further inconvenience.

Concludes with a few brief notes, which he believes will prove to be profitable. The greater number of the Judges, Clerks, and other officers of the Four Courts are recusants, and so addicted to their Holy Father, that they are no little hindrance to Her Majesty. "Especially if the matter doth concern any one of their Catholics, your Majesty might have as good right in Spain, as amongst some of them which belong to those Courts." Leaves the reformation thereof to her wisdom. Will not omit to speak of a great number of lawyers, who make a gain of Her Majesty's laws, and will neither be obedient to law, nor come in a place where they may hear Her Majesty prayed for. Like order might be taken amongst the pensioners. Daily pay is given to some, who would rather give up their pensions, than prefer Her Majesty before the Pope. There are many of the Irish, who yearly come over as suitors to Her Majesty, and are returned back again with great gifts from her, who, after they have passed their grants during their lives, will not so much as open their lips to say Amen, when they hear Her Majesty prayed for. It is to be considered that, whereas there are many bishops, and others of the Irish clergy, who hold in their

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*hands more spiritual livings than is agreeable to godly policy, there are other benefices "holden in such men's names as are not known what they are, nor whether the parties be living or nay, some other in like case are holden by laymen, and some by children and such other persons, as, neither by God's law nor by the laws of the realm, are capable of them." These might be converted to bear out some of Her Majesty's expenses, rather than be holden by those unworthy of them, and Her Majesty in the mean time be in want. If the book of the Clerk of the First Fruits were perused, it would appear that the Irish clergy have deceived Her Majesty of more than 4,000*l.* within these very few years. Has heard the Receiver of Her Majesty's revenue in Ireland protest that he never received a penny for any manner of ecclesiastical fine. If all escheats, as traitors' goods, felons' goods, wards, setting of leases, forfeitures, greenwax books, recognizances, and divers other casualties, whereof there happeneth every year good store, were converted to Her Majesty's use, they would stop a good gap. At present they are purloined, and stand her in no stead.*

*Beseeches Her Majesty to esteem this his enterprise as he has meant it, which is, to do her faithful service, as well in the things he has set down, as in many others at this time omitted. Signed. pp. 7.*

[Dec.]

120. Notes of a plan to recover Connaught. A force of 5,000 foot and 300 horse should be sent there. A smaller one will not suffice, by reason of the strength of the inhabitants themselves, already heartened in blood, and having had divers victories against our people, and also because of the aid which they are sure to have from O'Donnell and Maguire. The above force will be sufficient to "take in" Connaught and Ballyshannon, and from thence to proceed against O'Donnell and Tyrone. Proportionable victuals and munition should be sent, all to be laid in at Galway. Four barks, of 50 or 60 tons a piece, appointed in warlike manner, are to be provided, as well as four small pinnaces. These, together with the boats of Galway, will serve to beat the shore, and to take the rebels' boats passing from the shore to the Islands, and likewise to take in Ennisboffin, the principal island of those parts, and to lie upon the coast of O'Donnell's country, that no Scots come to his aid. The said barks are to be taken out of the west of England, of such as are acquainted with the fishing at Ennisboffin, of which fishing may come great profit toward the relief of the garrison.

The province of Connaught being quieted, and Ballyshannon taken in, O'Donnell and Maguire should be prosecuted. At which time the Lord Deputy should draw to Armagh or the Blackwater, where he should stay, till assured that the forces of Ballyshannon were come over Barnismore. At the same time the garrison of Lough Foyle should be ready to enter Tyrone's country, and that of Knockfergus to advance as far as Coleraine and Mount Sendal, to beat the pastures betwixt that, Castletown, and Edenduffcarrick, lest the rebels swim over their cattle into Clandeboy.



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Likewise Lord Delvin, Lord Dunsany, Sir Theobald Dillon, and Sir Francis Shane, with all their forces and risings out, and with six companies of English, should make head toward Cavan to take any preys, that shall slip through Maguire's country, and, as occasion shall serve, they may draw toward the abbey of Clones. And, if the Lord Deputy could throw out a force to beat down toward the head of Lough Sydney, the traitor will not be able to stand up one month, for his cattle cannot escape, and he must be forced to fight, or else be driven from bush to bush.

Three principal objections are made to the foregoing project, viz., the charge to Her Majesty in maintaining so great a power in Connaught above that which she now hath there; that the rebellion may be settled without forces, as by protections, or else by raising factions and divisions amongst the rebels themselves; and that albeit force be used, yet the planting of garrisons in convenient places will suffice to weary and eat out the rebels.

To the first, it is answered that this extraordinary number of soldiers is not to continue longer than till Connaught be taken in, and Tyrone suppressed, both which may be effected in short time, if the course before set down be held. It is less charge to maintain a greater proportion of soldiers for a speedy dispatch of the service, than by mincing Her Majesty's expenses with a less proportion to prolong the war. It is well spent that is spent to purpose; and yet it cannot well be said to be spent, that is saved in the foot of the account. Her Majesty is at this present at a great yearly charge already, which, if it continue, will rise to an exceeding mass. The forces spoken of will in one year end the wars, because the rebels must needs yield to a greater strength than their own; so that Her Majesty's treasure, being now well employed, may hereafter be spared. On the contrary, if the course hitherto held run on, the rebels will still continue stronger, and the charge will be perpetual, because the rebellion is like to be perpetual. Further, if the managing of the action were put into the hands of a Commander skilled and experienced in the service of Ireland, Her Majesty's charge would be lessened well nigh by the half. It is easier to victual 5,000 men than 2,000.

To the second, it is answered that protections have been the cause of most of the troubles of Ireland, whilst the rebels, under shadow of them, have in time of prosecution sheltered themselves from the fury of Her Majesty's army, and, in time of their advantages, have wrought all the villainies they could imagine against subjects, and then plotted their treasons when they were least to be suspected. Yet there is a good use of protections, if they be granted with judgment and discretion. The hopes of faction and division amongst the rebels are to be relied on, when Her Majesty has sent over sufficient forces to undertake the prosecution, and the prosecution is followed with heat. Experience teaches that the subjects themselves, standing in fear of the rebels, will be content to favour them in some sort, as long as they are in their danger. But if sufficient forces fall upon them in the course that shall annoy them most, there is no doubt but that

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Tyrone himself will soon be forsaken of many that bear him the fairest countenance, if not for hatred of his tyranny, yet for fear of their own ruin and destruction, which they will perceive to be near, when he is no longer able to stand out.

To the third, it is answered that, if the war is to be lengthened, it will be better to make it by garrison alone. For so the charge will be the less for the time; and yet it may be a question what service garrisons blocked up on all sides by the rebels (as Ballyshannon and Lough Foyle will in that case be) can perform, unless they be very strong, and so strong indeed that Her Majesty shall not need to bring many more men into the field for a true prosecution. What the effect of garrisons planted in the midst of an enemy's country is, the fort of Leix and Lough Foyle itself will testify, both which, but especially that of Leix, have cost much, and yet dare not look into the traitors' countries. The reason of war is, first, to break the rebels in the field, and then, when they are broken, to keep them in with small garrisons. With the one you make a quick dispatch, with the other you assure the country that a rebel cannot stir, but he is met withal. This hath been the continual experience of Ireland; otherwise the rebels will both weary and eat out the English.—[1599, December.] *Unsigned. pp. 2½.*

[Dec.] 121. A certificate signed by Sir Ralph Lane, Mustermaster General, giving 5,230 as the number of men among the forces in Ireland, who are "strong to fight."—[1599, December.] *p. 1.*

[Dec.] 122. "A brief note concerning the government of Carrickfergus."

If employed there, with as ample authority from Her Majesty as others have had, who have held the place heretofore, he will undertake to draw away from Tyrone the forces of both Clandeboys, which are thought to be the fourth part of Ulster, and are nearly 1,000 in number; and he will settle them in their country, to yield Her Majesty obedience and their ancient rents. If they fail, he will be content to lose so much of his entertainment.

If Her Majesty will be pleased to employ any barks or pinnaces upon those coasts, he will also undertake to advertise the Captains of the same ships from time to time, when Tyrone shall send into Scotland for any munition, so that they shall not miss taking it, except their negligence be very great.

As concerns the Route, where dwells James McSorley Boy, who refuses to answer Her Majesty's ancient rents and duties, he will likewise undertake that James McSorley shall pay the same, or else shall not dwell in that country so quietly as hitherto; and all this shall be done without further charge to Her Majesty.—[1599, December.] *Unsigned. p. ¼.*

[Dec.] 123. "Estimate of Her Majesty's charge in Ireland since the erecting of the late army for suppressing the rebellion in Ireland." Total, 270,048*l.* [1599, December.] *p. 1.*



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[Dec.]

124. "Munition and arms delivered out of the store at Dublin, by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, to divers Commanders, whereof the Master of the Ordnance can make no perfect [certificate] of the expense, by reason the charge thereof is committed to such persons as are not within the command of the Office."—[1599, December.] *Signed by Sir George Bouchier.* pp. 24.

[Dec.]

125. "A memorial of divers questions concerning the prosecution of the wars in Ireland."

*"First, whether the wars shall be made defensive or offensive?"*

"The offensive in all places would require so great an army, and the defensive only would be so dishonourable, and yet so chargeable, as it is held by all men more fit to make a mixed war than either of the other.

*"If it be resolved to make a mixed war, where is that to be made, in what sort, and with what numbers?"*

"There can never be any way taken to abate the rebellion, unless the two capital rebels, Tyrone and O'Donnell, be infested in their own countries. For as all the rest of the traitors, whosoever they are assailed, do receive supplies from them, so, if their countries were spoiled, or well attempted, the rest of the provinces would be easily reduced. For these traitors (from neither of which as yet there was ever a cow taken) must be forced, either to draw in the force of the other provinces, or else at the least be driven to keep all their own people at home, and together to defend their own countries. And therefore it is resolved to plant garrisons at Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, Knockfergus, and Castle Toome, which being done with such numbers as they may be able to sally forth, and infest them, they cannot produce other effects than a notable diversion of his support to the rest, and a consumption of his own force.

"The number of all shall be twelve thousand foot and 1,200 horse; in Ulster, 5,100 foot, 200 horse; in Connaught, 1,350 foot and 100 horse; in Munster, 3,000 foot, 250 horse; in Leinster, 1,868 foot, 200 horse; remaining with the Deputy besides, 680 foot, 200 horse.

"Seeing that these numbers are to be maintained, and that Her Majesty pays already greater, which do no service, but peril her kingdom, and seeing by all certificates there are not 5,000 English, these points following are to be considered:—

*"What numbers of horse and foot shall be levied, and from what counties?"*

*"Whether the garrison of Lough Foyle shall directly pass from England, or no?"*

*"How Ballyshannon shall be planted, and when? Whether after Lough Foyle, before, or both together?"*

*"For what numbers it is meant that victual shall be provided, and for how long?"*

*"Against what time these garrisons must be planted?"*

*"Remember my Lord of Dunkellin's letter. Remember that all*

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*Irish Captains in pay be employed in places remote from their country. Remember that it is fit to carry the men from Galway by sea to Assero. Enquire where the horses and the arms are.*—[1599, December.] *The words, "and infest them," in the last answer given above, and the words from "against what time" to the end, are in the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil. pp. 2½.*

[Dec.]

126. "A List of the preachers of the army in Ireland."

"1. Robert Grave, per week, 40s. He is chanter of Limerick, chanter of Christchurch, Dublin, Dean of Cork, keepeth neither horse nor man for service, neither attendeth upon any garrison, but lieth at Dublin.

"2. Mr. Wheler, Dean of Christchurch in Dublin, per week, 30s. Of great living, meet for a scholar; he attendeth upon no service of Her Majesty's, but lieth still at Dublin.

"3. Mr. Rain, per week, 36s. 8d. He attendeth upon no garrison, but lieth at Dublin.

"4. Mr. Daniell, per week, 30s. He lieth at Galway, and hath 20l. per annum of the State allowed out of the fines, and 20l. of the town, and only attendeth his lecture in the town.

"5. Mr. Palmer, per week, 30s. He lieth at Athlone, and is preacher there both to the town and garrison.

"6. Mr. Webbe, per week, 30s. He is a prebendary of St. Patrick, Dublin, his living wasted; he is preacher to the garrison at Newry, but is now at Dublin.

"7. Mr. Powell, per week, 30s. He is in England, and there beneficed; he is parson of St. John's in Dublin.

"8. Mr. Heberstie, per week, 30s. He is, as I take it, in England.

"9. The Bishop of Cork, per week, 40s. He hath three bishoprics, Cork, Cloyne, and Rosscarberry, which are now wasted.

"10. The Dean of Limerick, per week, 30s. A Scot; he attendeth in garrison, but lieth at Dublin.

"11. Mr. Pilesworth, per week, 30s. He is a prebendary of St. Patrick's, Vicar of Carberry, Vicar of the Naas, where he lieth.

"12. Mr. Humstone, per week, 30s. He is newly come over, and lieth at Dublin.

"13. Mr. Lynaker, per week, 30s. He is in England, and in his place one Cornewall is appointed, who is preacher to the garrison [at] Drogheda.

"14. Dr. Hanmer, per week, 33s. 4d. He is chaplain to the Earl of Ormonde, and attendeth his Lordship in all journeys."—[1599, December.] p. 1.

127. A few rough notes by Sir Robert Cecil, giving names of rebels, &c.—[1599.] p. ½.

128. Rough notes in Sir Robert Cecil's hand.

"Ulster only rents paid by Irish. Tyrone never paid anything. O'Donnell, in Sir H. Sydney's time, made composition for 700 beeves. Maguire's country paid 120l. by patent: Monaghan 600l. yearly by patent. James McSorley paid forty beeves. Cladeboy



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paid a rent also. They mean commonly such duties as they paid to Sir H.

"Leix and Offally is (*sic*) inhabited by English Patentees, first begun in Queen Mary's time, whether before they were supplanted or since, and whether all other kind of service besides beeves.

"O'Reilly's country, Brenny or County of Cavan, Longford, and had law most quietly; these paid rents to the Queen thirty years since.

"Munster composition by this is gone. If it be meant that these rebels shall pay but as their ancestors, and the rest which comes to 2,000*l.* more from the undertakers and tenants of attainted land, what shall become of James FitzThomas, Derby McOwen, which is McCarthy More, Onie McRory, and such as had no land, nor right to land?

"Whether he will give his son and his brother Cormack, that is as dangerous as himself?

"Con O'Neil, Shane O'Neill's father, he was made Earl, and surrendered O'Neillship, and took Tyrone by letters patents to himself for life, and the remainder to Matthew, omitting Shane; Matthew, that was born in Dundalk, where the solicitor dwelt. Upon Shane O'Neill's rebellion, the lands came to the Queen, by Act of Parliament, in [anno] 11 mo., saving certain church lands and such like.

"In [anno] 27, Hugh Tyrone pretended an injury, being in nonage, and then took it by letters patents. Shane O'Neill's sons should have had Glencomkene, and Art O'Neill was provided for. Tirlogh had that part of Tyrone where Strabane stands, and a rent paid by Tyrone of 1,000 marks yearly. Tyrone hath all now, but Art O'Neill should have had a portion.

"Whether the Lords of the English Pale will like this kind of peace, or not? What shall become of the English?"—[1599.] *pp.* 1½.

129. Copy of the preceding.—[1599.] *pp.* 1½.

130. Warrant by Queen Elizabeth for a grant for eleven years to Sir Henry Brouncker, of the customs and subsidies on all wines brought from foreign parts into Ireland, paying for the same a yearly rent of 1,500*l.* sterling. Certain covenants to be inserted.—[1599.] *Copy.* *p.* 1.

131. [Sir Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil.] Her Majesty granted him a lease of the impost of all wines in Ireland for a yearly rent of 2,000*l.* This he has truly answered these four years last past, though in eight years before of far greater plenty, it yielded not above 4,000*l.* Thus, by his great expense and industry, Her Majesty received 4,000*l.* more in his four years than in the eight years before his lease. But as the trade into Spain is very dangerous and much decayed, and as all the towns in Ireland refuse to farm it at any price, prays that Her Majesty

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will accept of 1,200*l.* for the yearly rent. Trusts Sir Robert will undertake this great favour for him.—[1599.] *Draft. p. 1.*

132. Statement by Hugh Glaseour, of the Lea, in the county of Chester, esquire.

About July last past, the Earl of Kildare and his wife arrived at Chester, where he remained three or four days, and then departed the city to one Mr. Trevor's house, and entreated Glaseour to accompany him, which he did. The Earl then and there declared to Glaseour that there was an Irishman then attending upon him in livery, who was never before in England. The Earl was desirous to have him learn the civil manners of England, and the orderly service there used, and entreated Glaseour to accept the said Irishman into his service for a time. Glaseour refused, because he was then no housekeeper. Thereupon the Earl entreated Mr. Trevor either to receive the man into his service, or else to prefer him to one Mr. Puleston, a gentleman of that country there present. But Mr. Trevor denied, and, having spoken with Mr. Puleston, returned this answer to the Earl, that Mr. Puleston purposed to dissolve his household, and to sojourn with Lady Bromley in Shropshire. Thereupon the Earl importuned Glaseour to prefer the Irishman to some gentleman of that country [county], and Glaseour wrote a letter to one Mr. Leigh, of Bagley, his brother-in-law, to entertain the said Irishman. This Mr. Leigh denied, and Glaseour heard no more what became of the man, nor saw him afterwards, until the Earl, on his next return from the Court, came to Chester, where Glaseour saw the Irishman attending on his Lordship, in an old livery cloak, amongst the rest of his Lordship's servants, who were in new liveries. He also saw the same Irishman take horse at Chester, at the very instant the Earl took horse to go thence to the seaside; and, as Glaseour heard, the said Irishman went into Ireland in the same bark as the Earl.—[1599.] *Signed. Endorsed, "Reaugh." p. 1.*

133. "A list of the Captains and others recommended by the Lord Deputy."—[1599.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

134. "Minute of the most gross error, long since committed and still continued, in the wars of Ireland, and the way to redress the same, briefly declared."

"There hath been idly spent near about a million of Her Majesty's treasure from time to time by the Deputies here, only in making roads and journeys into the north part of Ireland, not judicially to advance the service, but ambitiously to get themselves a name, forsooth, for having penetrated the rebels' country. And if one of them chanced to go further therein than his predecessors, he thought it a great matter, and triumphed not a little. Let those journeys of all those Deputies be looked to with the eye of good judgment, and it will manifestly appear that they have produced no other effect than a ship doth in the wide sea, who (*sic*) leaves no longer print or impression in the water than



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for the very instant, the waves immediately filling the way she makes, so as the same cannot be found. Wheresoever forces are conducted against these rebels, they forthwith retire, and hold themselves close in bushes and bogs, without engaging any fight, but upon advantages; and no sooner shall our camp remove or dislodge, but they forthwith possess and overspread the ground we held. The garrisons left heretofore at Armagh and at Blackwater have put Her Highness to most endless and exorbitant charges for the victualling and relieving of them, by a general rising and assembly of all the forces in the land; those holds and garrisons being ever weak and wretched, and serving just to as much purpose, as he that should endeavour to catch the wind in a net. It is strange that Deputies are not restrained from running still this wild goose chase, attempting vainly to perform, with a sudden puff of courage, that which requireth a clean contrary manage and manner of proceeding. He that strives to gripe more than he is able to hold is in danger to lose all. While the remote parts of this land have been thus improvidently sought for and hunted after, the rebels have made war and waste in the heart of the English Pale, being the centre of this regiment.

“In few words, the only way to regain and recover the entire dominion of this cursed land, is to proceed as King Edward the First did, after long wars (and extreme losses) with the Welshmen, for the subduing of Wales; by edifying strong castles and forts upon the nearest retreats and fastnesses of the rebels, thereby to curb and check their vagrant incursions and depredations, and thus by degrees to enlarge the lost bounds and limits. By this means only, with much more safety and far less charges to Her Highness, Ireland may be won and held in subjection. For we see by manifold experience, what madness it is for a Deputy or General to lead royal forces against naked rogues in woods and bogs, whom hounds can scarce follow, and much less men. Their ordinary food is a kind of grass. Neither clothes nor houses, generally, do they care for. With this their savage life are they able to wear out any army that seeketh to conquer them. It is no more possible to defeat them at once, than to destroy so many wolves and foxes; the which may be effected by tract of time and means convenient, but not to be attempted by plain force in the open field, they having dens, coverts, and labyrinths inextricable, for their succours.”—[1599.] *Unsigned. pp. 2.*

135. Copy of the preceding.—[1599.] *pp. 2.*

136. Queen Elizabeth to ————. “Where we are credibly informed by our subject P.C. that James Archer, called the Pope’s legate, and one McCragh, usurped Bishop of Cork, and sundry other seditious priests, Jesuits, and seminaries, now resorting to all parts of that our kingdom, especially to that our province of Munster, being (according to the wonted manner) suborned by the Pope and the King of Spain to raise our subjects to rebellion, and to shake off the yoke of obedience which they owe unto us, have so effectually prevailed in their ungodly and malicious

purposes, as, under the pretext and colour of religion, they have drawn most of those rebels, and some that pretend to be our subjects in that realm, confidently to believe that we intend, not only to conquer, but also utterly to extirp and root out all that nation, and that our offer of grace and mercy to the rebel, and our favour and bounty extended to the subject there, is to no other end than to procure them to cut off one another, and, when the turn is served, not to regard the subject and servitor more than the rebel; we let you wit that, as we find ourself much wronged by these most false and wicked practices, so, in the discharge of our conscience, and for the satisfying of the world, we do in (*sic*) the word and honour of a Prince, and in the presence of Almighty God, make protestation that we never had any such intent or meaning, but that all such of the rebels as would take hold of our proclamation, and all our subjects that would continue loyal servitors unto us, should be reputed and taken for our good and loving subjects, with equal love and favour as our subjects of England. And therefore we hereby will and require you to give notice thereof accordingly, lest our good people, through the blind guiding of those devilish hypocrites, should be carried any further into those errors, to the destruction of them and their posterities, which as their natural Sovereign, that never wanted a princely care of her subjects, we would be very sorry for; and for that cause only, and not for their deserts, we do give them so many gentle warnings.

“And, forasmuch as we have now taken so royal a course for the prosecution of those Munster rebels, as we doubt not (Tyrone being well plied on all sides, as he shali be), but they will either be vanquished in short time, or else presently forced to scatter themselves into small companies, whereby they may the easier be cut off; our pleasure is, that you shall give straight charge and commandment to the Viscount Barry, and John FitzEdmund, our good old servitor, that, laying aside all private malice and controversies, they join together in our service, and not suffer John O'Desmond, or John McRedmond of Ballygrenan, called the Seneschal of Imokilly, to continue either in Imokilly or Cosbride, but to serve upon them with all their forces; Cormack McDermot and Cormack Oge to do the like against Dermot McOwen, Dermot Moyle McCarthy, and O'Donovan, in Muskerry, Dowalla, and the borders thereof; McCarthy Reogh, Sir Finnin O'Driscoll, and Barry Oge, to do the like, in Carberry and the borders thereof, against the said Dermot, Moyle, and O'Donovan; O'Sullivan Bere, O'Sullivan More, and Florence McCarthy, to do the like in Desmond against Donnell McCarthy and his confederates; and that these noblemen, chieftains, and gentlemen, shall be always in a readiness with their forces either to withstand the rebels, prosecute them being divided, or attend upon you, whensoever you shall command them for our service. To whom, our pleasure also is, you should give public notice that, like as we are not ignorant of their obedience and subjection unto us in this doubtful time, which we will remember and



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regard as becometh, so are we truly informed, and we do now take knowledge, of their several factions and alliances with the rebels, which hath been cause of great slackness in our service, and as we mean in honour to reward the one, so will we in justice punish the other, unless those former defects and remissness be supplied and requited with a more willing forwardness and furtherance of our service henceforth, than heretofore they have been; which we require you to give us advertisement of from time to time, as occasion shall be offered."—[1599.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "For Munster." Copy. pp. 3.*

137. "An estimate of the charge of ten ships and barks sent lately into Ireland with victuals to supply Her Majesty's forces, and there stayed and employed for some intended service in Sligo, by direction of the Right Honourable Earl of Essex, rated according to such particular certificates as, together with his Lordship's letters were sent unto us, from the Right Honourable the Lord High Treasurer of England."—[1599.] *Signed by the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Fulke Greville, and Sir Thomas Trevor. pp. 2.*

138. Sir Warham Sentleger's various entertainments from Her Majesty; viz., Captain of 25 horse, Captain of 150 foot, Lieutenant of Queen's County, or Leix, Constable of Laughlin, Constable of Castlemaine, Constable of Monaster Evan, and Chief Commissioner in Munster.—[1599.] *Copy. p. 1.*

139. "Resolutions for the service in Ireland," in Munster and Leinster.

Munster.—Victual for 3,000 foot and 250 horse, to be delivered at Cork and Limerick, one half before the 20th of July, and one half before the 15th of August. With this and the former provision, the forces will be victualled to October 31. Money for the pay of three months to be sent. The castle of Limerick to be perfected at such estimate as the President and Council shall think necessary.

Leinster.—Victual for 1,500 foot and 588 horse for two months, for Newry, Carlingford, Dundalk, Ardee, and other places in the English Pale, to be delivered at Dublin before July 31.—[1599.] *Draft. pp. 1½.*

140. Garrisons for Connaught and Munster. Total, 1,989 foot, and 666 horse.—[1599.] *Copy. pp. 1½.*

141. A list similar to the preceding.—[1599.] *Copy. p. 1.*

142. "A brief declaration of the state wherein Ireland now standeth, with some reasons for the reducing thereof to civility and quietness in the speediest manner, and the easiest for Her Majesty's charge that may be (as I take it)."

"The rebels do swarm in all parts of the realm, commanding all except the towns, or a few castles, or the territories of some Irish Lords by their sufferance remaining unspoiled; the English inhabitants all banished, and our forces unable (lying divided as

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they do) to do any great exploit, but only to keep their garrisons; Her Majesty's infinite charge is still continued; the rebels nothing weakened, but rather do increase in strength; and the soldiers decay daily for want of means. To set down the particular occasions hereof were tedious and needless, because most of them are already known here.

"If our army were strong enough (as it is not), whereby it might be divided into several strong regiments, to make head against the rebels, yet I think running journeys do more annoy ourselves than hurt the rebel. For therein our men do most miscarry; some are slain, but most (by reason of their unwonted travel, and want of bedding, and change of linen) are taken with diseases, and so die; and little to the disadvantage of the rebel, who hath all the advantages that may be, viz., the wind and the ground. They may give and take when they list, and if they may have opportunity to assault, and can prevail, our loss is infinite, because we cannot shift ourselves from them; and, if we give the repulse, and be able to make the place good, they will wheel about, and be gone with little or no loss; and we are not able to overtake them, no, though they were at push of the pike presently with us.

"To lie in many convenient garrisons upon the confines of their countries were better, as I take it, and more hurtful to them, and less loss to us. For if the English soldier might be so used, as at seldom times he might make a start abroad, and yet no further than that he might return to his bed the next night, he would do well, and be able to serve very sufficiently. But this course is slow, and chargeable to Her Majesty, especially for the victualling of those garrisons.

"Many and sundry reasons might be alleged *pro et contra*, concerning these causes, but because these few may suffice, I will go as briefly to the matter as I can.

"The Irishman in that country is the fittest man to effect that service, both in regard of his education, and also of his hardiness to endure continual toil and travel and hunger and cold, and all other extremities; besides he is as ready to take the former advantages as the rebels.

"The best course is to begin with Munster, as well for that they are not the hardiest men, as also in respect of the great plains, and the many towns therein. To raise, or employ, any of Munster for this purpose were bootless, because they are so linked together by affinity and consanguinity, as they will not for any reward whatsoever do any service one upon another. For all the Lords and chieftains of Munster are knit together in this sort, viz., the Lord Power hath made a double match with the Lord Barry; Gerrot FitzJames of the Decies matched with the Lord Barry's daughter; Patrick Condon with the Lord Barry's sister; the Lord Barry with the Lord Roche's sister; Cormack McDermott, nephew by marriage to the Lord Roche, and cousin germain to his children; the Lord Barry's daughter matched to Cormack's son and heir, Cormack, cousin germain to Dermott McOwen's wife, Florence McCarthy and David Roche; McCarthy Reogh, cousin



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germain to Florence Dermott McOwen, the Lord Barry, and to the five daughters of Sir Owen McCarthy, who are married thus, viz., one to O'Donovan, who is in rebellion; another to the Knight of the Valley, who is also in rebellion; the third to Sir Finnin O'Driscoll; the fourth to Cormack Oge; and the fifth to Dermott O'Sullivan, second brother to O'Sullivan More. O'Sullivan Bere married O'Sullivan More's sister; O'Sullivan More married to Florence McCarthy's sister; O'Sullivan More's sister mother to the Knight of Kerry; O'Sullivan More's son and heir married to the Lord FitzMorris's daughter; the Lord FitzMorris married to the Lord Roche[s] and the Lady Barry's sister, and his son and heir married to the Earl of Thomond's sister; O'Connor Kerry married O'Sullivan More's daughter, and cousin germain to O'Sullivan Bere; the White Knight's daughter married to McDonogh, and his other daughter to McCarthy Reogh's son and heir; Dermott McOwen married the Lord Roche's daughter, and the niece of the Lady Barry and the Lady FitzMorris.

"The principal cause of all the rebellion of Munster, being James O'Desmond, and his brother John, are brothers in law to McCarthy Reogh, cousins germain to the Lord Roche, the Ladies Barry and FitzMorris and to the Lord FitzMorris, to Florence McCarthy's mother, and to the mothers of Cormack McDermott and David Roche. So as there is no hope that ever any of them will do any service one upon another, besides that it hath been already well tried by the late Lord President (myself being the instrument that laboured it), and it took no effect.

"The Leinster men are meetest to be dealt withal herein, both for that they have no alliance with Munster, and also that they are the most valiant ever accounted of that nation.

"The likeliest men in Leinster (as the case now standeth) are Onie McRory, Donnell Spainagh, and Captain Tyrrell. These be the men that raised all the rebellion in Munster, and these be the men that may suppress it. They can command most of all the rebels in Leinster, by reason of their great alliance and faction, and, they being satisfied, the efficient cause of the rebellion of Leinster is removed; and, if they conquer Munster, they make Connaught clear, because all the rebels of Connaught are now the strength of Munster, and the hired men, called bonnaughts; so as this matter being well and discreetly handled, three provinces may be quieted by that means.

"Then Her Majesty hath no employment for her great army, but in the north, the chief whereof, being Tyrone, will be so wonderfully in despair of himself, seeing his best instruments (whereof he maketh greatest reckoning) not only pulled from him, but also such a course taken, as he cannot have any help either out of Leinster, Munster, or Connaught, as his pride will be much abated, and no doubt will stand upon better terms. At least when the army hath nothing to attend but Tyrone, and Tyrone now more maimed and dismembered than he was wont to be, they may so ply him while these fellows are ransacking of Munster, as in all likelihood they will eat further into his country than ever they did,

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"If it be God's pleasure that this plot may take wished effect, it will be greatly to Her Majesty's benefit; for these men undertaking the matter will dispatch more in a month than so many of our army can do in a year. For they will lose no time day nor night, such is the ability of their bodies, as they care not to be ever travelling; and Munstermen (except their bonnaughts) cannot endure half so much. So as when their powder is once spent, which will be at the most in two days, these men without doubt will either give them a great overthrow, or else scatter them, and make them divide themselves into small companies, whereby, in less than one year, they may utterly waste and spoil all the country, and recover from them their castles and cattle, so as the next degree is famine, which is the most special and principal thing to be required for the ending of these wars in Ireland.

"Now put [the] case, these three before-named might be vanquished in this service? What loss is it to Her Majesty? She is rid of the notablest three rebels of Ireland, except Tyrone; and setting themselves together by the ears, it cannot chose but be greatly to Her Majesty's advantage. For in the bickering between them, whatsoever else will be done, it is most sure the country will be wasted, whereby famine will follow as aforesaid. And if it chance the said three prevail, they are worthy of great advancement, and then will they, with such other of the common sort of Munster as will join with them, be a very good help against Tyrone.

"My opinion (under correction) is that the best course and greatest policy to weaken the rebel, and to end the war, is, to work all the means that may be to make themselves to cut off one another, and I do assuredly believe that a thousand pounds spent that way (being with discretion disbursed) will stand Her Majesty in better stead than the sending over of a thousand men.

"The best means to satisfy these three aforesaid will be in this sort; to give to Onie McRory the country of Leix, that was his ancestors'; to Donnell Spainagh, the Doffren and Enniscorthy; and to Captain Tyrrell, James O'Desmond's lands in Cosbride, and Piers Lacy's lands. And for that some question may be made how Her Majesty may dispose of those lands, the Doffren belonging to Henry Daniell, Enniscorthy to Sir Henry Wallop's heir, and Leix already passed to several patentees, I answer this, that Enniscorthy may be easily had from Mr. Wallop, both in regard the same yieldeth no profit, nor is like to do, but is a charge to him, and also for that he never expected to have it, for it was given to Oliver Wallop, the second brother, who is dead without issue. And so may the Doffren be had from Henry Daniell, for exchange or otherwise; and the freeholders of Leix (whereof I am one) are many in number, but not one of us make[s] any profit of those lands, neither have we any part of them in possession save only the two bare castles of Dysert and Ballyadams, which Pigott and Bowen [?] held] by the sufferance of the rebels hitherto; and now they say they shall hold



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them no longer. I am persuaded they are or will be lost very shortly; so as I see no cause why we should be very curious to surrender our titles, and take exchange of lands in Munster of such attainted lands as shall be now won by the three aforesaid; neither do I think that any of us will be so hard-hearted (if our lands were profitable, as they are not) as to stand with our gracious Prince that gave us all, especially on a matter of this urgent necessity, that concerns the whole state of her kingdom.

"There must be another thing done, as well for the satisfaction of these three, as for all the rest of the Irishry of Ireland, which is this. All the Lords and chieftains of that kingdom, except the well-affected, are made confidently to believe by the priests, especially by Father Archer, the Pope's Legate, that Her Majesty will never again favour nor trust any that is born in Ireland, and that such as do join with us are but made instruments to cut off the rest, and to serve the present necessity; and, when the turn is served, no more regard will be had of those that do service than the rebel. Her Majesty in this case is to clear her own conscience, and to make the contrary manifest, by explaining her intent and meaning from her own mouth and heart. This will draw the hearts of many of that nation to do service, and will remove many doubts and suspicions from the heads of such as pretend to be subjects, whom I know of mine own knowledge to be disanimated by reason of this false and cunning practice. Therefore Her Majesty under her own hand is to signify and make protestation, in the word of a Prince, that she doth, and will, love and cherish all such of that kingdom, as are, or shall be, good subjects and servitors with equal regard as she doth her subjects of England.

"In which letters it must be very effectually mentioned that, inasmuch as Her Majesty hath taken a course for the royal prosecution of those rebels, and that she is well assured they must be presently vanquished, or scattered and divided into small companies, therefore the Lord Barry and John Fitz Edmund, setting aside all malice and private quarrels, and joining together lovingly in one yoke, with the help of Patrick Condon, may keep out of Imokilly and Cosbride John McRedmond of Ballygrenan, and John O'Desmond; Cormack McDermott and his cousin, Cormack Oge, may keep out of Muskerry Dermott McOwen O'Donovan, and Dermott Moyle McCarthy; McCarthy Reogh and Sir Finnin O'Driscoll may keep them out of Carberry; O'Sullivan Bere, O'Sullivan More, and Florence McCarthy may keep Donnell McCarthy out of Desmond. There must be straight charge given them (intermixed with some threats) that so long as this army shall be in prosecution of the rebel, they be continually in arms upon the borders of their countries for the purpose aforesaid. And like as Her Majesty must make shew of thankfulness to such as have continued good subjects, so must she take knowledge of the factions and alliances of them, and of their powers to do service upon the rebels, when they are scattered as aforesaid, and to forewarn them of the danger that will follow (if they halt), for

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these will never out.”—[1599.] [*The last two paragraphs of this declaration are clearly the basis of No. 136 above.*] *Unsigned. Endorsed, “For Sir George Carew, concerning the state of Ireland.” pp. 4.*

143. “The substance of the Traitor’s propositions, and of my Lord’s opinion what were fit for the Queen to do.”

*“First, that Her Majesty in Ulster have as much profit and obedience as ever she was answered.*

*“Herein his Lordship conceiveth it to be intended by the word ‘ever,’ that those reservations, which without coercion they have yielded unto of rents and services, shall not be denied in the north, but his Lordship doth not take it that the imposition upon McMahon of 600*l.* yearly, when the Lord of that country was beheaded, nor the 700 beeves set upon O’Donnell, shall be taken to be within that compass, nor the later improvements of the Clandeboys should be included, or such like rents as have been purchased with the sword.*

*“The like demand be made for all Lords of countries and gentlemen in other provinces, that they might yield such rents and duties as have been usually paid to the Crown.*

*“In this article, where the word ‘usual’ is set down, although his Lordship conceiveth that they may be like enough to stand upon former titles, or pretend wrongful dispossessions, yet did his Lordship not mean but those things should be insisted on by Commissioners, and with time, when once the capital rebel could be so satisfied from Her Majesty by my words and protestation that, besides her pardon, he had her heart’s forgiveness, as not to resolve for any of their petty quarrels to put himself again into open action; but by little and little, with convenient force, they may be reduced, if they shall stand long upon dangerous conditions; only at this instant, seeing he will not be severed from them, fearing by separation to lose the advantage of their adherence, my Lord, considering the necessity and extremity of that estate, could have advised that some of these conditions, though they were stood upon, might be granted rather than to dissolve this beginning.”—[1599.] Draft. p. 1.*

144. Brief note concerning victuals for Carrickfergus.—[1599.] *Copy. p. ½.*

145. “A short particular of the estate of the Queen’s County of Leix at this present.”

The divers septs in the county. The best of these families, except the Moores, are gone with their goods and cattle into Kilkenny and Ossory, protected there by the Earl of Ormonde and the Lord of Upper Ossory. By this means, these protected colour their dislike or rather disobedience to Her Majesty’s appointed government in Leix, wherein they might live as securely and freely as where they do. Those Lords grow stronger and richer, whose countries have been bad enough all this war.



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Besides, "this underclarkinge course" is a cause why much of Leix is waste and uninhabited.

Touching the borderers, as the Earl of Ormonde, Viscount Mountgarrett, the Baron of Upper Ossory, Sir Terence O'Dempsey, Teig O'Doyne, and Henry Bowye, they have taken into their protection many, or almost all, the rebels of this country birth, and of the parts adjoining. These will prove like dogs ready to be let slip, if time give little occasion; neither can a good subject live or come amongst them without doubt or danger.

The strength of the rebels of this country birth is not full fifty men carrying arms. The chief of them is one Onie McShane, of the Moores, who and his confederates are secretly helped and supplied with wine, aqua vitæ, victual, powder, and other necessities, out of Kilkenny, and have assistance from the late protected both of Ossory and the borders.

Cannot much commend the valour of the gentlemen of Leix of English blood. It were a good course they should better be looked to, both as regards the tenure of their lands, and as to answering Her Majesty's service, wherein they have been slack and faulty. This has greatly increased the pride of the rebels.—[1599.] *Copy. pp. 1½.*

146. "An estimate of such dead pays as the new-erected companies of footmen in Ireland (being 60 bands) do allow unto Sir Ralph Lane, knight, Mustermaster there," amounting to 40s. *per diem*.—[1599.] *Copy. p. ½.*

147. "A note of things which are to be reckoned as lost in the preparations for Lough Foyle;" also of things remaining in store; also of such things as Her Majesty is to be paid for from the entertainments of those having the same. Prices of nails.—[1599.] *Copy. pp. 1½.*

148. "The strength of the rebels in Ireland." Leinster, 4,000 foot and 200 horse; Ulster, 9,000 foot and 800 horse; Munster, 6,000 foot and 300 horse; and Connaught, 4,000 foot and 250 horse. Total, 23,000 foot and 1,550 horse.—[1599.] *Copy. p. 1.*

149. Translation of a letter from "O'Neill's son" to Sir Samuel Bagenall. *At the head is written*, "I do keep the originals of these letters in Irish, and send these as they are translated by Fleming, because I will make no more acquainted with the matter." *The words in italics in the following are in the same hand as this note.*

"Commendations from O'Neill's son unto you, Sir Samuel Bagenall. The letter you sent me, there could be read of it but a little. I do give you hearty thanks for your counsel that I should be upon my keeping until aid did come unto me." [*This letter was sent by my directions, because I would not write to him myself, only that he should stand on his guard, till he heard further from me.*] "I do marvel that I did hear nothing from you touching

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the instructions [*he means his demands*] I sent by John Fleming, for I am sure he told you of them. And if my Lord Deputy do ask me to be of his side, as I am, if he be not the let of it himself, let him send John Fleming down here with what demand you and himself will bind for me, and, when I see John, I will be without doubt at the direction of the Queen. As many of Tyrone as I drive of my own side, John Fleming shall tell you [*sent by word of mouth for fear of intercepting*], and what other news else I had. I would have done service myself upon O'Neill, if I were sure of aid. Let not labanaghs [*new men*] nor bad men be sent hither, but good men; and, God willing, I will help to do good with them. And as my trust is in you, do me what good you can. This bearer would be (*sic*) with you sooner, but that I kept him to send all news with him. And when the Queen's force[s] come to Lough Foyle, let John Fleming bring this bearer with him; and, as soon as they land, let John send this bearer, Patrick Magilsenan, to me, and I will meet him where I will appoint him. Let men be sent down without any let, for now is the time; and let not Neill Garve [*a competitor to O'Donnell for Tyrconnell*] be forgotten, for that he can do the Queen great good. Have me commended to my Lord Deputy, and tell him that I will meet him where he will appoint me. And [by] whatsoever wood pass he come, with the help of the army they will send down, I will make clear the one half of the pass, and let himself make clear the other half. And so fare you well. From the Rasse."—[1599.] p. 1.

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Jan. 1.  
Dublin.

1. Christopher Peyton, Auditor-General of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays that he may not be further sequestered from his office of Auditor of Wars, which he has endured during the Lord Lieutenant's time of government. Never gave consent, but evermore claimed the benefit of Her Majesty's letters patent, both in England and Ireland. Has been careful to discharge all foreign business appertaining to the wars, at his own costs and charges, reported by letters from Dublin, remaining unanswered with Mr. Smith, the Clerk of the Council. Has had less allowance



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than former Auditors, and it would be a double injury, after his long and diligent service, to allow another in his room. James Ware was sometime his man, one that for seven years has been a complainant against him at the Council table in Ireland, seeking by all means with the Governors from time to time to lay their Lordships' displeasure upon him, for certain rooms and places within the Castle of Dublin, belonging to his office, which he used to write in. These Ware has caused to be appointed as lodgings for the Governor's household, and of late he procured letters from the Lords of the Council to have them appointed for the Lord Lieutenant's officers, whereby the records are displaced, and no place appointed to bestow them, nor places for his clerks to write in. Understands that Ware now labours to be appointed Auditor-General for the next Governor's time, so as utterly to dispossess Peyton of his office and rooms. Thinks it better for Her Majesty to employ her own officers than those of the Governor's appointment.—Dublin, 1599(-1600), January 1. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 2.  
Kells.

2. Patrick [Plunket], Baron Dunsany, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have not had many things worthy your advertisement since my coming into this country. For the common occurrences of the mispent treasure and time here, of the mistaken journeys and of our precarious peace, I know you have had them so rife, as repetitions were superfluous. Only this I may not omit, that my thoughts do still run upon my promise to you, which truly I have attempted with all the judgment I have, and with the hopes which I could give, and have found all ways weak, but where myself must be the actor; such is man's small feeling of words, and their fear of unavoidable danger. From the parley at Louth, I was sent back by my Lord of Essex, with my troop of horse, for the defence of Meath. At the last parley at Blackestone ford by my Lord of Ormonde, I was commanded to keep aloof, whilst he, Bouchier, Fenton, and Warren, treated, or rather begged, a cessation, which being concluded for one month, and I amongst others called to witness the same, when every man (in a manner) went over the ford with wine and aquavitæ, drinking of brave healths to him of both the sides, I would fain have gone over with a friend with me, but was expressly forbidden; and, upon my motion, such as were beyond of our side were commanded back, &c. (*sic*). Wherein I leave to your judgment whether our General did well to draw towards him with only some troops of horse, and so to expose the safety of the kingdom and Her Majesty's honour to imminent danger, if he did not otherwise trust the traitor, who had as many horse as we, with the advantage of 2,000 foot at the least. The like proceeding I saw objected [to] heretofore as a matter of treason to Sir Nicholas Arnold. Now we expect every hour fire and sword, and most men repose their safety in private compositions and secret, such as all Westmeath have made, wherein Delvin is the chief actor, who carrieth the greatest sway there. But the country might be counterpoised, if Her Majesty would create James Dillon a Baron, whose living is great in that

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county, and who must be loyal by inheritance, as whose ancestors have been still so, and whose father, Sir Lucas Dillon, and grandfather, Sir Robert Dillon, were both Councillors to Her Majesty, and to her sister and brother.

“Our massing priests here be at variance; for Tyrone’s priests affirm his proceeding by burning and cruelties to be lawful, the English Pale priests deny it. I would (if Holywood be not to be touched with matter of state), and if it be possible such [a] one be firm in dutiful allegiance (for points of mere religion the people here cannot be worse than they be), that he were sent hither to overcome them with their own weapons, and for his dutiful carriage that he shall never go out of the Pale, and that at all times his body shall be produced to answer for any guilt of his. There be sufficient citizens of Dublin will be bound in five thousand pounds. I never met any man that jumped with me with so free a consent as one John Goldborne, a Cheshire man, near Malpas, whom I have known this sixteen years, and do assure myself of him to be a man of great resolution. I promised to have sent for him ere now; but, not having means, I desire that it might please you to infuse into him some spirit of comfort in willing him to follow me, and to be directed by me, and to accompany me in what I shall attempt for Her Majesty’s service. We will put it to the jump, if God say Amen.

“My own suit to your Honour is, that whereas I am Governor of Kells and of the borders thereabouts, as may appear by an extract of the Lords’ letters which I send by this bearer (*wanting*), and yet, they denying me commission for my said government, saying that they know not how far my Lord of Essex his pleasure, who assigned me thereto, did extend for my command, and therefore can pass no commission till his return, I humbly beseech your Honour that you will signify that it is Her Majesty’s pleasure I should have my said commission passed for Kells and Meath, whereof they take no notice, though I was appointed thereto in such sort as my Lord of Kildare hath for his government of Offally, and to enjoy the same with like allowance, as my Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure was; whereto I refer myself, for his sudden parture (*sic*) broke off the perfecting of our commissions. If in the said commission I were authorised to peruse or oversee their musters, I would undertake their companies should be strong. If I be authorised to assign where they shall be garrisoned, I will place them where they must serve, and not to (*sic*) loiter as they do. In my watchfulness whether any battery were meant to the State here by undermining drifts, you may guess whence, I found nothing, but heard *men* [*this word is underlined by the writer*] talk of what liked me not, &c. For troubling of your Honour with tedious lines, I have signified to your servant, Mr. Willis, what favour I expect both for matter of provant and pay of my horse. If my letters might have free passage to you, when I would, you should know what you are not advertised of concerning this country. I have wearied you. I will ever honour you, believe it, and I pray God preserve you. I have written to the



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Queen."—Kells, 1599[-1600], January 2. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed*, Received at Richmond the 27th. *Holograph. pp. 3.*

Jan. 2. 3. Gerrott Comerford, Attorney-General for Connaught, to Sir Robert Cecil. In his letter of the 27th of August, he wrote of the distressed estate of Connaught. Has since remained in that province, not without the imminent danger of his life. And because Sir Conyers Clifford bestowed the treasure appointed for Connaught upon the Irishry, in hope to please them, and upon the soldiers for their pay, and since the province is waste, and the treasure in the time of Essex's government was for the army, he has not yet been paid his fee, and is directed to apply to the Privy Council. His continual employment in Her Majesty's service, and the good acceptance thereof, may appear by the letters and commissions directed to him by Sir William Fitzwilliams, Sir William Russell, Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, and other Governors. As the way to Dublin is dangerous, and letters are daily intercepted, he has forborne to be a suitor to the Lords Justices, for their letters, and those of the former Governors, will be a sufficient testimony to his service, and he has sent his man to Cecil, to solicit his suit. Has sustained great losses from the rebels.

It is necessary to send a strong army to Lough Foyle, to quiet this most unnatural rebellion. It is also requisite to send speedily a Governor to Connaught, commanding him to fortify at Sligo, and for a time to remain there. Sligo is the key of Connaught, and so conveniently seated that by sea all manner of provision may be transported thither, and, as it borders upon the Archtraitor O'Donnell, our forces may in four and twenty hours be in the heart of his country. And by sending to Lough Foyle, "to no man better known than to your Honour," the Archtraitors Tyrone and O'Donnell will be forced to call home to Ulster all their bonnaughts and partakers, who are daily preying, burning, and spoiling Her Majesty's subjects dispersed over the kingdom. Purposes to certify Cecil of all occurrents worth writing of.—Inshioleghan, 1599[-1600], January 2. *Signed. Endorsed*, Received at London the 12th of February. *p. 1.*

Jan. 4.  
London.

4. "Sir Geoffrey Fenton his man" to Sir Robert Cecil. Has attended in London now these six weeks and upwards, partly about some private business of his master, but specially for an answer to the despatch he brought. His great expenses. Left Dublin in haste, slenderly furnished, as Sir Geoffrey told him Sir Robert had promised to have regard to the bearing of the writer's charges. Prays for assistance.

"Touching my master's small suits exhibited by me to your Honour, I have found your disposition towards him so honourable, as of late I have forborne to trouble your Honour with urging them; only now by this I will be most humbly bold to put your Honour in mind of his painful and long-continued services, his firm and devoted love and trust in your Honour only *ab initio*, and lastly, how near this last discouragement would touch him,

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if he should receive me again empty-handed, and find himself always a fruitless suitor, and still exempted from Her Majesty's bounty, amongst all Her Majesty's servitors in Ireland, these 21 years."

Stays but to hear once more from his master, and then he will attend on Sir Robert for his dispatch, having not hitherto been able, for want of means, to attend him as duly as Sir Geoffrey commanded.—London, 1599[-1600], January 4. *Unsigned. p. 1.*

Jan. 5. 5. "Schedule of such numbers of men as were last levied in the Welsh counties." These men were embarked at Bristol and Chester on January 31. *Endorsed, 5 January, 1599[-1600].*

Jan. 6. 6. "The declaration of David Hetherington, of Ballirone, of the Queen's County in Ireland, gentleman, made unto me, Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England, in my chamber at Richmond, being then brought to me by William Philips, my secretary, viz., 6 January, 1599[-1600], being Twelfth Day, anno 1599, anno Eliz. xliij."

"At which time he declared unto me, that he hath served in Ireland as a servitor to the Queen's Majesty, since the very year wherein the late Earl of Sussex came out of Ireland, being then Deputy there. And that now in this late rebellion of Ireland, there came 1,500 of the rebels to besiege his castle, called Ballirone Castle, in the Queen's County there. At which time his men sore wounded seven of the rebels, and killed two of them; but in the end, his castle being taken, one of his men was killed, and another hanged. And himself and his wife, being then out of the said castle, were, first after the loss thereof, to come to Dublin, where his said wife doth now remain; having thus lost his said castle and [being] dispossessed of 500 acres belonging thereunto, and spoiled of all that ever he had in this world. So as now, having nothing left but his loyalty and faith to Her Majesty, he made choice to come to me before any other, to discharge and utter that which in his duty and conscience he thought himself bound to utter; and that is this, namely:—

"That he, the said David Hetherington, riding in to the edge of the county of Kildare, about the end of the first cessation or thereabouts, he fortun'd to meet with one James O'Curran, one of the horsemen of Mr. Bowen, Provost-Marshal of Leinster; who asking of the said David, 'What news?' the said David told him he knew of none. 'Then,' said the said James O'Curran, 'if you can tell me no news, I can tell you some.' 'What is that?' said the said David Hetherington. 'Marry,' said the said James, 'I meeting of late with a kern of Onie McRory's, chief of the O'Moore's, he asked me what news I heard of the Earl of Essex; and I told him how he was gone for England.' 'Nay,' said he, 'if you can tell me no news, I can tell you some. He is now in trouble for us, for that he would do no service upon us; which he never meant to do, for he is ours, and we are his.' This was the very speech which by the said James O'Curran was delivered unto me the said David Hetherington. And the said David



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Hetherington farther declared unto me that about two or three days before he came now last out of Dublin, which, as he now remembereth, was about Thursday was five or six weeks last past, he the said David walking in the Castle of Dublin, and talking there with one Piers Ovington of Tankerstone, of the Queen's County, touching the state of Ireland, then (he the said Piers being brother to that Ovington which is with Tyrone in rebellion, but yet, as the said David Hetherington verily believeth, is a very faithful subject to Her Majesty, and one that hateth and abhorreth his brother for his treason), he the said Piers Ovington did then declare to the said David Hetherington, during their said speech and communication together in the said Castle yard as aforesaid, that the speech of the kern of the Brenny was very foul and odious touching my Lord of Essex, if their speech should be true, as, namely, that he was their friend, and should be King of Ireland. These speeches the said David Hetherington saith that he hath thought himself bound in conscience to utter and declare to me, the Lord Treasurer, and that he hath not uttered them to nobody else in the world, nor means not to do (*sic*); for that he thinks, if it should be known, he should be in great danger; and doth not doubt but, if he were in Ireland, he could procure the knowledge of much more apparent matter than this is, to this effect. In witness whereof he hath hereunto put his mark the day and year aforesaid." *The mark is here put, and then Lord Buckhurst signs his name. The declaration is entirely in his Lordship's writing, and he adds the following note:—*"This writing being read again to the said David Hetherington in the presence of us, whose names are underwritten, and he again required by us all to declare the truth, and nothing but the truth, he did justify and affirm the same to be most true in all things, as is before set down. This 13 of January, 1599[-1600.]" *Signed by Lord Buckhurst, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue. pp. 3½.*

Jan. 6. 7. "Considerations touching Ireland causes," in the hand-writing of Thomas, Lord Buckhurst.

"1. That some course of restraint may be set down, as well for the ports of England as Ireland, for such soldiers as come over without license.

"2. That an hospital, furnished with [\*] beds and all other things necessary for sick and hurt soldiers, may be provided in every province, and officers appointed and orders set down for the well-governing thereof.

"3. That every Captain do make a journal of all the actions of himself and his band, whether it be done upon his own discretion, or by direction from his superior; and that he do monthly send the same journal to the chief of that province; and the chief in like sort to send one duplicate thereof to the Deputy, and one other to the Lords of the Council here; whereby

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\* The number is left blank.

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Her Majesty may have a monthly account from every such chief of every province how every particular Captain hath been employed, and what service he and his band hath done Her Majesty in respect of his pay.

"4. That the Clerks of every band be sworn Her Majesty's servants, and to deal in their office justly and truly, and that no more they depend upon the Captains, but only upon the Queen, and to have 2s. *per diem* allowed out of the checks; and that the weekly lendings be paid by them to every soldier by poll, in presence of the Captain. Likewise, that the said Clerk be Commissary of Musters to every such band, and to make a monthly certificate thereof to the chief of every province, as is before set down; and the chief a duplicate thereof to the Deputy, and one other to the Lords of the Council, *ut supra*. Death, if false.

"5. That the Clerks of every band being thus once established, the now Commissaries may be discharged as superfluous officers, and as undertaking that which is not in their power to perform, and that the Mustermaster, in respect of his age, weakness, and poverty, may have a pension of a 100*l.* yearly out of the checks, and return into England and live with his friends. Note that the new allowances to the Mustermaster and Commissaries will defray the new charge of 2s. a day to every Clerk.

"6. That there be an indenture in writing betwixt the Captain of every band and the Treasurer, in which indenture shall be set down the number of arms and weapons belonging to that band, as namely, how many corslets and pikes, with all furniture to the same pertaining; how many muskets and morions, with all other furniture to the same belonging; how many harquebuses and morions, with all other furniture to the same belonging; how many halberds and corslets, with all other furniture to the same belonging; and so containing the number of all the arms and weapons belonging to the said band. In which indenture the said Captain shall covenant, at the end of every month, to send a certificate of the true state of the arms of the said band, subscribed and testified with the hand of the Clerk of the same band; and, if any part of the said armour be missing, and not some just cause alleged in excuse thereof, then the said Captain to answer and satisfy the same out of his wages. Note that, although the soldier have paid Her Majesty for his arms, yet may he not either sell, give, or put away the same, because thereby the public service is prejudiced; much less, if it be arms of the country, for the which it seemeth reason that the soldier do pay out of his wages, to make him the more careful to keep it.

"7. That letters be written to Ireland to the Master of the Ordnance there, to know what remain is there, and in what places, of all manner of munition, and an account thereof to be sent with all speed, and specially of the 6,000 swords sent into Ireland in the time of my Lord of Essex; for that, if the same were delivered to the soldiers, then is the Queen to have defalcation of 2,000*l.* for the same in the account of the Treasurer.



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"8. That no silks, nor silver nor gold lace, be worn in the field, in hose, doublets, cloaks, or gowns, except by the General, Colonels, and principal Governors only; but that all the bravery of the common Captains and officers may be seen in their weapons and armour, and their apparel to be fustian canvas and cloth, and such like.

"9. That no tables be kept, but by the General only, and that only for honour and state to his place, and yet he to be restrained to one course, and that not to have above ten Dishes.

"10. That there be special rates set down of allowances of fees to the Treasurer, the Comptroller of the Victuals, the Commissaries of Victuals, the Mustermaster and Commissaries of Musters, the Auditor, and finally to all such officers and other[s], as at whose hands the Captains or soldiers are to have any quittances, bills, or *quictus est*, or any other writing touching their reckonings. And specially, that if any of the said officers, after such fees set down in certainty, shall seek to weary the Captain and soldiers by long attendance upon them, thereby to extort greater gifts unto them, that in such case, such officer, after three days' attendance, shall pay to such Captain or soldier so delayed, viz., to every Captain [\*] *per diem*, and to every soldier [\*] *per diem*, until he be dispatched.

"11. That there be an indenture betwixt the Captain of the horse levied in England and the Marshal, and the colour, marks, and ages of every horse set down, and he bound to give a just account of them so oft as he shall be required. That Auditor[s] Gofton and Sutton be sent with the Lord Mountjoy into Ireland, to make up and finish all accounts of Her Majesty there; and that proclamations be made, after their coming thither, that all towns and particular places shall, within two months after the said proclamation, bring in all their bills and writings of demands to the Commissaries appointed to receive and to determine the same at Dublin; and that, from the end of the said two months, the Queen will receive no new bills, nor give any allowance to any demands that shall be made after that time. For that Her Majesty is resolved to have an end of these accounts, and to know the certainty of the said demands, and then to take such order therein as shall be fit and requisite according to equity and justice.

"12. That every householder in every walled town be commanded to make provision of one whole year for corn (*sic*), and, if he be able, of butter and cheese, or beef salted, or of such victual as is used there; but, at the least, of corn. *So is it in the Low Countries.*

"13. That all the materials and provisions sent to Lough Foyle, and all the munition and provisions sent with the Earl of Essex, may be known where they be, and in whose custody, and an account taken of the expense of them, and such part thereof as is fit for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon to be sent thither.

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\* Sum is left blank.

"14. That those, to whom the 400 horse (levied in England and sent over with the Earl of Essex) were delivered, may be called before the Lords, if they be here in England, and forced to make good the number to them delivered, except of such as have been lost in the Queen's service.

"15. That as well the 200 carriage horse, allowed to the Earl of Essex at his going over, as also the other 200 carriage horse allowed him afterwards out of the checks, may be known where they be, and accounted for, and that they may be delivered to the Lord Mountjoy for the Queen's service.

"16. That the sorting of warders by the number of 12, 15, 20, 30, or such like small numbers, for the keeping of houses, wards, or places, being not either passages, bridges, or straits, may be abandoned, as a charge merely superfluous to the Queen and unprofitable, and that there may be a special commandment in my Lord Mountjoy's instructions, whereby the envy thereof may be taken from him.

"17. That the granting of allowance of horses by like small numbers of 12, 15, 20, and such like small numbers, being under the number of 50, may all be cassed, and reduced to companies of 50; for that it is to Her Majesty an insupportable charge, and no furtherance to the service. This also to be in his instructions.

"18. That the expense of powder by the soldier, except in days of service, be at the soldier's charge, since otherwise it will be a cause of extreme waste of powder and charge to the Queen, without any just cause in the world. For when the soldier may spend what powder he may upon the Queen's charge, they will not care what they spend. Note that this was never allowed to the soldier till now by the Earl of Essex, and it is an allowance against all reason, equity, good order, and justice.

"19. That the sorting of every band for their weapons be set down in certainty, for such as shall go out of England.

"20. That mats of 5 foot long, 2 inches thick, and a foot and a half broad, be provided for every soldier to lie upon, at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, which will be bought for 6*d.* a mat.

"21. That every Captain have for his band one kettle sufficient to seethe an Irish beef in, or to seethe the fish in, for that the seething thereof with herbs and some oatmeal to make porridge, viz., beef, will be a great sustenance and relief to the soldier.

"22. That there be a hall, 2 or 3, which I think will be of least charge, to serve for an hospital at Lough Foyle, and beds with all furniture to be allowed for the same; and some barrels of beer to be sent from Carrickfergus, to serve for that purpose only, and to be kept in the same. The like at Ballyshannon.

"23. That oak, elm, and beech boards be presently served and made ready to send to Lough Foyle, to make cabins for soldiers; and, if they cannot be had, then deal boards; and nails and tools necessary for the soldiers to build up their said cabins.

"24. That large and fit storehouses for the victual be provided and hired in every town, without which it is not possible to keep the victual sweet, and for lack of which the victuallers affirm



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they will prove that, by reason of the great mass thrust up so close together, the same became corrupt.

"25. [*This 'consideration' as to the carriage horses provided for the Earl of Essex is struck out.*]

"26. That Sir George Carew be spoken withal to deliver a note, as well of all the munition and materials that went to Lough Foyle, and to learn to whom the same was delivered, and whose acquittance he hath for receipt thereof, as also what munition and artillery was sent with the Earl of Essex, and to whom the same was delivered, and whose quittance he hath for the same.

"27. That no man do buy, sell, or provide arms, munition, or powder, in any town of Ireland, but such as are known to be well affected to the State, and that they (*sic*) put in sureties that he shall give a monthly account to the Colonel of that province how much, of what sorts, where, when, of whom and to whom, he bought or sold the same.

"28. That the walled cities and towns of Ireland, into whose hands it is thought that the greatest part of the treasure sent out of England doth come, and who are reputed very rich, may help like good subjects to bear some part of the burden of this war; and that, therefore, they may be moved and enjoined to find for Her Majesty's service, during these wars for the defence of themselves and of that province in which they are, a convenient number of soldiers, at their charge, to attend in the field within that province, at the commandment and disposition of the Colonel there.

"29. That letters be sent to Ireland to view the barges there, and the other shipping there remaining of that which went with the Earl of Essex, and to certify us what will be the charge of repairing the same.

"30. That there be a survey of all the shipping in every port in Ireland, belonging to every port town there, and of what kinds, as how many fisher boats, merchant ships, and other sorts of shipping whatsoever, and of how many tons every ship is, to the end we may know to what quantity of shipping and of what sorts we may trust unto for the Queen's service in those ports, and of the times of their going forth and coming home.

"31. That my Lord Mountjoy do take some strict course for the speedy issuing of the victual in every magazine, as well thereby to return Her Majesty's money by way of defalcation, as also to work thereby timely issuing of the victual before it do corrupt. And therein if his Lordship do take such order as, in all places where it may conveniently be done, half victual and half lendings be delivered, so shall both the victual in time be expended, and not by long lying fall to corruption, and also Her Majesty shall have her money laid forth restored unto her by way of defalcation.

"32. That the list newly to be reformed do restrain the concordatums to the sum of [\*], for that now, this war being but a

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garrison war, there is nothing such cause of expense as was when a royal army was meant to be continually in the field.

"33. That Mr. Jolls do go into Ireland to help to clear there the account of the victuals.

"34. That Auditor[s] Gofton and Sutton do go with the Lord Mountjoy into Ireland, to clear all Her Majesty's accounts there, and that proclamation be made in as many towns as may be within every province, to warn all persons whatsoever, within two months at the farthest after such proclamation, to repair to Dublin, and there to produce their bills and demands, whereby a clear and perfect reckoning may be made, and, if any shall not come to Dublin accordingly within the said time, that they or their demands shall never more be heard from thenceforth, because Her Majesty will have an end and certainty of the said debts claimed and demands made. [*This 'consideration' is identical with part of No. 11.*]

"35. That from henceforth the victual and apparel for the soldiers within every province be sent into every particular province out of England, and not out of England to Dublin, and from thence into every particular province, as heretofore hath been used, whereby much inconvenience hath followed. So also that the treasure be sent in like manner.

"36. That it be considered how many suits of apparel are to be sent into Ireland, for that, the country now furnishing 5,000 men, the merchants may provide the less; and that a new contract be made with the merchants, so as the soldier have his summer apparel the first of April, and his winter apparel the first of October, yearly.

"37. That Mr. Plott's device for victual of continuance may be considered by my Lord Mountjoy and by some of the Captains, especially for the keeping of forts and sudden services.

"38. That letters be sent to survey the state of the barges and cromsters sent into Ireland with the Earl of Essex, and order to be taken to repair the same; and to learn what is become of all the provisions, tools, and necessities, and of the carpenters and other persons that were waged and appointed to attend the said barges, and to know if they be not yet in pay.

"39. To consider of certain fishermen and fisher-boats to be sent for the Bann, Lough Foyle, and Lough Swilly, whereto great store of salmon, herring, eels, cod, and sundry other sorts of good fish are in such plenty, and so easily to be taken; as namely, to persuade some fishermen with their boats, if it may be, to go upon their own adventure, or, if that cannot be, then to furnish certain fishermen, upon good bonds, with so much money as will set them forward with nets, victual, and other necessities for the said fishing, and the Queen to be repaid in fish; or else the Queen to wage the fishermen upon certain rates of half share, third share, or more or less, as shall be reasonable. This will greatly relieve the garrisons both at Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.

"40. That so soon as the Lord Mountjoy is settled in Ireland, and the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon planted,



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and the forces in Munster established, that then there be first a proclamation, shewing therein the crafty treason of Tyrone, who, under colour of religion and liberty, seeks to make himself King of Ireland, and therewith to declare that for no cause subjects ought to rebel, &c. And after this, a proscription of Tyrone, offering 2,000*l.* for his head, and pardon of life, lands, and goods beside, [to him] that did perform it.

"41. To consider if it were not good to have a mint in Dublin, and the money to be abased to the ancient rate of harp money, and bullion to be brought thither by merchants getting them a better rate than the value.

"42. That in this new list dead pays may be taken away, and, to every 100, five gentlemen's pays of 12*d.* *per diem* to be allowed, and those to be disposed to gentlemen to serve in his band by the appointment of the Captain, but no benefit thereof to himself.

"43. That to rob the Queen, by willing and weting [knowing] taking of pay for soldiers that are not in the band, may be made death, as well in the Captains as in the Clerk, and as many other that are participant to the same."—1599[1600], January 6. *pp.* 13.

Jan. 6.  
Youghal.

8. William Jones, Commissary for Munster, to the Privy Council. Has sent them a true and perfect certificate of the companies of horse and foot in Munster. Gives further particulars of these companies. They are the ablest, most well-trained, and completest in men and arms, within the realm. Praises the companies of Sir Henry Power, Sir Charles Wilmot, and Captain Flower, Serjeant-Major of Munster. The rest of the Captains are for their numbers as appears by the certificate, their greatest want being generally that of apparel. The suits due to the soldiers in the summer come to them very late in the winter (if then at all), and the winter suits in the summer. "And I may well avouch, there hath died more through nakedness, than for any other want. And touching those soldiers that were delivered over for supplies of the companies (whereof your Honours shall receive a note herewith) (*wanting*), they are the most part of them so naked, that they are fain, upon service, to leave them in their garrisons." Has acquainted the Earl of Ormonde therewith. The apparel due to them is to be defalked from the Captains that were cassed, and charged upon their account. Begg that order may be taken for relief of the soldiers, they being ready to run away, or grow to a mutiny, and the Captains not able to supply them.

Besides the allowances to a preacher and a cannonier in every company of 100, and the detaining of 52*s.* per week from the Captains (for which they say there is no reason yielded), there is a defalcation of a chirurgeon out of every company. At this the Captains are greatly aggrieved, "the pay going for the entertainment of one they never see, nor know so much as his name," and they wanting the money for the succour of their soldiers. These, too, are less valiant when they come to service, knowing there is no chirurgeon in their company to look to them when

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they are wounded. If the allowance went to some skilful chirurgeon in the province, he might do some good when the camp were in the field, and appoint some men of skill as his deputies in the garrisons. Knows not into whose purse the allowance for the preacher goes, for, since the departure of Sir Thomas Gates, there has not been any for any companies in Munster. For six weeks and more, the soldier has been fain to feed upon the allowance of three pints or a quart of oatmeal at the most by day, and three poor johns, there being defalked for every barrel 26s. 8d. sterling. "And now that store also is almost at an end."

Touching the Irish in Captain William Power's company, the most of them are of his kindred, the rest were delivered to him as a supply out of Sir Henry Norreys's company, which, having been long in Munster, and done good service, were thought fittest to be turned over to his company. The rest of the Irish in other companies are not many, except those in the Earl of Thomond's, who are all of his own followers.

Mentions other companies not included in his certificate, although garrisoned in Munster, he having not as yet any notice of them, and they not being contained in the list of that province. —Youghal, 1599[-1600], January 6. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond, 18 of January, 1599. pp. 3.*

Jan. 7.  
Youghal.

9. William Jones, Commissary of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. "The enclosed packet came to my hands at Youghal the 26th of the last, and there being here only a ship of Mr. Hill's, of Limehouse (who was then at Mr. Pyne's, at Moghelly, where he intended to have kept his Christmas), I sent unto him the next day, praying him to make what haste he could for England. I do assure your Honour there hath been no time slackted by him, who set sail, so soon as the wind and weather served. And knowing not what importance the enclosed letters might be of, I did of purpose send this bearer, my servant, to post with them, who hath likewise brought with him a perfect certificate of the strength of the forces of this province, as they were mustered this last month. I do refer him and myself to your Honour's best favour." —Youghal, 1599[-1600], January 7. *Signed. Seals. p. 1.*

Jan 8.  
Dublin.

10. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to the Privy Council. "It bringeth no small grief unto us that in all our despatches we are driven still to be troublesome to your Lordships with the calamities and dangers of this kingdom, which as they grow and multiply upon us daily above our strength, so we have no other refuge than to transmit them to your Lordships, who, we hope, do apprehend them there, in the measure and condition that they are here, having for our parts no other comfort than in the means which it shall please God to put into Her Majesty's heart to use, for the staying of them, and redressing of the kingdom.

"Since our last, we have received sundry advertisements of the daily and extraordinary preparations made by the Archtraitor



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Tyrone to set upon the English Pale, and of the several directions and advices he hath sent abroad to all his confederates to second him in that action, insomuch as all his adherents in every province are to rise and answer him in their several limits, as they see him to draw to the borders with his forces of Ulster, every one being prescribed their time and place when they shall meet, and how to proceed. And, as all our intelligences agree that they are all confident in this purpose, and a settled resolution taken to strike some deadly blow at the Pale, as the only part of the kingdom remaining yet to Her Majesty, so we assure ourselves by comparing our advertisements, that about the twelfth of this month, they will attempt the execution of their purpose, and have to that end aforehand made many dangerous impressions in the Pale, a great part whereof we have reason to fear is gone too far with him in heart. This we gather, partly by a general backwardness used through all the shires of the Pale to answer these great dangers with their ordinary helps, and other aids heretofore usual upon occasions of far less danger, a matter which they never heretofore refused, and partly by their frequent contempts sometimes against public authority, as though they thought upon an alteration, or at least had little care to stand against it, the most of them having, as we discern, a disposition to await what will be the event of things, and so to apply themselves to occasions and opportunities, a course which your Lordships may think is very unsoundly carried for Her Majesty, when, in the heart of her kingdom, and amongst her best settled and firm subjects, there shall be found such apparent staggering and doubtfulness, at a time when they ought to be most resolved in her service, and for their own defence. But this wavering is wrought in them by a subtle industry of Tyrone, seducing them with many pleasing insinuations, that they shall have liberty of conscience and religion, with many other offers plausible to the people, and apt to alter them. For the which he saith he is entered into action, and hath no other quarrel, but to free them and their country from foreign government, which he meaneth to be the English government. So as most of them being infected with Popery before, and now poisoned further with this promise of liberty, we look for no other of them, than a coldness in their duty, if they fall not further to a manifest defection.

“Against these dangers we are now in hand to make the best resistance we can, having want, in effect, of all means requisite to sustain so great a matter. For, as the army now to be used is weak in numbers, and wanteth many of their Commanders and Captains to direct them, who are in England, so even of those few companies we have, the greater part is Irish, who, if it come to a day of trial, may turn their weapons into our own bosoms, if God give them not sound and loyal hearts to the contrary. Of these wants, and many more, we assure ourselves the Lord Lieutenant of the army shall taste, who being come hither three days past, is now to repair toward the borders to draw the companies to a head, and manage them fit for the present service. Touching

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the list of all the companies destined to this action, both what they are in roll, and what they are in strength, we doubt not but his Lordship will cause it to be collected and sent to your Lordships, who, we assure ourselves, will be careful to see thoroughly into the state and strength of the army, with the which he is to stand against so great a danger.

"The treasure likewise being not yet arrived, is another grievous want, and such as we cannot remedy here, though I, the Treasurer, have raised of late by way of borrowing above six thousand pounds, which is already issued, and no hope to get more here, though it should go upon our lives. And yet to draw the money out to the uttermost length, we have hitherto issued half victuals and half money, which though it be not pleasing to the soldier, considering the evil condition of it, yet necessity made us to do it, besides our duty to husband the victuals to Her Majesty's most advantage. So as it may please your Lordships to see that, when the money that is now at the waterside shall arrive, the greatest part will be run out aforehand in these borrowed sums, whereby our want will be the same it was, and no means to succour us, other than that it may please your Lordships to haste away a further proportion of treasure for the answering of the lendings for the time forward, and to pay extraordinaries such as are unavoidable, and without them the service cannot stand. We most humbly beseech your Lordships therefore with all the earnestness and duty we can, not only to supply us speedily in this point for money, but also to move Her Majesty for the sending over of a Deputy out of hand with greater forces, to take charge of the realm, who the longer he is deferred to be sent, the more it will increase the dangers of the kingdom, against which his Lordship shall find the more difficulties to resist them, the longer he is kept from his charge. And we also humbly remember your Lordships again to send away the absent Captains, and that some other special martial men of good understanding in the wars may accompany the Deputy, who shall find great cause to make use of such in this service."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 8.

[*Postscript.*] "We have often remembered your Lordships for a strong garrison to be sent directly from thence to Lough Foyle, as a most requisite matter for the suppression of this rebellion. We humbly put your Lordships in mind thereof again, and that if that force were now ready to be sent thither, it would serve to divert Tyrone from his purpose to invade the Pale. Birkinshawe is not as yet returned, whose long absence is a great impediment to all the Captains' reckonings." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 14th.* pp. 3.

Jan. 8.  
Dublin.

11. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "By the discoveries enclosed, which I have extracted out of several letters written to me of late from the north, your Honour may see what preparations Tyrone maketh to invade the English Pale, and how near he is to give a dangerous blow there. It is in effect the portion of the kingdom which standeth for Her Majesty, and is yet free from



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the rebels, having in it many port-towns, and other holds of strength, which being kept may stop him from that he aspireth unto; and yet I assure myself that the importance and commodity of these towns will draw him to set up a deadly rest to carry them, and the country withal. In what case we are to make head against these great dangers, I cannot think of it without grief; such is the weakness of the army in numbers, and so great the want of good Commanders and Captains to lead them, which in my opinion giveth no small advantage to the rebels to follow their opportunity, and doth so discourage the subjects, as many of them become doubtful that there is no meaning to defend them, which maketh them stagger, and rather await what will be the event of things, than willing to put to their hands to help it. Under your honourable favour, it is lamentable that, in such a hazard of the kingdom, so many principal Captains and Commanders, taking Her Majesty's pay, should be suffered to be so long absent from her service. Only Sir Theobald Dillon is returned, and the same wind might have brought the rest, if they had had the same minds to come. The Earl of Ormonde, being Lord Lieutenant of the army, is now come hither, and is presently to go abroad to draw the companies to a head, where his Lordship shall find those wants I write of, and have little choice of means to remedy them. This absence of the Captains from their charge is the main cause of the disorders of their companies, namely, their liberty to run from their garrisons, and live upon the country by extortion, and in many places upon the borders to have meetings with the traitors, and to entertain practices with them, and oftentimes to run away to the enemy, carrying their arms with them. In which course your Honour must think that the departing of soldiers out of a garrison to the rebels is not without a dangerous intelligence, and a secret party left behind, to second their practices, to the further endangering of the garrison, when the rebels shall find time to strike for it.

"I have entertained at mine own charges three intelligencers in the north, who have done very good offices in the service; and besides them I know no good discoveries that have been made, and almost none other employed than they. The exhibition I have given them for these three years cometh but to forty-four pounds, fifteen shillings, which they have well deserved by their service. I humbly pray your Honour to write to the Treasurer here to see me answered of that money, otherwise I am not able to continue their employment longer; and they being discontinued, the service may fall to the ground for want of good espial. I pray your Honour, let your letter be effectual, signifying that such is Her Majesty's pleasure, otherwise it will be too weak here. Your Honour may see the sum is small, in respect of three years' time, and so many good discoveries made by the parties during the time."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 8.

[*Postscript.*] "It is most dangerous that the Deputy of the realm is so long lingered, and the Governors for the two provinces, where, and specially in Munster, the army hath consisted all this year of

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3,000 foot and more, and yet, in all that time, not one enemy beaten, nor one castle recovered. This is against all rule of service, and contrary to all duty, that Her Majesty should be so abused by such as have charge there." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 14th. pp. 2. Encloses,*

11. 1. "*Intelligences drawn out of several letters, lately written from the north to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.*"

1. "*From my Irish priest, remaining at Dungannon; the letter dated primo Januarii, 1599.—Tyrone is lately returned to Dungannon from Strabane, where he had a meeting with O'Donnell. In that meeting it is agreed between them to invade the English Pale with all the force that they, and all their confederates, have. This invasion is to be made by two manner of ways, the one by Kells, and the other by Westmeath. They are now in hand to make all their preparations for the invasion, and will be ready to set forward within less than twelve days. Tyrone doth arm 300 of his horse, after the manner of the English, with light horsemen's staves and banderols, as Sir John Norreys did.*

2. "*From Piers Walsh, whom Tyrone useth to employ to his confederates in Leinster; the letter dated secundo Januarii, 1599.—Tyrone is now in hand to draw a proclamation, which he meaneth, at his coming into the Pale, to publish, and to the proclamation he will add four and twenty articles, whereupon he meaneth to stand, if he be drawn to any further treaty of peace. The proclamation I will get ere it be too long, and send it to you; and for the articles, I wrote to you before what they contained in substance, namely: The establishing of the old religion through Ireland; abbey lands and church lands to be restored, and friaries and abbeys to be builded, and monks and friars to be placed in them; the Lord Deputy to be an Earl, or an Earl's son, of England, and one of the Privy Council of England; the Privy Council of Ireland to consist only of the Irish nobility; no soldiers or gentlemen born in Ireland to be pressed against their will to serve in any place out of the realm; all garrisons to be half Irish, half English. There are more articles, but these are all I could carry away, and I sent your worship all not long since [in the margin:—"These articles, with many more, were sent your Lordships in the last despatch."] Tyrone will not be able to march these ten or twelve days, but he meaneth to come to Delvin first, and there to burn and spoil, unless the Baron join with him. From thence he will pass through Westmeath, to O'Carroll's, McCoghlan's, and O'Dempsey's countries, to subdue those Lords under him, or else to make havoc of all their countries. Tyrone assureth himself that many of the Pale will come to him, when he cometh upon the borders, besides those that are already broken forth [in the margin:—"I hope by my next to name some particulars, which I cannot now do."] Upon the borders of Lower Ormonde, the Earl of Desmond, Captain Tyrrell, and the Munster rebels are to meet him, and out of all their forces he meaneth to draw 1,000 men, and to leave them with Richard Butler, eldest son to the Viscount Mountgarrett, and son-in-law to Tyrone. These*



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1,000 men are to vex Kilkenny, and to give countenance to the rebels of Leix and Donnell Spainagh. From thence Tyrone meaneth to pass through the Pale, and there to overrun and spoil all that will not take part with him. This being done, he will sit down in some place near the northern borders [in the margin:—"I think this will be in the Brenny"] and from thence will make incursions into the Pale, not meaning to part from thence before the spring be well spent, unless he be beaten away. Your worship had need to remember the state, to look well to Dundalk, Kells, Ardee, and Trim. for that Tyrone hath a practice with some of those garrisons and townsmen to betray the towns. The way to prevent this is, to remove the companies that are there already, and to send others in their places.

3. "From an Irish soldier in Tyrone's camp; the letter dated tertio Januarii, 1599.—There was some disagreement between Tyrone and O'Donnell at their meeting at Strabane, but they are agreed again, and have sworn, the one to the other, to invade the English Pale, and, for the better surety of the matter, they have delivered four pledges a piece, the one to the other. They will be ready to set forward within few days, and do but tarry for some of their army that cometh farthest off. Tyrone hath this week cessed in his country 2,500 bonnaughts more than he had before, and that force shall be placed in two forts to attend the Newry, where he meaneth to fortify upon the river, and to take the river from them. He hath sent to a churchman belonging to himself, that borders upon the Newry, to leave his dwelling by a certain day, otherwise his goods to be lawful booty to his bonnaughts. He hath likewise commanded his friends dwelling in Coole and Ballyscanlan [in the margin:—"These two places are very near Dundalk"] to come away with their creaghts, lest they should serve for the relieving of the garrison of Dundalk, and so in a sort he meaneth to lay siege to both those garrisons of the Newry and Dundalk at one instant. He hath appointed McMahon, Cormack, Tirlogh McHenry, and O'Reilly to invade Delvin, and himself with James McSorley, Magennis, and O'Hanlan, to keep a standing camp for seconding of these two businesses, the invasion and the siege. O'Donnell, Maguire, and McWilliam, are to attend Connaught, and Brian McArt with the woodmen, and Shane McBrian, the garrison of Knockfergus. There are soldiers running away from the garrison of Dundalk and other places of the borders every day, and Tyrone entertaineth them, and dealeth liberally with them, which will be a means to entice many more, if you look not well to it. Your worship, when my boy returned last from you, sent me word that you would send me 4l. sterling within two days, but as yet I hear nothing of it, and therefore, to answer my need, I went to Patrick Creley, of the Newry, in your name, who delivered me 4l. sterling, praying your worship to see him paid again, and to write your warrant to him to relieve me hereafter with some small money, as I have need, or otherwise I cannot tarry here to do the service you require of me, for you know the priest must be fed, or else he will do nothing. Tyrone hath received very late letters from England,

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*the contents whereof do very much please him, as it seemeth. Upon the reading of the letters, he gave out to those about him that the peace did not proceed between Spain and England. O'Donnell's mother is lately returned out of Scotland with powder, and what other news she bringeth I cannot yet learn.*"—7 January, 1599, [-1600.] pp. 3½.

Jan 8.  
Hilbrece.

12. [Meyler Magrath,] Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I have no new matters to write, I thought [it] my part to make known to your Honour, from time to time, how my time shall be spent sithence the day I left you, till I return, or certify what success the business committed to my trust shall have. And first of all, I put your Honour in remembrance that I took my leave with (*sic*) you the sixth day of December last, and left London the ninth of the same, and came to Westchester the fourteenth, and, agreeing there with an owner of a bark for Ireland there, I rested till the seventeenth, and then, upon likelihood of good weather, came to Helbry, a place not much differing from its name, where the same bark with the Queen's treasure, and other barks with divers passengers, do continue ever since, and although at the writing hereof I am to go a ship board (*sic*), yet the unconstancy of the weather is such, that the mariners are unwilling to set forward. By means thereof I am resolved to go to Holyhead, unless presently this bark depart hence; wondering that I received no answer from your Honour since I left you, which I hope to be before me in Ireland. This long stay troubles much my mind, fearing that yourself, or any other there, should think any remissness in me. And so, leaving still the construction of my mind and writings to your Honour, I humbly take leave at ship board, at Helbry, the 8th day of January, 1599[-1600]." *Signed*, "1070." *Endorsed*, The Archbishop of Cashel to my master. Received at London the 19th. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Jan 8.  
Richmond.

13. "The declaration of David Hetherington, gentleman, taken before me, Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England, upon Tuesday, being the 8 of January, 1599, at Richmond, in my chamber there."

After divers adjurations by Lord Buckhurst to the said Hetherington to tell the truth, and nothing but the truth, then I put him in remembrance of that information which he had delivered unto me in (*sic*) the said Twelfth day touching Captain Thomas Lee and Sir Christopher Blount, the which at that time for lack of leisure I did not set down in writing, and asked him if it were a matter of truth, and unto which, if need were, he would stand. He answered that, as he had informed it, the same was most true, affirming the same to be so, even as he desired and hoped for salvation at God's hands. The effect of the said information was thus. That in this last summer Captain Thomas Lee went secretly to Tyrone, and was with him two or three days. Which matter coming to the



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knowledge of some of the Council of Ireland, the said Council did ask of the Earl of Essex, if he had passed thither by his Lordship's direction. But his Lordship denied that he was any ways privy thereunto. Nevertheless, there followed no punishment upon the said Captain Lee, neither was he called in question for the same. But within a while after, the said Mr. Hetherington did hear that Sir Christopher Blount was he that did send the said Captain Lee unto Tyrone. And the said Hetherington also saith that sure he is that Captain Lee had a pardon granted him by the said Earl of Essex, about a week before the coming of the said Earl out of Ireland, for he saw the said pardon and read it. And he farther saith that he hath heard it confidently reported, that Sir Christopher Blount had his pardon also granted him before the coming over of the said Earl, but how long before he knoweth not, neither did he ever see the said pardon; but he was so assured that he had a pardon by one William Parsons, servant to Sir Geoffrey Fenton. All this he affirmeth to be most certain truth, even as he hopeth and desireth salvation at God's hands. After this I read again unto the said David Hetherington that declaration which he had made unto me upon Twelfth day, and bad him again to be well advised if the same were a true and faithful declaration. And he protested and assured me that it was mere truth, and none other, as he would testify, if he were ready to die and go out of this world presently." *Signed by Lord Buckhurst, and with the said Hetherington's mark.*

"This writing being read again to the said David Hetherington in the presence of us, whose names are underwritten, and he again required by us all to declare the truth, and nothing but the truth, he did justify and affirm the same to be most true in all things, as is before set down. This 13 of January, 1599." *Signed with the said Hetherington's mark, and by Lord Buckhurst, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue. Holograph of Lord Buckhurst. pp. 3.*

Jan. 8.  
Richmond.

14. "Orders set down by the Lords, the Lord Mountjoy and divers Captains being present."

"The Lord Admiral to take up presently in the Thames, for the transportation of the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, and to be at Chester by the last of February, cromsters, 2; hoys, 13.

"To write presently into Ireland for Captain Thornton, who is appointed to conduct all the shipping that is to transport the garrisons for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon.

"To write presently to the Mayor[s] of Chester, Bristol, and other ports of passage thereabouts, that they do certify what store of shipping may be had in those places, and how many men and horses they will be able conveniently to transport.

"To write letters for stay of shipping for the 2,000 already appointed to be at the ports by the last of this month, lest at their coming thither they be forced to stay at the seaside for lack of shipping, to Her Majesty's great charge, and hindrance

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of the service, but yet that they be not pressed, unless they be to depart the port above three or four days before the said last day of January.

"To provide that the pinnace, called the *Moon*, may be put in readiness, and to be at Chester by the last of January, or rather two or three days before, to pass over the Lord Mountjoy.

"Mr. Darell to provide the victual, that is to serve for the mariners of the thirteen hoys and two cromsters, for three months. And the Mayors of Bristol and Chester to provide victual, as well for the 2,000 soldiers, which are already appointed to be at the seaside by the last of January, as also for the 3,000 soldiers, which are appointed to be at the seaside by the last of February, as likewise for fourteen days' victual for the said 3,000 soldiers, and for — days' victual for the said 2,000 soldiers, namely during their passage upon the seas. And therefore letters to be presently written to the said Mayors, that the victuallers and innkeepers, and all other householders, with whom the said soldiers are to be lodged and victualled, may beforehand provide victuals for so great a number, lest, not having warning, they either find want, or victuals to be very dear.

"To write into Ireland, to know the true state of the materials and of the store sent with the Earl of Essex."—Richmond, 1599[-1600], January 8. *Draft. pp. 1½.*

Jan. 8. 15. "Memorial" touching the service in Ireland. *Some items are to the same effect as in the preceding document; the others are,*

"Let him [each soldier] have now a pair of shoes, and two pair of brogues. Larger cassocks. Two thousand suits of apparel to be at Bristol and Chester by the last of this month. Three thousand suits of apparel to be at Chester and Bristol by the last of February. Two months' victual, and of bread, three months'. To send for a certificate of the state of the ordnance and munition in Ireland. The *Moon* to be sent to Chester by the 16 of this month. Wood to go about the taking up and making ready for the hoys. To consider of the broken companies, and to recompense those that have them." *Endorsed, 8 January, 1599[-1600]. Draft. p. 1.*

Jan. 9. 16. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Clanrickarde. "Our Governors of that our kingdom have from time to time made so good report of your demeanour and carriage in all things concerning your loyalty, and of your valour and forwardness in martial services against our rebels upon all occasions, as we have been exceedingly pleased to find that, in the midst of so unnatural and causeless rebellion broken out in that our realm, a person of your degree and worth hath maintained his faith and duty with constancy, which as it never faileth to reward itself with true honour, so shall it procure from us (when occasions shall fall out) all such proofs and testimonies of the estimation, which we do make thereof, as both yourself shall therein have contentment,



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and others comfortable example to imitate you. In the mean time, for a beginning and taste of our good meaning, we have made choice of you to be the chief Commander of our forces in Connaught, to govern, lead, and employ our said forces in all martial services within that province, or elsewhere, if our Deputy shall direct you. Of which charge if you shall make known to our Deputy there that you can like of (*sic*), he hath order from us to make out commission to you for the same, with allowance of convenient entertainment. Or if, in regard of the defence of your own lands, you shall be of opinion that you cannot spare your own presence from them, then have we thought fit to commit the said charge to the Lord of Dunkellin, your son, as well for your sake, as in regard of his time spent in our service, and the good opinion we have conceived of him." Upon receipt of this, the Earl is to give notice to the Lord Deputy, to which of them the commission is to be made out.—*Endorsed*, 9 January, 1599 [-1600]. *Draft. pp. 2½.*

Jan. 9.  
Richmond.

17. Motions made by Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir John Fortescue, in the presence of Sir Henry Dockwra, Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, and Captain Stafford.

That the concordatum made by the Earl of Essex and the Council in Ireland for the allowing of victual to the soldier, at the rate of 4*d.* *per diem*, should stand and continue in force, until Her Majesty should otherwise determine.

That Sir Henry Dockwra should take care for the establishing of a hospital at Lough Foyle, and of a preacher to the forces there, by such help of pays out of every band, as was allowed by the Earl of Essex in Ireland. The like by the Colonel of Ballyshannon.

To procure a Privy Seal for the pay of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, and of all officers incident to the same, according to a new establishment; and therein also to be remembered for pay to the officers, &c., of the kingdom, according to a new list, with allowance of concordatums for extraordinaries to the value of [\*].

To be provided for Lough Foyle, ready to be embarked so soon as may be, and sent to Carrickfergus, there to lie in magazine, and the same to be defalked out of the soldiers' pay, *viz., so much thereof as can be defalkable, which is, viz., from him that takes any part thereof, the rest to be borne by the Queen*; † sack, 30 butts; beer, 100 tuns; bay salt, 20 way; liquorice, 4,000 pound weight; anill seed, 1,000 pound weight; and all other necessities, as are expressed in the Council book, for the journey to Lough Foyle, by Sir Samuel Bagenall, undertaker. All this may be embarked at London, and go to Carrickfergus as wind and weather will serve, and from thence the sack, beer, salt, and such like, to be fetched by boat to Lough Foyle, from time to time, for that there be no storehouses at Lough Foyle to keep so great a mass.

That the 4,000 men's victuals which is to go from Chester the

\* The amount is left blank.

† The words in italics seem added as an after-thought, probably to meet such frauds as are mentioned on pp. 28 and 202 of the last volume.

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last of February, must be severally placed in several ships, viz., for the 1,000 of Ballyshannon, to be in ships by themselves; for the 3,000 of Lough Foyle, to be in ships by themselves.

Note that in Galway there is victual, viz., biscuit, butter, cheese, fish, to serve 2,000 men to the 17th of March, and though there be not sufficient to the full of that time, yet in bread, fish, and butter, there is sufficient unto the said 17th day of March, and, for a good time, of cheese also.

That the 200 horse allotted to Lough Foyle, and the 200 horse to Ballyshannon, may be sorted, how many of them to the pay of 18*d.*, how many to 15*d.*, and how many to 12*d. per diem.*—Richmond, 9 January, 1599[-1600]. *Draft. pp. 2.*

Jan. 9. 18. "A brief of the Privy Seal of the 9th of January, 1599 [-1600]."

1. To make payment according to two establishments, signed by Her Majesty and the Lords, at the going over of the now Lord Deputy, the Lord Mountjoy, reducing the numbers in Ireland to 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, with such officers as, upon the alteration of the government, Her Majesty intendeth to allow.

2. To make payment of 4,000*l.* for extraordinaries, which shall not be exceeded; and that the payments growing due thereupon be paid according to such certificates as from time to time shall be sent from the Mustermaster of the numbers of the army, all deductions being first made for apparel and victuals.

3. For that, upon the Deputy's being in the field, the number of officers may be increased, whereby, and by some other occasions, it may be that the 4,000*l.* limited for extraordinaries will not suffice; and where it hath been appointed that the Treasurer should send over a monthly certificate of all such sums issued by concordatums, upon such certificate there shall be paid such sums of money [*in the margin*, "this certificate is dispensed withal, article 7."] over and above the totals of the two establishments signed by the Queen and the Lords, as six of the Council, &c., shall require for the full discharge of the said extraordinaries, according to the certificates which they shall receive from thence.

4. Authority to pay the Lord Deputy, Treasurer, Marshal, and other officers of the kingdom, provinces, warders, pensioners, &c., according to a list or estimation, or as the same shall more certainly be set down in Ireland, not exceeding in the year 15,000*l.*

5. Likewise, to make payment to such other officers of the Chancery, Exchequer, &c., as usually have been paid out of the revenue, as the Council here shall think fit and direct, upon certificate thence [*in the margin*, "See article 7."] that the revenues there will not extend to pay them.

6. Likewise to such persons as the Lords shall appoint all such sums, as the charge for the levying of any horse or foot *for supply* [*these two words are inserted by Sir Robert Cecil*], as for imposts to their Captains, officers, and conductors, for their



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coats, conduct, transportation, victual at the sea, or attendance for wind, shall amount unto, or for any allowance to such as shall attend such service.

7. There may be advancements upon any payments by warrant of the Council, without any such certificates, as before is mentioned, from the Treasurer, Mustermaster, or otherwise, either for the bands, or any increase upon the extraordinaries.

8. To pay such sums of money as the Lords shall think fit for the erection of certain hospitals for the sick, with beds and other utensils.

9. Likewise to imprest 1,000*l.* towards the furnishing of 3,000 swords.

10. Item, to imprest 550*l.* towards the provision of eleven hundred quarters of oats.

11. Item, a clause to pay any other sums of money as six of the Council shall require, for any necessary allowance or charge for the expedition, furnishing, or continuance of, the army, until Her Majesty's pleasure be made known to the contrary.

12. Lastly, a clause for payment of an increase of 2,000 men, to continue during the Queen's pleasure. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, "Observations upon the Privy Seal." Draft. pp. 2.*

Jan. 9.  
Limerick.

19. The Earl of Thomond, Captain Sir Francis Barkley, and Justice Goold, to Sir Robert Cecil. Have often advertised the decay of the castle of Limerick and of the ordnance carriage there lying; but there was no redress. Signify therefore the present state thereof. There is a gate house and three towers. Of these there is not one thoroughly covered, and "some of them" are uncovered. Thus the arms and other provisions therein have received exceeding detriment. There are also culverins and other pieces of ordnance, but their mounts are so rotten that, if there were cause to use the ordnance, it is not serviceable. There are also the walls of a great hall, which the late Lord President endeavoured to cover, as well to keep the assizes there, as for other purposes; but his death prevented his purpose. The repair of the castle is wanted; for, though there is but a small proportion of victual and munition come from Galway, yet there is no room in the castle to receive the same, and divers rooms in the town have to be hired, at no small rents. Besides, the more the rooms, the greater the waste and charge. Likewise, the mischief is apparent, which was bred by the escape of prisoners. This in all likelihood would not be, if the towers in the castle were covered and serviceable. Have "perused" the place, and think that 200*l.* or 300*l.* would be sufficient for the repairs. The castle is seated hard by one of the gates of Limerick, and in a solitary corner. Think there should be some men allowed, as well to defend the castle and munition from sudden surprising, as also to keep the prisoners from escaping.—Limerick, 1599[–1600], January 9. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 10.

20. "An estimate of the expense of munition and arms, delivered out of the store at Dublin, between the 20th of October, 1599,

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and the [10th] of January following; as also of such proportions of munition as hath been sent to remain in store in other places of garrison during the said time; together with a remain left in the store in Dublin the said [10th] day of January, 1599 [-1600]." *Signed by Sir George Bourchier. Endorsed, 10 January, 1599[-1600]. pp. 5.*

Jan. 10.  
Richmond.

21. "Divers matters touching the service of Ireland, debated and set down in memorial by the Lord Treasurer [Lord Buckhurst], Mr. Secretary [Sir Robert Cecil], and Mr. Chancellor [Sir John Fortescue], the Lord Mountjoy and sundry Captains being then and there present."

Jolls and Cocking to undertake the provision of victuals for Ireland. The victuals for Carrickfergus [for Lough Foyle] and Ballyshannon to be embarked at Chester by the last of February. Letters to be written to certain gentlemen in Cheshire, Lancashire, Denbigh, and Flint, to aid the contractors. The victuals for Lough Foyle, Ballyshannon, and Dublin, to be in separate ships. Sir George Carew to take the charge of providing 500 quarters of oats for Munster. Sir Henry Dockwra to take the charge of providing all necessaries for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. Letters to be written to the Lord Mayor of London that, among the 300 soldiers levied in London, there be taken up carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, bakers, brewers, armourers, and all artificers requisite for an army. The provost-marshals for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon to be allowed 4s. *per diem*. Order to be taken for two surgeons for the garrison at Lough Foyle, each to be bound to keep three men, and each surgeon to receive 10s. *per diem*. The same course to be kept for Ballyshannon. A trumpeter and a surgeon to be set down in every horse band, and to have a horseman's pay.

"That hospitals for sick and maimed soldiers be provided in every province, by the allowance of a soldier's pay out of every band, the ordaining whereof is to be referred to the Lord Mountjoy. That house-rents, reparations, and bedding, appertaining to the said hospitals, be borne and provided by the Queen's Majesty."

Lord Mountjoy to allow, from time to time, such quantity of powder as he shall think good, for training of soldiers. Three thousand swords to be provided by the Queen. Lord Mountjoy to appoint honest and discreet conductors to carry the 2,000 to Dublin and the 3,000 to Lough Foyle, the numbers, dates, and ports, to be notified to his Lordship. Sir Robert Cecil to add to the Privy Seal for victual, a warrant to pay for 1,100 quarters of oats, their shipment, &c.; a warrant to pay for "beds for hospitals, and other necessaries incident to the same, as also for house-rent and reparations of the said hospitals;" warrants for the allowance of powder and for the swords; and a warrant for payment of the conductors appointed by Lord Mountjoy, unless he appoint such Captains as are absent from their charge, or such as he mindeth to make Captains.



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"That the Clerk of the Council, out of these several articles, do extract all such points as pertain to any one, and put them in writing, and deliver the same with all speed unto him; or else the business will either sleep, or be deferred, and so every man may have a several memorial delivered unto him by the Clerk of that which appertains to him. The which in truth is his special office and duty, as likewise to set down at the end of every of our consultations, in writing, the effect of that which was agreed upon."—Richmond, 1599[-1600], January 10. *Draft.* pp. 4.

Jan. 11.  
Dublin.

22. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 9 of this month, towards night, Mr. Birkinshawe came to Dublin. By which passage, being from Holyhead, I received three several packets, with the good news of the speedy coming over of the Lord Mountjoy, whom I rather wish to be come than a coming. And forasmuch as one of your Honour's letters requires a more speedy dispatch of answer touching the state of those materials, which were brought over by Sir Samuel Bagenall for the use of Lough Foyle, and likewise of the powder, arms, and materials, which were brought over by the late Lord Lieutenant, such things as Sir Samuel brought over were left at Dublin, and, as it seemeth by Sir George Bouchier's certificate, which I send your Honour herein enclosed (*wanting*), not much of them remaining. Touching those arms, powder, ordnance, and materials, brought over by my Lord of Essex, Mr. Ersfield, who is Surveyor of the Ordnance, hath delivered unto me a note, unto what places the same was divided, what is issued, and what is remaining, which your Honour likewise shall receive herein enclosed. And according to your Honour's demand, I have sent unto you the names of the preachers, cannoniers, and engineers, &c., with their several entertainments, as they stood both in my Lord's time, and of such as now doth remain, some of them being lately discharged. These preachers, cannoniers, &c., are not contained in the list, but have their entertainment by two dead pays assigned unto them out of the several bands of foot. There is one principal officer not contained in the list, and yet his service very necessary, which is a scout-master. And therefore at the first he had his entertainment by concordatum, which I did not like of, because the same did increase the extraordinaries; and therefore it was thought meet he should have his entertainment out of a dead pay in every horse troop, after the rate of 5*s.* *per diem*, and five horsemen to attend him. I humbly pray that as many of these, as shall be thought necessary, may be contained in the list, whereby the companies may be the stronger, and myself well eased in my accounts. The Earl of Essex brought over with him certain boats, which are yet in pieces, and remain here at Dublin. Within these five or six days, my half-year's book will be finished, and then shall forthwith be sent over unto your Honour and the rest of my Lords. We are all in great distress by reason that the treasure is not yet come over, which discourageth us much. I have borrowed

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5, [000*l*.] or 6,000*l*., and now I know not where to borrow any more. God help us.

"Sir Francis Rush hath of late done very good service at the fort in Leix. I wish he received thanks according to his good desert, the particularities whereof, and the manner, your Honour shall perceive by his own letter. My Lord of Ormonde hath been at the Naas this five or six days, and now I hear is gone to the fort in Leix. [*In the margin, "it is said his Lordship will be at Dublin this night."*]

"In your general letter, I remember that the Lords do will me to discharge all the officers of the ordnance contained in the list, as superfluous officers beside the Master of the Ordnance; which, under your Honour's favour, cannot well be, until they have delivered up their several charges, which are very great, and have also delivered up their accounts. And for Anthony Ersfield, who is appointed Surveyor of the Ordnance, and his entertainment being six shillings eight pence *per diem*, your Honour shall find him a very necessary officer, and fit for Her Majesty's good service in that place. If the late Lord Lieutenant shall be discharged out his entertainment (*sic*) so soon after his departure hence, as your Honour and the rest of my Lords do write that it is Her Highness's pleasure, then am I at a great afterdeal touching the money I imprested his Lordship at his departure. I hear Her Majesty conceiveth no good opinion of me, which is a very great grief unto me, and makes me desire that by your Honour's good means I may have leave to return. I am very sorry that Watson was appointed to go for Munster, for I would most willingly have had him to come hither unto me, that I might have returned him unto your Honour with some things that I will not now write of."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 11. *Endorsed, Received at London the 19th. Holograph. pp. 3. Encloses,*

22. I. "A list of the preachers of the army," giving thirteen in Essex's time, and thirteen in that of the Lords Justices, and stating the amount of weekly stipend. [1600, January 11.] p. 1.

22. II. *Sir Francis Rush to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. Has shewn his rascal neighbours some sport, but thinks they have paid for it. The plot was this. He called to account an Englishman, whom he greatly suspected, and whose wife, being Irish, had much recourse to the rebels in cessation time. He threatened him much, and urged him (as a proof of his honesty) to be a means, by his wife and her alliance, to get intelligence from time to time of the rebels' proceedings, wishing him to send them some idle intelligences, to give him the more credit with them. Found him willing, and exceeding faithful and honest; notwithstanding, at the entrance of this practice, he "laid bolts upon him colourably," and after, upon bonds, released him. "Then I devised to send him to Onie McRory, to speak with him, and to utter his discontent against me, and that he would do him great service, assuring him (if he would be persuaded), and follow his counsel, he would deliver him the castle and the munition, whereupon the fort must surrender, or be put to the sword." The practice could not be effected within*



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*the limit of the cessation, and thereupon he arranged that the rebel should seek for one week more, for the poor man to pass and re-pass. By this new plot of cessation, he gained some wood and poles to make a little palisado, and recovered some "bullets" for his artillery from Athy.*

*"To be brief, my good Lords, it was thus resolved upon, that upon Friday at night, the fourth of January, the moon and his watch night serving fitly, the poor man should, out of the vault where he lay in the castle, and where was some time a great hole stopped up, well known to some of the rebel[s], open the same, go out himself thereat, and up the ditch to them, lying close by in the ditches, to bring in two, the one before and the other behind him, to search and view the castle within for ambushes or treason. And many came at the first to the ditch side with a ladder, to come the more quietly down the ditch; but only two then came down and entered the hole, and seeing (as they thought) all passages free, and every man asleep, they went out to fetch the rest, myself lying in the Constable[s] chamber close, with some twenty-four good men, and provided of sufficient matter and device to choke and dam up the stairs at an instant. In the interim of their return to fetch the rest, which was ever plainly and secretly discovered at a spike hole, I laid myself, with my men of the choicest sept, to possess the stairs; where I stood and made good a long time, until I thought there were enough, or all, entered, that were appointed for the entry. Then with my first device, which was a great pack of wet hay to prevent fire (though in the entry of the vault, where the passage was up to the stairs, I had placed a great hutch full of stones, and a chest upon the top of the hutch, likewise filled with stones, that the passage was but for one man sidelong), I let down my pack, and then called for light, and so, having barrels ready to cast down, I fought a while, until they offered to press out at the hole where they came in. Then my Lieutenant I had laid ready to 'bett' the hole of the entry with some six musketeers with quarter shot, and a pike or two right over the hole to strike such as offered to press out. Insomuch as they were so beset, that they took the great cellar, and stayed there for fear. Where, it is strange to tell, the villains with their skeens and barrels of pieces (sic), before noon the next day, had wrought out a hole so big as a man might go out. Notwithstanding we found them play in at spike holes with our shot all the night and day. I, seeing these villains pressed fair for their liberty, took resolution with my gentleman and best men to enter the cellar. So I opened the stairs again, and entered the cellar, where, my good Lords, the villains were many more than we that went down to assault them. They fought exceeding well, as behoveth cowards in like case; but my brave and valiant men as could stand by a poor man's side, by force of sword and blows put them up into a little portion of the cellar, where we held them in very close, and killed and galled many, until in the end, after a long conflict, perforce they yielded themselves. The soldiers, some hurt, in their fury instantly killed them all, saving some three that escaped miraculously out at the hole from half a dozen good men that I had placed without. What their loss is, I know not, but I am sure there*

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*lieth in the castle, yet unburied, some four or five and thirty carcases. For our particular loss, I have not a man lost, though many hurt, in regard we were reasonably well armed at our entry. Myself, I fear, have lost an eye by the splinters of a shot, and shot in the right hand. Wherefore I beseech your Lordships to excuse me that I write not myself. I hope by the grace of Jesus Christ to recover all my poor men, notwithstanding some of them [are] sore hurt."*—*[The] Fort, 1599[-1600], January 7. Signed. pp. 3.*

Jan. 11.  
[Dublin.]

23. Sir George Bouchier to Sir Robert Cecil. Understanding that he was required to send to England a note of the remain of munition and artillery sent in September, 1598, for the intended service of Lough Foyle, has delivered the same to the Lords Justices, as also a remain of the munition brought over in March last, together with an abstract of what has been issued out of the store at Dublin since Michaelmas last, to this day. Sent before to Sir Robert, by Captain Francis Stafford, the like book in particular for the last half-year's expense, together with a note what he thought meet to be sent for this ensuing summer. The Privy Council having signified that he should take into his charge the stores at Newry, Cork, and Galway, prays that, as the charge is great, and the country so dangerous that none can travel without great convoy and excessive expense, and himself being always employed in all journies otherwise, the clerks in charge may be continued till the same be wholly issued, or that he may have the means for getting other clerks. Is forced continually to maintain clerks out of his own poor fee of a noble a day, for the better furtherance of the service, the pays which his "ministers" have being so small—9*d.* and 6*d.* a day—that none of any reckoning will accept of them. Prays for some answer in the foregoing, and also in the matters mentioned by Captain Stafford.—*[Dublin], 1599[-1600], January 11. Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at London the 19th. p. 1.*

Jan. 11.  
Dublin.

24. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Amongst other resolutions to be handled there for this realm, now upon change of the Governor, I humbly wish a special charge to be given to the Lord Deputy to attempt the reducing of Leinster at his first coming, whilst the army is fresh and not weakened by other journies. For, besides the honour and profit in the action, to regain a country of so large and settled revenues to Her Majesty, and the most ancient part of her Crown in this realm, the reducing of Leinster will be a main step to draw in Munster and Connaught, and cut from Ulster their principal supports. And I am of opinion that this service of Leinster, being managed with well-chosen commanders, will have easy passage, and draw no long time, so as the prosecution be resolutely followed. I assure myself that Tyrone, to cross this prosecution, will strain himself to send out of Ulster a great part of his forces, for that he knoweth, to bear up the garboyles of Leinster, is to keep himself free from dangers in his own country. But, if Her Majesty could be ready to send a strong garrison to Lough Foyle, at the time that the service of



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Leinster should proceed, it would do much to break Tyrone's purposes, and make him keep his forces within Ulster, to defend himself. For, howsoever the project to plant at Lough Foyle hath been hitherto (as it seemeth) disesteemed, for that it hath not been put to execution, yet still I say to your Honour (which I can maintain with reason and experience), there is no way to cut through these rebellions, but by laying a strong garrison at Lough Foyle; not that I mean the main state of the war to be drawn thither, but that Lough Foyle shall be as an iron hook in his nostrils, to hold him hard and entangle him at home, whilst Her Majesty with better commodity may apply [herself to] the recovering of Leinster and Munster, and so to reduce the realm by parts, as it is fallen away by parts, without standing upon a total invasion in all parts at one time, which, under your Honour's favour, though it may be thought honourable, yet, there are many reasons to make such a course casual and chargeful. I dare not wade further in this advice for Lough Foyle, having before spent my spirits to persuade that plot, both there and here, wherein I cannot think but I have offended some, and so haply may do still, the more I insist upon it. And therefore, I beseech you, let this be to yourself, unless your Honour will impart it to Her Majesty only, who, I hope, in a matter so weightily concerning her service, will defend me against all others. This is but to answer the present passage, which is ready to depart. By my next I hope to have leisure to write more amply of other matters, and particularly of the progressions of Tyrone to seduce the Pale, both by terrors and offers. In the meanwhile I have sent you herewith a copy of one of his letters, written to a gentleman of the Pale, called William Darcy, which I intercepted, and do keep the original with myself."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 11.

[*Postscript.*] "None of the absent Captains are yet returned; only Birkinshawe arrived here this day, and with him Captain Fisher, who is out of pay. Touching your Honour's letter of the 5th of December last, written jointly to the Lord Justice Carey and me, we do yet forbear to make answer to it, till we have a messenger of trust to carry our answer; which I thought good to signify to your Honour by this, lest you should think we were forgetful." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at London the 19th. pp. 1½. Encloses,*

24. 1. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to William Darcy.* "I have received yours, and am most glad that the ground of your coming to join with me is your religion; assuring you my favour and assistance in all your just and lawful dealings. For the title you pretend to Ferbill, I will be unto you, as to all the rest of mine adherents, which is to lose nothing of our rights and privileges; praying you and yours to use all honest and just dealings, unto which you shall find me most ready to aid and favour you. So from henceforth I will deal for you in all things, as for myself."—Dungannon, [1600], January 6. *Signed, "O'Neill." Copy.*

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Jan. 11. 25. The difference between the present and the late establishment in Ireland. The late establishment was, 277,782*l.* 15*s.*; the present one is, 208,765*l.* Abatement per annum, 69,017*l.* 15*s.*; viz., in officers, 8,820*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; in horsebands, 2,135*l.* 5*s.*; in footbands, 57,061*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; in extraordinaries, 1,000*l.*—1599 [-1600], January 11. *Draft.* p. ½.

Jan. 14.  
Limerick.

26. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. Formerly sent his Lieutenant, Mr. Norton, *viâ* Bristol, to attend on Sir Robert. Norton had been three or four years with the Earl, and could shew the unfortunate state of those parts, where he had served. Durst not commit anything to writing, for fear of its being intercepted. At Norton's coming from England, he was taken by the rebels, and kept in some penury for a time, but by good fortune was released. Sent him shortly after back again, almost in as much danger, with his last letters. Could never before write or send, not even to supply the wants of his son, who was at school. Has sought means, any time these two months past, to send Captain Henry Clare, who was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl's command, and was soldier-like and forward in service. Recommends him. Begs for Her Majesty's letters for passing to him, according to her meaning already signified, the fee-simple of the manors of Ard-molchan and Harristown Barrett, in the county of Meath. Want in the former instructions concerning them. Paid 615*l.* to Her Majesty for the same, as may appear by her letter remaining with the Clerk of the Privy Signet, Mr. Windebank, to whom also he has written of the mistaking of the title, the old and new surveys of the land, &c.

"I can assure your Honour that there is as much difficulty in passing a letter here-hence to Dublin as to England, by reason the way is laid for by the rebels of each side; and therefore I humbly pray your Honour not to think that I am forgetful of your honourable favours, by not writing to your Honour more often than I have done since my coming hither."

In this time of cessation the traitors in Munster seek daily to betray either man or house, and have of late, since the taking of Castlemaine, taken a house of good importance between Limerick and Kilmallock, called Loughgirr, "for they keep no truce with us at any time, wherein they may take advantage against us."

Signifies the undutiful and ill carriage of the townsmen of Limerick. They relieve the rebels by all the means they can, murder our soldiers, commit Captains, and continually quarrel with Lieutenants and other our officers. The Mayor pulls off the hats of Lieutenants and gentlemen, and treads the same under his feet. The townsmen threaten to make an end of them all in one day. Our soldiers are committed to the Mayor's prison; he refuses to commit them either to Her Majesty's gaol, or to the Provost-Marshal; "which is a course never seen in this land, that a martial man should be committed by any Mayor or town magistrate, but left to the martial court to receive their punishment. And if in time they be not looked unto, they will become



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as ill as Rochelle for disobedience." The castle of Limerick is in a ruinous state for want of repairs, but has as good artillery as any castle Her Majesty has in Ireland. Two or three hundred pounds will repair the house, make it defensible, and mount the ordnance, which will keep the townsmen dutiful, and do very good service in those parts.—Limerick, 1599[-1600], January 14. Signed. pp. 2.

Jan. 16.  
Dublin.

27. William Masterson to Mr. Suckling, Secretary to Lord Buckhurst. "Sir, our long unwished interregnum, desiring to have an end, breedeth eftsoons no small doubts and suggestions in divers here, whether it were for their better future welfare to continue loyalty, or venture their desperate fortune, which, partly being through our unfortunate and improvident government, I leave to your own consideration, they being not able (though willing in heart) to continue subjects any long time, through the daily inroad of the enemy, without repulse, and continual oppressions of soldiers, without redress or reformation, which is a fatal misery to this State. The country is now at that pass, through the daily increase of the enemy in every corner, that those that kept holds, and shielded themselves from the violence of the enemy, must now, *perinvite*, be constrained, either to forsake their dwellings, or for succour turn their copy, which I fear will prove true to some, as divers of late hath (*sic*) done, choosing rather to do so, than live like prisoners in their houses, and not able to enjoy their lands, to their great terror and danger. By which means the country is so amazed and defeated, at the daily prosperity of the enemy, and to see our attempts run so *in penis*, as it dare not look out to assist his neighbour in any distress. The soldier (notwithstanding he seeth his neighbour afire, and means and opportunity to succour them) will not stir forth, being but near at hand in garrison, to infest the violence of the enemy, though his garrison place be worth but 10*l*.; but will allege his Captain keeps merry in some other place, and so dares not remove without direction. And this is the cause that Her Majesty spends such magazines of money continually, and no service done to lessen her charges, but rather like to be at far greater than hitherto, and a difficulter (*sic*) enterprise through our unfortunate attempts; and what will become of it, I refer to God. I assure you the enemies will affirm themselves, that my Lord took a wrong course; for if he had cut the root, while his men were fresh and heartstrong, the branches would wither, and that likewise divers, for certain, of the chieftains of the North, if he had at first gone down, were concluding among themselves to have come in, as is not unknown to the best of experience in those confines.

"Sir, no marvel that Her Majesty's forces are weak, though she hath 14,000 foot in pay here, besides horse, Captains, pensioners, and other officers, when there was a check of 16,000*l*. for this last half-year; and those, notwithstanding, that be supervisors, see and wink."

The defeat of the rebels in the fort of Leix. The Earl of Ormonde went on the 14th instant to Navan, where he was before,

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to prevent and infest the pretended incursion of the enemy, and to settle the borders. Sends herewith a placard of Tyrone's (*wanting*), that lately came to the Council, and is rarely to be got, but is kept in private.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 16. *Against the signature Lord Buckhurst has written*, "This is but a devised name. He is a gentleman of Irish birth, very wise, and faithful to Her Majesty and the State." *Seal.* pp. 14.

Jan. 16.  
Dublin.

28. Captain T. Jackson to Sir Robert Cecil. Lord Burghley's favour shewn to the writer in his causes. Prays for Sir Robert's furtherance of the same. Sends a view of their present state, as he sent it to the Earl of Ormonde, with a letter to his Lordship at his coming to Dublin. Upon hearing the cause, Ormonde entreated for a mitigation of Jackson's punishment. The Lord Chancellor answered that Jackson's company was disposed of, but that, upon his submission, they would mitigate any further punishment. Refused to submit, as his company was taken from him without just cause proved against him. Refers himself and the state of his cause to Sir Robert, whether to acquaint Lord Mountjoy therewith, or to write to the Lords Justices to continue his company, and to enlarge him out of Dublin Castle.—Dublin Castle, 1599[-1600], January 16. *Holograph.* p. 1. *Encloses*,

28. i. *Captain T. Jackson to the Earl of Ormonde.* Rejoices at the return of his Lordship to Dublin. Is mightily distressed by malicious informers. Is charged with abuses committed by his Lieutenant in his absence. They are not directly proved, yet he is punished. If they can be proved against the Lieutenant, yet it can never be proved that he himself ever consented to, or was acquainted with any. There is great probability that the informers have forged this practice, by reason of the repugnance and contrariety both in themselves and their instruments. Prays his Lordship to defend him from oppression and wrong. His former life has always been squared with the rule of honesty, and he has done heretofore some acceptable services, well-known to Her Majesty and the Council in England. Has great promises of recompense. His coming into Ireland has cost him almost 400l. Means not by any indirect courses in himself to overthrow either his former deservings or his succeeding good hopes. Sends the state of his cause, which he doubts not his Lordship will honourably and judicially consider. Wherein he has offended, let him be punished in favour, not in severity, respecting both the quality of the offence and the value of the person committing. Though the Lords Justices in this sort punish his person, yet it will be found by Ormonde that his reputation is not in any sort touched. Prays for clemency and mercy.—Dublin Castle, 1599[-1600], January 12. *Copy.* p. 1.

Jan. 17.

29. Richard Hadsor, "Solicitor for Irish Causes," to Sir Robert Cecil. Is advertised that Sir Robert has delivered his censure, upon request lately made to him that Tirlagh McHenry's son, who is a pledge in Dublin Castle, should be delivered for Sir Thomas Moore's son, that it were fitter to give him for Captain Francis



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Shane, lately wounded and taken prisoner by the rebels, who has no hope of favour or relief but from Her Majesty by his Honour's good furtherance. His redemption out of the hands of those rebellious miscreants will greatly further her service, and encourage others to prosecute the same.

The Lord Chief Justice [Sir Robert Gardener] can satisfy his Honour of Sir Nicholas Walsh's integrity and sufficiency to be the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a Councillor in matters of greatest weight and State in Ireland. He desires not employment in Commissions, as other his predecessors have been employed, for any matter of profit, but to be better able to do Her Majesty service, and for his credit in his country.—1599 [-1600], January 17. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 19. 30. Intelligences brought to Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

Tyrone departed from Dungannon last Tuesday, and came to the Blackwater that night. The next day he came within two miles of Armagh, and lay there two nights. On Friday last, he removed thence to O'Clerrian, his town, near the borders of Monaghan. This day, being Saturday, he goes to Moneyvan, and there remains till Monday. On Monday he goes to McMahon, and there has appointed all his men to meet him. On Tuesday or Wednesday they go to Cavan, and there all the Brenny men meet with him. So he goes that way to meet all the traitors of Leinster and Munster. Tyrone was very much entreated by his country people to stay, and not to go that journey, but, contrary to them all, he goes. He carries not with him above 2,500 foot and some 200 horse. In all his company he carries with him no gentlemen of his country but Harry Oge and the Mahons, and some of the Brenny gentlemen. He leaves his brother Cormack, Art Maguire, and Sir Arthur O'Neill, O'Cahan, and Tirlogh McHenry, and Con McCollo, every man to keep his own country. He has appointed Brian McArt and James McSorley to look to the garrison of Knockfergus, and his brother Cormack, Magennis, and O'Hanlon to camp near Newry with some 600 foot he left with them. He has appointed Tirlogh McHenry and Con McCollo to look to the garrison of Dundalk. Tyrone means not to do any hurt going there, but to go through till they meet, and then see who will go out to him, when he will take pledges of them as he thinks fit, and "make Lords where there is none called, to make them yield all to one man," and after leave his son-in-law, Richard Butler, strong in the Earl of Ormonde's country.

"I heard him say that he would stay forth two months, but his chiefest men did tell me that he should make no stay there, not passing a month. Young Butler is fully determined to do great hurt. I hear that the Earl of Thomond his brother will be out again. Tyrone looketh for many to go out this time with him. James McSorley goeth to Scotland. The King of Scots' man was with Tyrone the last week. The effect of his letter was, that he was at war with Nice McJames his sons, the Lords of the Out Isles, requesting Tyrone not to aid nor assist them nor receive them into his country; and if that any the like request

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Tyrone should make to the King, that he should have it; and so bade him to believe the bearer. The bearer was but a serving man. He told Tyrone that the King would have written more, but for fear of the State in England, fearing they should hear of it, and that he would send a great man of his country to Tyrone, if he durst for the Council of England. And he told Tyrone that the King did fear England much; yet, nevertheless, that any pleasure the King could do to Tyrone, he should be assured [of]. This is the King's man's business. This is the whole effect of things in these parts. Maguire and Tyrone are fallen out very far, so that he nor none of his men are gone upon this journey."—1599[–1600], January 19. *pp.* 1½.

Jan. 19.  
Dublin.

31. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have newly received a letter from my servant, Leicester, advertising me of some speeches, which were lately used by your Honour to him concerning myself, and, in particular concerning the sum of 40*l.*, affirmed to be laid in a bag under my bedside from the Earl of Tyrone. Which information, as it seemeth, hath either proceeded from Sir William Warren, as an original author thereof, or else hath been affirmed and justified by him before your Honour to be true. And albeit I perceive my case to be such, as mine innocency cannot free me from slanderous imputations of this nature, yet is it an exceeding comfort unto me to find this honourable favour at your hands (for which I rest your Honour's bedesman), to understand the ground of this and such like advertisements, to the end by my answer it may appear unto you how unjustly I have been charged, and how much I have been wronged by such malicious accusations. Wherein if it had pleased Mr. Warren to have done me that right which in his own conscience he knoweth the truth of this matter doth require, viz., together with his information or affirmation of the receipt of that money, to have shewed the cause for which it was then due unto me, the circumstances of his relation would long since have cleared me from all corruption or bribery in this behalf, and this report could never have wrought the conceit and impressions of bad dealing in me. For true it is, Right Honourable, that *in anno* '84 or '85, I being required to attend Sir John Perrot to Drogheda, for the composing of some controversies between Sir Tirlogh Lynagh and the Earl of Tyrone, in which journey I tarried the number of twenty days; upon the ending of matters between them, and upon order taken by the Lord Deputy and Council, that in regard the Council was drawn thither to deal in their causes, therefore they should indifferently bear the Councillors' charges (as they did in like manner afterwards several times at Dundalk) I received from the Earl of Tyrone, for my twenty days' employment in that service, according my ordinary allowance in like cases for travelling charges from Her Majesty, the sum of 40*l.* sterling, which was brought to me by Sir William Warren from the said Earl; all the rest of this Council, which then were present, as to my remembrance there was none absent, receiving such allowance for



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that journey, *per diem*, as Her Majesty is accustomed severally to allow unto them; which sum, with at the least 20*l.* more of mine own purse, I spent in that journey, keeping an extraordinary number both of men and horses in that time of scarcity. But if ever I received by way of gift or reward any sum of money from Tyrone, to further his causes, I am contented it be deemed treason in me. And Sir William Warren himself, being this day called before me, before some good witnesses, could not deny this I write to be true, howsoever he hath been induced, either by information or by concealment of the truth of this matter, which would have cleared itself, to do me this wrong, without any my desert, having at all times deserved well at his hands, as your Honour, by my letters to yourself in his behalf, can partly witness with me.

“And right sorry I am from the bottom of my heart, that now, in my old age, wherein I hoped for comfort and some recompense of my long service now these 38 years, with danger of my life, as others, of far less continuance in their employments and desert, have plentifully felt it at Her Majesty’s hands, it is my bad hap, not only to have these and such like imputations believed against me (whereof I am most innocent), but also to be laid as bars to hinder Her Majesty’s wonted and usual grace towards me, whom I most humbly beseech your Honour to vouchsafe to be a mean to satisfy in these and such like malicious informations, that, howsoever Her Highness shall be pleased to grant or deny my suit for the bettering or decaying of my private estate (which in riches and poverty shall still remain most humbly at Her Majesty’s service), yet I may never be deprived of her princely and gracious favour, wherein consists my life itself, and by the continuance and enjoying whereof I do both weigh and measure my desire for the continuance of the same.”—Dublin, 1599[–1600], January 19. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 27th. pp. 2.*

Jan. 19.  
Dublin.

32. [Meyler Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. “I let you to understand that upon my coming to Dublin, the 13 of this month, I found not the Countess [of Desmond], [she] being gone long before to her husband, who now is with the traitors, so that I lost the hope I had that way. I am certified also that Derby O’Connor is gone from the Earl of Desmond, two months before, and so my conceived hope of him is past. Yet, if I go safe to Munster, and find the nurse there, I hope to do well without them; but, until I be there, I will say no more concerning that matter. But for Ireland in general, I see no likelihood of any goodness amongst them, the most of all sorts there being declined to a reprobate sense. Such as be of Her Majesty’s side are diminished and decreased, as well in number, strength, and prosperity, as in courage and hope, and Tyrone’s part growing night and day, and such as are utterly impoverished by his traitors in the Pale itself praying and wishing that success, by which you may guess that he shall not want what helps the country may afford. And therefore the state wherein Ireland now is do require that Her Majesty shall make choice of one of

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three things, viz., to run presently in[to] extreme charge, or yield to some agreement not to her liking, or else to be in danger utterly to lose Ireland. Sure it is that Tyrone do not "wonne" or take any country or stronghold with power, strength, or charge, but all do yield voluntarily unto him, and therefore the inhabitants do not hate him, *quia volenti non fit injuria*. It is therefore to be feared, if Dublin itself do not fall shortly that way, that some other like will, unless such places be straitly and suddenly looked into. The priests are so many that one is thought little for every one house. And although you think in your last letter unfit that means were sought to catch some of them, they being the very root and spring of whom all traitors do grow and flow in all parts, yet it is sure that until all such be banished from being amongst the subjects, if Tyrone and all the chief of the traitors were destroyed, yet Ireland will be never quiet; for where God's cause is neglected, no other policy ought to prevail; praying therefore your Honour to show this letter to Her Majesty. Your letter also say[s] that Cashel sought all things, north and south, to be committed to him. If he did so, he is worthy of punishment and denial; but, if he sought only things to augment Her Majesty's good subjects, and to diminish the number and strength of the traitors, he is not much to be blamed. You know nothing committed [to] him, or by him sought, having honour or credit or profit adjoined [there]unto, but rather [he] took matters full of danger, labour, and charge, which none other will take in hand. *O utinam* Her Majesty's chaplain, Mr. Bared, were of that honour and profit a partaker for 20 days only! You say also that I may promise to any principal one that will forsake Tyrone, that he shall be well used. I pray consider whether he that hath great country and command, being not in extremity as yet, will endanger himself and his country upon my bare promise. I know he will not, and therefore I will not move it; yet you shall think of this (I fear) too late. And for my part, I am sorry to know so many ways to do Her Majesty great good, having no power or credit to perform any. Indeed if the one half of the treasure already spent these three years past had been set (*sic*) after my simple counsel, I suppose that all the rebels of Ireland had been subdued or banished by this. And, as I think, it were better for the Queen to hold and keep Ireland in subjection and under command, with the advice and counsel of a poor simple one, than to lose it with braw Captains' counsel. I do fear that lack of company shall hinder partly my proceeding, for I am here six days, and yet, for lack of such, I know not how I shall go. But, if I were able to have thirty horsemen at call, I would everywhere venture; which I leave to your Honour's consideration."—Dublin, 1599 [-1600], January 19. *Signed*, "1070." *Endorsed*, The Archbishop of Cashel to my master. Received at Richmond the 27th. *Partly in cipher, deciphered. Holograph. p. 1.*

Jan. 20.  
Cork.

33. Edward More to Sir Robert Cecil. Presuming upon the extraordinary favours granted to him by Sir Robert both in France and Ireland, prays that he would not cease to further him,



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and impute his late fault rather to the greenness of his youth than to any wilful nature. Begs to be received into his good liking, and also that Sir Robert would procure the former love of the writer's father towards him. Will feel everlastingly bound. —Cork, [1599-1600], January 20. *Signed. Seal. p. 1.*

Jan. 20.  
Dublin.

34. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "Although I have forborne, since the decease of your most honourable father, to write much of matters touching the state of this kingdom, for that I am unacquainted and altogether unknown to any in that Court, except only Her Majesty, yet, considering my duty to Her Highness, and the present dangerous state this realm is brought unto, through the continual weak courses held in the matter of prosecution, I have thought it meet (as one most desirous, before my death, which now I have good reason to think cannot be far off, to see Her Majesty make an honourable reformation and resettling of this state), to signify unto you alone those things I conceive may be a speedy furtherance thereunto. And understanding to my great comfort that Her Majesty is thoroughly resolved to plant a good garrison at Lough Foyle, which in all men's judgments is the best mean to pull down the Archtraitor, and with him this whole rebellion, I think it very convenient to put you in remembrance, how meet it is that that garrison be of sufficient strength, and furnished with all good means and good men. For, if that should receive any disaster, there is nothing which hath yet happened, which could either animate the rebel, or dismay the good subject, so much as that would. And because that province of Ulster is of all the rest most pernicious to our nation, as well in respect of the climate, as for want of towns and habitation, other than is in a barbarous and hateful wilderness, it would be most necessary that Her Majesty should wage 3,000 or 4,000 inland Scots to join with the garrison at Lough Foyle, being a people for their nature fittest to deal with the northern men, and for their hardness and neediness every way able to match them. By this course, also, the hope and aid from Scotland, whereof the rebel seems to have much assurance, shall receive great discountenance, and those of that nation, which now serve with the rebel, may peradventure by their countrymen be brought off, with some good heads in their hands. James McSorley (who is said to be much at the King's devotion) may likewise by this means be brought at least to a staggering, if not to wholly fall away from the rebel. Besides it is like enough there may be some saving in their entertainment, and they compounded withal to victual themselves, which would be a great ease and commodity to Her Majesty in that remote part. In all which Her Majesty's honour may well be provided for, since whatsoever they shall be able to perform will be ever ascribed to the garrison, which must be at least twice as strong as they. And for their return out of the realm, whensoever Her Majesty shall command the same, I doubt not but in your wisdoms you may work good assurance, either by making choice of such men for their commanders and leaders, as are of approved soundness in religion, and sincere

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affection towards our State, or by working with the King for hostages, to be delivered for performance thereof. Wherein I persuade myself the King would be very glad to gratify Her Majesty. Herein, I beseech you, let me not be conceived to write anything of the Irish Scots or islanders, who, I know, are very treacherous, and will never fight soundly in Ulster in regard of their great alliance and kindred there. And although some may peradventure mislike this motion, yet I durst presume (under your favourable reformation), even out of mine own understanding to maintain the same, by very good and probable reasons, to be both beneficial, necessary, of good safety for this service, and, on Her Majesty's part, honourable enough likewise.

"I perceive also that Her Majesty hath taken a good and right course for Munster, by sending directly thither a President, with men, money, victuals, apparel, and all other means necessary for that prosecution, which if it had been at first done, it would have saved the lives of many tall soldiers, who were walked out by coming (upon every occasion) out of Munster into Ulster, and that many times in the worst season of the year. But yet I hear nothing of Connaught, which to the main point will be very helpful; for, if like course may be taken for Connaught, as is for Munster, O'Donnell may be kept occupied in looking to the passages of the Erne, by which means the garrison at Lough Foyle shall be the better able to stir. And for the better and more speedy ending and rooting out of this rebellion, it will be most necessary that good garrisons be placed in Leinster upon the Moores, Connors, Donnell Spainagh, and in these mountains upon Feagh McHugh's sons, the traitors which daily do offer more disgrace to this State than all the rest; wherein the Lord Deputy would be admonished and expressly commanded to have a special regard to put into entertainment, as speedily as occasion may be offered, such English gentlemen as are the inheritors of Leix and Offally, and are known to be men of worth and sufficiency; whereof there are a great many, who, having lost their lands and all their goods, have hitherto been disregarded to the exceeding great prejudice of the service; for, besides that they are themselves good guides in those countries, and have very good means for intelligence, and to draw good draughts upon the rebels in those places, they have many effectual reasons, besides their entertainment, to move them to take an extraordinary care of the service there; as, the regaining of their lands, the recovering of their goods, and the revenging of all the spiteful injuries done them. This, I assure your Honour, will be as good a mean in short time to recover Leinster, as any [that] can be devised. And, as for Feagh McHugh's sons, it would be to very good purpose to have 4[00] or 500 Irish Scots, or redshanks (who may be hired good cheap), sent hither to join with the garrison placed upon them, who, inhabiting the place of greatest strength and most danger to be entered upon in Leinster, these beggarly Scots being greedy of prey, whereof they shall have store in these mountains, will serve to good use to break the ice to our men in those dangerous



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straits; and, as for any assurance to be demanded for their return home, there shall need none, for within two or three months I believe they will be easily mustered, so as I dare undertake, if the service be followed as it should be, they shall rather need a good supply, than any provision to be made for their return.

“And albeit this may seem to be a matter of very great and infinite charge, yet I doubt not, when the charges of this lingering war past shall be thoroughly viewed, the inconveniences which already have, daily do, and continually may happen by protracting this war considered (whereof even in the beginning of this rebellion I have both written thither and spoken publicly at this Council board, though, as the sequel shewed, I sped no better than Cassandra), Her Majesty I say, I doubt not, shall find it will be much more safe, saving, and honourable, to lay on a good charge at once, and to go through with it, than to be at such continual charge [as] she hath been at, and nothing done, but still losing ground and the hearts of many subjects, which by a good prosecution in time would have been held and made good use of.

“Two things remain, whereof the Lord Deputy would be forewarned and seriously admonished. The first is, that in any sort he make no cessations, which hath been the only cut-throat of this kingdom; for Her Majesty may make this sure account (such is the desperate pass things are now brought to), that without great killing, this State will not be resettled, all parts being so possessed by the rebel, as there is no more left whole, but so much as is betwixt Dublin and Drogheda, which is but twenty miles in length, and eight or ten miles broad at the most, and that same miserably wasted and impoverished by those who are sent to defend it. The other matter is in ease of Her Majesty's charges, which to my great grief I see to be greatly increased by raising of many unnecessary officers, as too many Colonels, and other allowances to cannoniers with such like, and more preachers than are needful, unless they keep better in the places of garrison, which, in this penury and scarcity of all things, men of their sort and education cannot in deed endure. Thus have I at some length imparted unto you (to your trouble I fear, for which I crave your favourable pardon) those things I think necessary to be considered of, before the Lord Deputy's departure thence; whereof if I shall find your good acceptance and liking, you shall hereafter be truly advertised, either in those things you shall be desirous to be satisfied [in], or, as occasion shall be offered, of those matters I shall from time to time conceive to be behoveful for Her Majesty's service. And so I beseech the Almighty to bless all your employments and endeavours in as great measure as He did your honourable father's, to Her Majesty's gracious contentment, your own great comfort, and the good of your country.”—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 20. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 27th. pp. 6.*

Jan. 20. 35. Minute for a Privy Seal towards the payment of debts to certain Irish towns and suitors, as certified by the hand of Sir

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Henry Wallop, deceased, late Treasurer at Wars in Ireland.  
*Endorsed*, 1599[-1600], January 20. *Draft*. p. 1.

[Jan. 21.] 36. Notes of Commissions for Ireland.

"A Commission for the Lord Deputy to be such as was last to the Lord Burgh.

"Commissions for granting wards, liveries, and leases, [and] compounding for Her Majesty's arrearages. These may be spared as needless in this time, and may be sent hereafter, if there be cause.

"The instructions for martial government and causes to be framed like to those delivered to the Earl of Essex.

"The instructions for revenue causes (because Deputies seldom can spare any time from martial affairs) are meetest to be dealt in by the Lord Chancellor and Judges, who now have little to do in their peculiar functions, and will be more attendant to any directions."—[1600, January 21.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil*, "Ireland." p. 1.

Jan. 21.  
 Dublin.

37. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "It is given out by some passengers arrived here yesterday, that Her Majesty hath a meaning to alter the form of government in Connaught, and, in a branch of your Honour's last letter to me, I find you to aim at such a matter. I hope this alteration will be but provisional, until Her Majesty may settle the other provinces, and so have time afterward to prescribe a more firm manner of rule in Connaught, such as may make it both profitable and sure to Her Majesty. For otherwise, if it should continue long a broken and divided government, and under the administration of the two Irish Earls, it is to be feared that, by time, it might grow wild and Irish, and so be chargeful to the Crown to make it English again. And (under your Honour's favour), in this latter age of the world, it is not safe for Her Majesty to raise up Irish Governors, and establish them over countries that have been, and may be again, ruled by English laws and justice. But howsoever it may please Her Majesty to make this change of government in Connaught, I wish specially the castle and bridge of Athlone may be put into the hands of a sound Englishman; for that those two are not only the keys of Connaught, but also in effect of all the north-west parts of Ireland. And if the whole province of Connaught should revolt, yet Her Majesty holding the house and bridge of Athlone, she hath an entrance to recover the province, and chastise all the disloyal septs therein, and also keep open a way to pass into Tyrconnell, and other remote countries of Ulster. Thus much I make bold to advertise to your Honour, that in the resolutions for Connaught it might be foreseen to reserve the house and bridge of Athlone in the charge of some English gentleman, who by his countenance might give good assistance to the two Earls in their particular governments; the consideration whereof I leave to your Honour, and do humbly wish that this advice for Athlone might be imparted to Her Majesty.



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"Tyrone hovereth still about Dungannon and the Blackwater, making shews of great gatherings of men, but yet he doth not march, nor will not be able to march, these ten days, as I understand from his own camp, where it is given out that he hath sent two messengers to Desmond in Munster, and will not stir himself till they return. But I think his chief purpose is, by this lingering, to have the Queen's army, which lieth upon the borders against him, to spend their victuals in attending for him. But in that point he is deceived, for the army eateth no more victuals, lying upon the borders, than they should do, being in their places of garrison. And wheresoever they are, they eat not above their ordinary allowance, only some parts of the country, that are near the borders, are somewhat strained by the army more than ordinary, but it is for their own defence.

"I understand (but I have no certain ground for it) that Tyrone hath written to the Lord Lieutenant of the army for another cessation, wherein what shall ensue further, you shall have it by my next. But this I find by all my intelligences, that Tyrone hath as much to do to compound some jars amongst his followers in his own country, as to do hurt to the Queen's subjects abroad. And for all the terrors he giveth out touching his multitudes and numbers of men, having multiplied them to many thousands by description and rumours, yet I hope whensoever he shall attempt his invasion into the Pale, this little army of Her Majesty, laid for him, will make him stagger, and not be so proud as to put his head far into the Pale." "Two days past, Sir Christopher St. Lawrence arrived here."—Dublin, 1599[1600], January 21. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 27th. pp. 2.*

Jan. 23. 38. Sir William Warren to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lord Drumconragh. Chancellor, upon receipt of some letters out of England, did send for me to his house, and, upon my coming to him, he told me that your Honour had commanded him to examine me, whether I did inform your Honour, or not, of forty pounds which he should receive from the traitor Tyrone, which he then did cast under his bed's side; the report whereof I did justify to his face, who could not deny the receipt of it, which I will prove he did receive very basely and corruptly, if your Honour shall please to have the matter brought in question. Yef I know he will have a shift to excuse it, which I can very easily put him from, and accuse him of many worse matters, but that I hold it a very mean office for any man of worth to be a promoter against any man. Whatsoever I have said to your Honour concerning his causes or any other, I will justify them (*sic*), and will never be found with any untruth. Yet I wish your Honour had not made me author of this report, because his authority is great here, and able to do me much harm, which he hath vowed he will endeavour to the uttermost of his power, and did use me with the most base and vile terms that could possibly be uttered, which I know is not Her Majesty's pleasure he should to any man of service, especially against such as have carried themselves more honestly in her service than ever he hath done. To be abused in this vile sort for no cause is very

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grievous to me, and therefore with great grief do complain to your Honour, unto whose wisdom and favour I do humbly submit myself, assuring your Honour, if it were not in regard of his authority and aged years, I would be revenged upon him, although it should cost me my life; for I was never so abused since I was born, and withal willed me to do my worst, for he would wrestle with the best in England, Her Majesty only excepted; which proud speech became not his profession in my opinion.

"I cannot write your Honour any news at this time. The traitor Tyrone hath been of late at Lough Foyle, where there came two or three small barks to him, but what they brought with them I know not. Tyrone is now drawn up towards the Newry, and meaneth to do what he can to stop the passage of the boats that come to the Newry, which I assure myself he will never be able to perform. Other news here is none."—Drumconragh, 1599 [-1600], January 23. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond 5 February. pp. 2.*

Jan. 24.  
Dublin.

39. The Lord Justice Carey and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "We have long since performed the direction of your letter of the 5th of December, in acquainting this Council with the causes of Sir Thomas Wingfield[']s and Captain Stafford's repair thither, wherein we have left to none of them any scruple or cause of discontentment; for that we have plainly explained the true purpose of their sending for, which in truth was known to most of them before the gentlemen departed. And touching their coming without instructions from this State, which may be thought to be more privately carried than were meet, for men of their sort to be sent from a State, that was not done upon any desire to draw others to be jealous, neither hath it wrought any such impression in any, but every one satisfied that their sending over was without prejudice, either to the public state, or to any particular member thereof. And for our parts we saw reason to carry their sending in some covert manner, for that if it had been made a public matter, some contentious spirits from hence might have set their wits on work to raise sinister oppositions against the true causes of their sending, which we thought good to prevent by the course we used in sending them. So as on all parts all scruples are cleared, as well your Honour in writing for them, as we in sending them without public instructions, which we foresaw might have done hurt to the true cause and purpose of their sending for; and yet a requisite notice thereof was given to most of the Council apart, though not to all in a joint and general order. This we write more to satisfy your Honour privately in these points, than for any necessity of public justification, either of you or ourselves. And for your other letter, without date or subscription, which came at that time, and in the same packet, we have herewith returned it unto you, as you have directed, which till now we could not do, not having a safe messenger before, the same being the cause that we have retained it thus long, humbly assuring your Honour that it hath not been imparted to any, since



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it came to our hands.”—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 24. *Signed.*  
*Endorsed,* Received at Richmond the 4th of February. p. 1.

Jan. 24.  
 Navan.

40. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. “It may please your Lordships to understand that towards the end of the last cessation with Tyrone, the first of this January, I made my repair to Dublin, and, as occasion did fall out, did return to the Naas, to view the companies there; and, according to the daily advertisements which I received of Tyrone’s purpose to send up his son-in-law, Richard Butler, to the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, and himself to follow him, to have conference with the pretended Desmond and other his confederates in Munster and Leinster, to execute some horrible treasons on Her Majesty’s true subjects (specially in those countries where I dwell), I have hither drawn to the Navan, on the borders of Meath, to hearken unto him, and in what I may to withstand his traitorous and malicious attempts; though God knoweth the weakness of the forces with me, having not victuals in the storehouse here for 2,000 men above one day, nor any other provision for horse or foot to keep them together.

“What intelligence I received, both from Sir George Thornton in Munster and others, of this purpose of Tyrone, will appear to your good Lordships by the enclosed copies, wherein I guess that, if Tyrone do travel upwards, he with his confederates, on the way and in Munster, will be a far greater number than the small portion of the army with me, and hereabouts, will be able to encounter; notwithstanding I will do what I may to interrupt him. I received a letter from Tyrone at Drogheda, the copy whereof I also send unto your Lordships; which to answer I have utterly refused. And herewith I thought meet to acquaint your Lordships with a note of certain principal traitors slain, since the last service upon Richard Butler’s men in the county of Waterford.

“I may not but make known to your Honours a special abuse offered to myself by that railing fellow, Thomas Lee, as by a copy of his letter to the Lords Justices, herewith sent your Lordships, may appear. I humbly pray your Lordships to call him before you to answer it. And (but that the cause was my own), I could urge matter against him and prove that heretofore he laid plots, and undertook to Tyrone and other traitors to shorten my days, which was one of the matters for which the former Lords Justices (in my own absence) did commit Lee to the Castle of Dublin; which, nevertheless, with many his former abuses, I was contented to put up [with], upon his voluntary submission made unto me (upon his knees) before the late Lord Lieutenant and Council at Dublin. And yet your Lordships may see how he persisteth in his malicious humours towards me.

“Further, your Lordships shall understand of a late and special service happening in Leix, which was thus. In my travel towards Dublin, there was a plot set down by Sir Francis Rush, who hath the charge of Her Majesty’s fort of Maryborough, to draw Onie McRory to surprise the same. Where one of the warders, being

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an old soldier, was made an instrument to draw some of the traitors. Himself having made a breach in the castle, brought in some 38 of the chiefest men Onie had; of which 35 were slain, and three escaped, and more of the rebels were slain and hurt abroad. The traitors being thus defeated of their purpose, and I perceiving their malicious intent, have sithence employed some of the companies towards that country to keep the traitors occupied. Wherein (God be thanked) our side prevailed, without any loss, to the killing of 28 more of those rebels in a skirmish, and the taking of many of their cows, and other pillage, as I have been advertised from James FitzPiers Fitzgerald, whom I sent thither. And now I do mean those companies shall range there for a time, under the Marshal's command, in the further pursuit and annoy of those traitors, till I have cause, for some greater service, to draw them away. At the perclosing hereof, I received a letter from the Lord of Delvin of further service, and some intelligence, which I thought fit to send unto your good Lordships herewith; who having many ways deserved well in Her Majesty's service, I could wish that it would please your Lordships, for his better encouragement, to take notice thereof by some few lines unto him, which I humbly leave to your good pleasures."—Navan, 1599[-1600], January 24. *Signed.* pp. 2.

40. 1. *Sir George Thornton to the Earl of Ormonde.* "Here is a report of a meeting of O'Neill and our Sugane Earl near Allone [Athlone] about Candlemas next, as they say of purpose to overrun your Lordship's country. For Tyrone carried a very hard conceit of your Honour, as it was told me by a very friend of mine in great secret, alleging in a letter to James Fitz Thomas that you were unconstant and a heretic, wishing him to do you all the hurt that possibly he might, but I hope in the Almighty your Lordship shall defend both yourself and your country in despite of all traitors.

"The 19th of this present, I had a meeting with James Fitz Thomas near this town, where we continued the cessation till the Commissioners' pleasures should be known from Cork, and appointed Commissioners on both sides for the righting of all stealths and other misdemeanours, since the beginning of the cessation till the day of our parley; but since he hath forbidden that any relief should come to this town, either from Limerick or from any place else. Upon intelligence whereof, I have written unto him I would hold the cessation no longer, except he give us free passage, both for the transporting of Her Majesty's store, as also for all other wants which other places may yield us, [to] which as yet I have not had his answer. My good Lord, in my simple opinion, the cessation with our Sugane is a great hindrance to the service, and hath made those that a little leaned unto us, now to fall from us. I doubt not but your Honour hath heard of the loss of Loughgirr, which was yielded by Richard Rowle to John Fitz Thomas, as I suppose rather by his own consent than by any treachery in John. Piers Lacy is Constable thereof, and hath undertaken to fortify it in such manner, as he will not care for Her Majesty's forces. They give out that the King of Spain hath promised to send hither this next spring five thousand



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*Spaniards, with money and artillery, for the winning of our towns. All other occurrents I leave to the report of Sir Henry Power, who I understand is with your Honour.*"—Kilmallock, 1599, December 30. Endorsed, Received 13 January, 1599[1600.] Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.

40. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Earl of Ormonde.* "I have seen some letters directed to my son, Richard Butler, from his father, wishing him to repair unto him, and that your Honour promised to do for him and his house, if opportunity would serve. I would be very willing concerning this matter to entreat with your Honour, and concerning the violation of the last cessation concluded betwixt your Honour and me; for assuredly I am so unwilling to conclude any cessation, for the sundry abuses that your people commit against my men, that, if there be no better order taken, and restitution made, I mean never to conclude any cessation. As for anything that any of mine hath done in time of cessation, I am, and shall be, ready to give full satisfaction, if I be not by your ministers' bad usage urged to the contrary. I end, requesting your Honour to send me your answer, whether you shall see any order taken for the redressing of the breaches committed in time of truce."—Dungannon, 1600, January 19. [The scribe has written in error, "1560."] Signed, "O'Neill." Copy. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

40. III. "A note of such principal leaders, and other traitors, as have been slain and executed by martial law, since the killing of 148 of Richard Butler's men in the county of Waterford." Total, 367. Unsigned. p.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

40. IV. *Captain Thomas Lee to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey.* "If it may please your Lordships to do me the favour to give in your warrant to the Clerk of the Check to allow me thirty of my footband for the guard of my house and town, wheresoever the rest of the said company shall be drawn to any service, I shall acknowledge myself most bounden to your Honours for the same; and withal that your Lordships will be pleased to further my wife in her journey for England, where I purpose to leave her, until I see Ireland in better order than yet I see it like to be.

"I have as yet foreborne to present myself to Her Majesty or the Council here, because of my Lord of Essex[']s troubles, but so soon as I shall see what will become of his Lordship, I mean to see Her Highness, and, so soon as I can, to repair unto your Lordships to do ye the best service I can. But before I settle my return for Ireland, I humbly pray your Lordships I may receive your letters by my man, that it is your pleasure to command my service yourselves only, and that the Earl of Ormonde shall have nothing to do either with me, or with my soldiers; for, if he should, your Lordships do know he will soon make an end of me. And I pray God that you have not cause hereafter to wish that you had believed me better than you have done concerning him; for, still I say, Her Majesty hath not a greater enemy to her service in Ireland than he is. And all that kingdom may curse that hour wherein the absolute command of that service was committed to him."—The Savoy, 1599, November 28.

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[The scribe has written in error, "*Thomas Ormonde and Oss.*" for "*Thomas Lee.*"] Copy. p. 1.

40. v. C[hristopher Nugent], Baron Delvin, to the Earl of Ormonde. "After my return from the borders between Offally and Farbill, where I had this morning the killing and drowning of 20 and upwards of the traitors of the Darcys and Leynaghs, with their followers, I am credibly informed that Tyrone will be this night at the Cavan, and what way he purposeth from thence, I cannot yet for certain advertise your Lordship. And touching the forces of 1,050 by list, as your Lordship writeth, under my command, I pray God they prove so many by poll, when I shall have cause to use them upon service. Of all the Captains of the companies at Mullingar, here is only Captain Winzor, the rest remaining still at Dublin. The two companies at Ballymore cannot be removed from thence, but, for the number that I shall have, I hope to employ them to your Lordship's contentment, and the furtherance of Her Majesty's service."—Clonin, 1599[-1600], January 21. Signed. p. 1.

40. vi. "Intelligence delivered by Enees O'Dale to the Lord Lieutenant, the 22nd of January, 1599[-1600]."

On the 20th of this month he was in company with Tyrone at Rouske [Ross] McMahon's house. The next night Tyrone meant to lie at Bellanecarigy, in the Brenny, and the following day to be at Cavan, having in his company Henry Oge McHenry McShane, Cormack McBaron, Art McBaron, Maguire, McMahon, Tirlogh McHenry, and others. Their forces coming out of Tyrone were 1,700 foot and 200 horse, before the coming of McMahon's and Maguire's forces. Henry Oge is appointed to go with Richard Butler, son to Lord Mountgarrett, with 1,300 men, to the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, to burn and destroy the same. They purpose to set forward to Westmeath to-morrow, and from thence to pass or send away Henry Oge with those men. All the rebels of Leinster are appointed to meet Tyrone in Westmeath on Friday next. O'Rourke is appointed to meet them at Sliewcarbry, at Laheintama. O'Donnell, McWilliam, and O'Connor Sligo, are appointed to go and destroy Galway and Thomond. O'Dale was three days in Tyrone's company, and heard him conclude upon the forewritten intelligences. Tyrone has "six weeks' victuals, and some beeves driven with himself, and the chief gentlemen." p. 1.

Jan. 24.  
Navan.

41. The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "Your letter sent by my servant Sherwood I received, for which I most longed, being desirous to hear of your well doing. Wherein you excuse that error (in forgetting to put your name to your letter), which at first was rightly understood by me, by imputing the fault only to your over-great haste, which I made no wonder of, considering the causes you have daily in hand. Your honourable dealing towards me have (*sic*) so confirmed your words, as in all true love and affection you shall ever find me ready to deserve them, and to manifest the same in anything wherein it shall please you to make trial of me. In the mean time, I must rest most thankful unto you for your honourable care had of me, in moving Her



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Majesty for the increase of my entertainment, besides many other friendly offices used towards me.

"I am exceeding glad to understand from you, that Her Majesty is now resolved to make these insolent and malicious traitors know and feel her power and force, without which there can be no hope had of their conformities; and am no less comforted to hear that my Lord Mountjoy is so near upon his speedy dispatch hither.

"I will not trouble you with any particulars of the state of this realm as it now standeth, for that I know your ears are already filled therewith; yet, in discharge of my duty to Her Majesty, I have written unto my Lords there how things for the present goeth (*sic*), to which I pray you for this time give me leave to refer you, for that I know the same will come unto your hands. This gentleman, Sir John Talbot, the bearer hereof, can at large acquaint you how the occurrents here goeth (*sic*), who at his own charge hath oftentimes in person attended Her Majesty's service, and brought his men well-furnished with good horses to the same; whereof I could not but give you notice, that by your means he may receive some encouragement, hereafter to do the like."—Navan, 1599[-1600], January 24. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at London the 11 of February, 1599[-1600]. p. 1.*

Jan. 24.  
Limerick.

42. William Stritche, Mayor of Limerick, "representing the citizens," to Queen Elizabeth. "Dread Sovereign, whose princely providence, unspeakable care, and inestimable treasures, bountifully bestowed in the reformation of this afflicted country, hath animated us, your poor distressed subjects, cheerfully to abide the tragical events of this unnatural war with minds fastened to your imperial crown in firm subjection, love, and loyalty, we, the poor inhabitants of this your Highness[']s city of Limerick, environed with woes wrought by the enemies of your Crown and our tranquillity, are now by some disasters rather enforced to inform [you of] the annoyances we receive by domestical enemies, than to map the agravances (*sic*) of the professed foes of our welfare, whereof as we are experimented of your royal resolution to suppress the one, so are we most humble suppliants to your Highness to repel the other. It hath pleased your gracious goodness to give the command of your garrison in this city to the Earl of Thomond, a nobleman whom in former times we have found a furtherer of our welfare, but lately, by what occasion we know not, so strangely altered, as we have felt him the heaviest enemy to this commonwealth, or rather commonwoe, that our memories can yield; aiming in all his proceeding to subvert or supplant our government of this your Highness[']s distressed city. We have lately preferred certain articles against his Lordship's foot company for insufferable misdemeanours during their residence here, most part of them being mere Irish, and some of them being lately in open action against your Majesty, and the rest, in probable opinion, prone to rebellion or revolt. Whereof as their behaviour gave us some taste, so have we resolved (notwithstanding his Lordship's command to the contrary), not to entrust them with the keeping of this fortress for your Highness, assenting with

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willing hearts to receive and entertain as many of them as are English or Welsh, but holding the rest suspicious. Whereby his Lordship is so vehemently incensed against us, as he hath, as we understand, written several letters to your most gracious Majesty and the Lords of your most honourable Privy Council, aggravating matter against us; for prevention whereof, with hearts ever unspotted in duty and allegiance, we humbly pray your royal wisdom to suspend the credit of any accusation to be preferred against us, until our defence and well-meaning purposes shall put the forged informations to flight; the rather that some of his soldiers have given forth to the world that their Lord should absolutely possess this hold, whereunto his ancestors in former times pretended title of rule and sovereignty, and have been called by the names of Kings of Limerick. Whereof, together with the articles to be preferred by our agent against the said Earl and his company, we humbly pray your Majesty to have a gracious consideration."—Limerick, 1599[-1600], January 24. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 24.  
Limerick.

43. William Stritche, Mayor of Limerick, to Sir Robert Cecil. Lord Burghley's care for their city. Look for the same patronage from his son. Complain of the Earl of Thomond and his foot company. Pray for a consideration of their answers in reply to the Earl's informations. Since the settling of a garrison in Limerick, no service has been performed by the said Earl or the companies in the city, Her Majesty's store is almost spent, and the citizens are in danger of extreme famine, and altogether unable to victual Her Majesty's soldiers, by the oppressions of the time.—Limerick, 1599[-1600], January 24. *Signed by the Mayor*, "in name of the whole." p. 1.

Jan. 25.  
Athlone.

44. Sir Theobald Dillon to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. "I have received an Irish letter written in your name, wishing my repair unto you to-morrow, and to join with you for the defence of my right and conscience. You know I came lately from Her Majesty, who never troubled me for my conscience, and have (*sic*) given me more than the revenue of my ancestors, amounting to the sum of two thousand pound a year, and is in possibility to get more. Do you think that I would forsake so royal a mistress and my natural prince for your sudden coming to Dillon's country, assuring myself I shall never see you there again? You must not think them to be angels, that wished you to send me such a letter and message. No, they were not wise nor honest, and so I leave them to you, you to them, and I to Her Majesty; ending at my garrison in Athlone, this Friday, the 25 of January, 1599 [-1600]." (*signed*), "He that once wished you well, when you were counted loyal to Her Majesty, honest and noble in your dealings, THEO. DILLON." *Addressed*, "To him that was once Earl of Tyrone, and now a traitor." *Copy.* p. 1.

Jan. 26.  
Dublin.

45. Captain T. Jackson to Sir Robert Cecil. Having acquainted Sir Robert with his distressed state, has thought good also to signify unto him his enlargement. The bearer can report the



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manner thereof. But although he has been released, yet his company has been disposed of to one of the Lord Chancellor's sons, the Archdeacon of Kilkenny. It is no small grief to be so disgracefully dealt with, without proof against him. *Sed Deus est, qui non deserit suos.* Is forced patiently to endure his affliction. Purposes to return into England as speedily as he can. Finds that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor favour and promotions to men of great and good deservings; but time and chance happeneth unto all. Puts his trust in God. Begs for Sir Robert's furtherance of his career.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 26. *Endorsed*, Received at London, 9 February. *Holograph.* p. 1.

Jan. 26.  
Cork.

46. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, and Edward Galwey and Edmund Morrogh, Bailiffs of Cork, to Queen Elizabeth. Pray that the bearers, the Recorder and one of the Aldermen of Cork, sent over to prefer certain suits to Her Majesty, may have a favourable [and] speedy dispatch.—Cork, 1599[-1600], January 26. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 26.  
Cork.

47. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, and Edward Galwey and Edmund Morrogh, Bailiffs of Cork, to Sir Robert Cecil. Pray that he will favour the bearers in their suits for the city of Cork.—Cork, 1599[-1600], January 26. *Signed.* p. 1.

Jan. 27.  
Dublin.

48. The Lord Justice Carey to the Privy Council. Received their Lordships' letters of the 19th of November last, by Mr. Birkinshawe, Comptroller of the Musters. Failure of the plan to detain 40s. weekly out of the lendings of each company. Oftentimes the checks and victuals of a company exceed 40s. The payments by the Captains to their men. Thinks Her Majesty should allow more Commissaries of Musters, and they to be sworn and continually resident on their charge, and so to make weekly or monthly certificates, both of the deficiencies, as also of the interims and alterations, and so perfect the check every month. Cannot keep a weekly book betwixt the Comptroller and himself, unless he has more ministers than his entertainment will let him maintain. "Besides that, it is a matter impossible to be performed; for my paymasters lie far from me or the Comptroller, some in Munster, Connaught, Ulster, and in divers parts of Leinster, from whom myself sometimes do not hear in a quarter of a year. For the Comptroller's hand to be set to every Captain's account, or otherwise the same not to be allowable, if your Lordships think it so best, I must be content therewith, so as the Comptroller be ready to do it, and perfect the checks in due time, or otherwise this course will breed much discontent."

Has now sent his half-year's book of account, from which it will appear to their Lordships that there are no great sums of money remaining in his hands, as has been supposed, but that he has borrowed great sums of money. "Wherein I do hazard my poor estate more than any other that hath served in the place I now do." Prays that he may receive Her Majesty's warrant for

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the raising and paying of the 2,000 soldiers in harvest last, as also for the extraordinaries which he has laid forth, which exceed a great deal the 5,000*l.* allowed. The service daily requires the disbursements of great sums of money for extraordinaries, "as transportation of sick and unserviceable soldiers, victuals, munition, fortifications, reparations of houses, bridges, magazines, messengers, packets, rewards for intelligencers, and divers other of the like nature."

Their Lordships wrote to him to discharge the ministers of the Ordnance, as the Lieutenant and Comptroller. Would have done so, if there had been any to have received the arms, munition, &c., in their charge. Until then, it were hard to take away their entertainment. Prays for their Lordships' pleasures therein.—*"From my house by Dublin,"* 1599[-1600], January 27. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed,* Received at Richmond the 4th of February. *pp.* 2.

Jan. 27.  
Dublin.

49. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Captain Thornton appointed to repair to the port of Chester for "wharfining over" of the Deputy. Has given him a month's victuals, and he is ready to depart with the next wind. Her Majesty's pleasure that the entertainment of the Lord Justice Loftus and of himself should cease from the 10th instant. Must be contented, though the same be more strait than heretofore has been offered to any others in like case. His colleague and Sir Robert Gardener in their government had their full allowance the very day they gave up the sword to the late Lord Lieutenant. Therefore cannot think but Her Majesty has a hard conceit of himself, whereof he is very sorry. His desire has been that his service might deserve better. His half-year's book now sent up. Has borrowed money. Payments for extraordinaries. Necessity for these. "There was some fault, I must confess, committed at the first, in the government of the late Lord Lieutenant, in the entertainment of some horse and foot companies beyond the list, which was no fault of mine; for the State commanded it as needful and behoveful for the advancement of her Highness[<sup>s</sup>] service, and I could not deny it, so long as the 5,000*l.* lasted." When that was expended, the service daily required the laying forth of money. Beseeches Sir Robert to have respect to him and to his poor estate. Will always be thankful and deserving. The army being now in the field, disbursements for extraordinaries are daily required, and, if he denies the laying out of the money, the fault and hindrance of the service will be laid on him. Hears that within these five or six days Lord Delvin has done some good service in killing and drowning above twenty of the Darcys and Leynaghs. Since Sir Arthur Chichester came from Knockfergus, things have not gone there so well as Carey wishes; therefore, if Sir Robert thinks it good, desires Chichester were sent thither again. Sir William Warren has the command of that place by warrant from the late Lord Lieutenant, but whether Her Majesty's pleasure be that he shall be sent thither, rests doubtful. Would not therefore give him leave to go thither, and take the place. The traitor Tyrone



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is passed through Westmeath to meet with Desmond. The Earl of Ormonde comes from Navan, and will be at Naas this day, being the 27 of January, to join all his forces together, and so follow him. Has appointed Captain Thornton with the *Popinjay* to be in readiness, and has given him a month's victuals; he goes to Chester with the first wind to attend the Lord Deputy's coming over. Wishes the Deputy was in Dublin. Sir Robert shall receive by the next a perfect muster of the strength of the horse, "which I fear me will be but weak, divers and most of the English horse dead, gone, and unserviceable." Sir Robert Napper being gone, returns his letter to his Honour again, as also his Honour's other letters. Begs for more money to be sent over; the last treasure was more than half expended before it came. Asks leave for some short time to go to England, to settle his own private estate.—"From my house by Dublin," 1599[-1600], January 27. *Endorsed*, Received at Richmond 4 February. *Holograph*. pp. 4.

Jan. 27.  
Dublin.

50. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Reasons why Captain Fisher has not been paid the sum of money due to him. Complains of Sir Henry Wallop's accounts.—"From my house by Dublin," 1599[-1600], January 27. *Signed*. p. 1.

Jan. 28.  
Dublin.

51. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to the Earl of Ormonde. "We have received your letters of the 26 of this month by your steward, by which, as likewise by his report, we perceive your Lordship's resolution to be this night at the Naas, and so to proceed forward towards the county of Kilkenny. In which your purpose we doubt not but your Lordship will consider the great danger that may befall the Pale in your Lordship's absence. For, besides the opportunity those forces, which Tyrone hath left to attend upon those borders, may now take, if Tyrone should suddenly return (as we verily think his purpose is to do), drawing only that way he now doth, to withdraw your Lordship and the army from the Pale, we see not but the same must be utterly overthrown; which how grievous it will be to Her Majesty, her continual care, so oft and so earnestly expressed in Her Highness[']s letters, may fully assure us. Neither are we of opinion that Tyrone, with those forces he carrieth with him (which we are very credibly advertised is not above half so many as is reported by your intelligence), will be able to pass those strait fastnesses he must go through, before he come at Kilkenny. And therefore we are moved the rather to think that, under colour thereof, he intendeth some other greater mischief against the Pale, which hitherto by your Lordship's authority and presence hath been in better sort kept than otherwise it would have been. And now, if your Lordship withdraw yourself from their defence, it will be a wonderful discomfort to all the good subjects, and we fear will cause a present defection in a great many that, by your Lordship's authority and presence amongst them, have hitherto been well kept.

"We hear not yet anything of these mountain rebels, but that Redmond McFeagh was very lately within three miles of this

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city, with three hundred with him, and we assure ourselves that, so soon as your Lordship shall depart hence with these forces, they will quite overrun and spoil all these parts, even to the gates of this city, in which neither see we any great safety, when your Lordship and the forces shall be so far removed. We have again written, as earnestly as we can, to the noblemen; but, if they did little in your Lordship's presence, we look for less from them, if you shall be absent. We have dealt by all the means we can use with the Captains to repair to their companies, but yet we hear they are not gone, and therefore we think it very meet that an example were made of some of them. Wherein what your Lordship shall do, we will willingly assent unto."—Dublin, 1599 [-1600], January 28. *Copy. pp. 2.*

Jan. 28.  
Cork.

52. Sir Warham Sentleger, Sir Henry Power, and William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, Commissioners for Munster, to the Privy Council. Recommend the suit of Arthur Hyde to their Lordships for a company of soldiers. Hyde spoiled by the rebels of all his lands and goods. His loyalty and good service.—Cork, 1599[-1600], January 28. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 5th of February. p. 1.*

Jan. 28.  
Dublin.

53. Sir Christopher St. Lawrence to Sir Robert Cecil. His gratitude to Sir Robert. The Lord Justice Carey has refused payment of the money due to him and Captain Fisher, notwithstanding Her Majesty's letter. Craves Sir Robert's assistance.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 28. *Holograph. Seal. p. 1.*

Jan. 28.  
Cork.

54. Arthur Hyde to the Privy Council. His suit against Condon. His losses through the rebels. His services can be well testified by all the Captains in Munster, especially by those who were in Cork. Some of these are now about the Court in England, as Captain Kemishe, Captain North, Captain Philips, Captain Boyes, and others. Begg that he may have a company of soldiers.—Cork, 1599[-1600], January 28. *Holograph. p. 1.*

Jan. 28.  
Waterford.

55. [Meyler Magrath], Archbishop of Cashel, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Letting you to understand that although I have troubled and endangered myself by sea and land to come to Dublin, in hope to find [the] Lady of Desmond there, and from that again by sea to Waterford, in hope to find [the] nurse of James Fitzgerald there, yet I found none of them here or there, the Countess being in 268 [\*] with O'Connor Sligo, as I wrote to your Honour from Dublin, and the nurse being not yet come to Ireland, which is no small stay of that matter, which might be much furthered by her presence better than by some strong company, the whole country growing worse and worse daily. The last week, the Lord Burke and his next brother Thomas were killed by the traitors in Munster, but by which of them I know not as yet; but by report I do hear that it was by Derby O'Connor. And, if it be so, I doubt whether it will be a cross or furtherance of my pro-

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\* This number has not been deciphered: ? Connaught.



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ceedings. But I am still in hope of good success, although not so much furthered by the highest in authority as such a matter do require. At my coming to Waterford, I am much troubled in mind by reason of many abuses offered by the Mayor of Waterford and the officers there to myself and the few number of the professors of truth, by which we are like presently to be banished out of Waterford, as well as from the rest of Munster, assuring your Honour that we be neither loved nor defended by any. Yet, *si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos? Avarus enim cui Deus non sufficit.* And therefore I beseech your Honour to write some words to the Mayor of Waterford and the rest of the inhabitants, concerning their open contempt of God's laws, Her Majesty's injunctions, and the ministers of God's word, and to abstain from using us worse than the traitors will use us; otherwise, Clonmell, Cashel, and Fethard will use me after their example, whereby I shall have no place wherein to rest amongst them, which must be a great let to my proceedings every way. The Mayor of Waterford and the rest there will have none of my profession amongst them, and do say, in plain English, that Her Majesty and [the] Council of England do know them to love and entertain Romish bishop and seminary, and yet that they be tolerated still, by reason that they must so continue, howsoever Her Majesty will use them. And, in my judgment, if such be permitted to live so, all Ireland ought to be made quiet by granting the like; for it is their chief point of discontent, &c. (*sic*). There is Mr. Dean, in point of death, and not like to recover. The little livings he had, being in Waterford and Kilkenny, might stand me in good stead during these troubles, and that will ease Her Majesty from my burden. Therefore, if you think it fit, write to the Lords Justices and other Governors to assign the same unto me during Her Majesty's pleasure, or otherwise as becometh."—Waterford, 1599[-1600], January 28. Signed, "1070." Partly in cipher, deciphered. Endorsed, Archbishop of Cashel to my master. Holograph. p. 1.

Jan. 29. 56. Intelligence directed to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, and sent by  
Dublin. him in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil.

"Tyrone marched from the Cavan in the Brenny the 24th of January. The 25th, he passed the river of Enny at a place called Ballymore in Westmeath, two or three miles by west [cf] Phinagh. [*In the margin*, "Phinagh is a passage or strait between the Brenny and Westmeath, in the charge of the Lord of Delvin."] The 26th, he passed through the Dillons' country in Westmeath, and came to William Magall his house, three miles from Athlone, and the next day it was thought he would march to Durrough, being Sir Edward Herbert's house in Offally. From thence it is said his meaning is to pass into O'Carroll's country, and so to march into Tipperary, where it is thought the meeting will be with the Munster rebels."

"I know not what credit to give to these intelligences, for that they come not from my Irish priest, but from a new spy, of whose honesty I have yet no great trial. The Earl of Ormonde

doth advertise the like, but he hath it but by common report, so as the truth of the advertisements is not much increased thereby; and yet, upon that ground, his Lordship hath written hither this day, that he will gather the army to a head, and draw towards Kilkenny, to follow Tyrone. God grant the absence of so much of the army as his Lordship taketh with him, do not hazard the Pale to dangerous disaster. There is reason to fear this, but I see no way to remedy it, where the principal Commander, with the choice part of the army, is driven to leave the defence of the Pale, being the most precious portion of the kingdom, to follow the rebel, whose dev[ice] may be thought to be but to lead us astray, whilst he may win advantage to do us displeasure in the Pale. It is strange (if the advertisements be true) that the Arch-traitor with his main army should pass through Westmeath, in the open daylight, without any encounter, yea, not so much as the alarm given (the Lord Lieutenant and the army being then upon the borders); a[nd it] is more strange, that he should dare to march so high into Leinster as to Kilkenny, considering how many straits and passes he must pass in his way, which, in my opinion, cannot be b[ut] upon some great confidence of the country, and assurance of a party, such as may be rath[er] guessed, than the certainty known. But for my part, in my wonted plainness to your Honour, I s[ee] that there is little hope to do good by following after him, for that in all his tract a[s] he goeth, he will make himself stronger by many Irish countries and chieftains that will dr[aw] to him; where the way to have prevailed upon him had been, to have crossed his entry into the country at first, and not to have given him any entrance at all into Westmeath. Th[is] is only to your Honour; I pray you I may be secreted in it, to avoid the malice of some great ones here. But our main point of danger is, that by the withdrawing of so great a part of the army to follow the Archtraitor, some of his limbs, left upon the borders, may use the opportunity to distress the Pale, and (as may be feared) to endanger some of the corporate towns. Your Honour seeth by this perplexity what necessity there is to haste away the Lord Deputy and a Marshal, whose presence and good direction may yet help to alter the course of these extremities.

"Some say that the forces, which Tyrone carried with him out of Ulster, consist upon 3,000] or 4,000 foot and 300 horse, which for my part I do not believe, considering the numbers which of necessity he must leave for the guard of his country, and to attend our garrisons upon the borders. But that which maketh me confident that his army cannot be so great is, that he mustered his whole camp at the Cavan two days before he put into Westmeath, and at that muster his uttermost strength was not above 1,600 foot and 150 horse, besides 200 foot and 20 horse, which Maguire was to send to him the next day. So as your Honour may see that, in the highest reckoning, his forces [can]not be ab[ove].....; but, if they had been fought w[ith] at their first entrance, I see not but some honourable event might have ensued, and the further hazarding of the Pale [have been] prevented.



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"It is now three days since the first advertisement came of Tyrone's passing through Westmeath, which hath not been as yet seconded otherwise than by common report; which maketh me doubt much of the credit of the advertisement, though I dare not altogether control it, till I hear more, which, as it cometh to my hands, shall be transmitted to your Honour with all the speed I can."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 29.

[*Postscript.*] "The Viscount Gormanstown is dead; by whose death Her Majesty is rid of a froward nobleman, contentious and backward in all duties concerning Her Majesty's service. Tyrone giveth out that he will leave his son-in-law, Henry Oge McShane O'Neill, Governor of Munster and Leinster, but I hope not to see the day that any of the house of the O'Neills shall have any rule in those two provinces." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond 5th of February. pp. 1½.*

Jan. 29.  
Dublin.

57. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Birkinshawe, having been in Dublin twenty days, is now returning to England, without having proceeded in the matter of the checks, as was expected. The impediment grows out of a difference between the Mustermaster and him touching the muster-books. He will acquaint Sir Robert therewith at large. Wishes he may be very speedily returned to Dublin, more fully warranted than he was, and with an authority that may stand against all injurious contradiction; otherwise the good he would do, he will not be able to do to Her Majesty's benefit. Begs that Birkinshawe may be countenanced as an officer of trust, "humbly assuring your Honour that, till those few ministers here, that stand faithfully for Her Majesty's profit, be better regarded and favoured, I see no way to redress frauds and abuses, which multiply daily in most parts of this government, and will hardly be prevented till honest careful servitors be more carefully respected."—Dublin, 1599 [-1600], January 29. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 4th of February. p. 1.*

Jan. 29.  
Athlone.

58. Sir Arthur Savage to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council. "Upon Friday last, being the 25th of this instant, the Archtraitor Tyrone came through the Annaly to Magawle's country, and there camped within four miles of this town. The next day he entered into Dillon's country, and most cruelly and unmercifully burned and spoiled the same. He was so spiteful and maliciously bent against Sir Theobald Dillon, and so desirous to be revenged of him, because he refused to come at him, as he utterly destroyed and wasted all things belonging to him and his brethren, without any remorse or pity, to their intolerable loss, impoverishment, and undoing. Howbeit, good resistance was made by divers of their wards, and some of the traitors hurt and slain; and from thence he returned the same day to his former camping place, where he rested till Monday. And upon Monday he removed to Sir Edward Herbert's house, called Durrow, and there remaineth. His whole force is not above 1,500, both

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horse and foot, notwithstanding that Maguire is come to him. It is very confidently given me to understand, and I am most assured of it, that he intendeth to attempt the winning of this town with all his forces, and to sack, burn, and spoil the same, if he can. The means I have to prevent and resist him, is not unknown to your Lordships, and if it shall please you to enter into the particular consideration of it, you may quickly perceive and learn what men we have, how we are fortified, and of our whole state besides; whereof I will make no further mention, lest my letter should be intercepted. And as for victuals, here is none but what was received from Stanley the pursuivant, saving a hundred and some odd barrels of wheat, which I brought myself. How long this will last for the soldiers and the ward, the ward being now increased with twenty musketeers of mine own company, I leave it to your Lordships; besides that I was driven, for lack of other means, to relieve the companies and ward out of the same these sixteen days; humbly beseeching your Lordships to take such further and speedy order herein, as you shall think requisite, and to signify what course you shall think fit to be taken in these matters, for I dare not write my mind any larger unto you, fearing my letter should be intercepted as aforesaid."—Athlone, 1599 [-1600], January 29. *Signed. [Postscript in Sir Arthur Savage's hand]*, "There are none of the Dillons yielded unto him, nor any of their castles. Sir Tibbott, his wife, and children are here, and many his poor people and kinsmen, and no means left to sustain, which is very pitiful." *Seal. pp. 2.*

Jan. 29.  
Kilkenny.

59. Edmund [Butler, Viscount] Mountgarrett, James [Butler, Baron] Dunboyne, Walter Butler, and Sir Henry Folliott, to the Earl of Ormonde. "We have received your Lordship's letter of the 22nd of January, whereupon we assembled here, to confer touching the contents thereof, and have resolved, so soon as we understand certainly of the coming of the rebels to the borders of these counties, to join such small forces as we have, to make the best resistance we may. And for that your Lordship hath given direction to Sir Henry Folliott to have a special care to the defence of the incorporate towns, we likewise resolved to forbear drawing any of the garrisons placed by your Lordship in those towns, considering the weakness of the towns, and the special care your Lordship willed chiefly to have of them, the whole companies in garrisons, at your Lordship's departure hence, being in list but six hundred. And now through sickness weakened, and being placed where your Lordship appointed, we may not well draw them out. We have been lately advertised that the traitor Desmond meaneth to join with the northern traitors to burn and spoil this county. We have no forces to draw into the field from the county of Kilkenny, save some kern under the leading of Richard Butler and Thomas Butler; and likewise in the county of Tipperary, but some few horsemen and kern in the Three Thirds, with such men as the Sheriff hath, all which are too few to use defence in sort as we wish."—Kilkenny, 1599[-1600],



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Jan. 29. [*Postscript.*] "After the writing hereof, my Lord of Mountgarrett advertised my Lady that Tyrone in person was this last Monday night at Durrowecollomkilly, and intendeth this next Saturday to be at Whiteswall, in the county of Kilkenny, and so from [thence] to meet Desmond at Cashel, [or th]ereabouts. Also, one Robert Tobin, a young man of this town, who was at Waterford yesterday morning, and told my Lady that there came three hulks into the harbour of Waterford, wherein were English soldiers, and told they were directed elsewhere." *Signed. Copy. p. 1.*

Jan. 30.  
Dublin.

60. The Lord Justice Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "This gentleman, Sir John Talbot, being now to repair to the Court, partly upon some occasions of his own, and with some letters from the Lord Lieutenant of the army, hath desired me to accompany him with my letters to your Honour, which, for that I have known him even from his childhood to be a gentleman of great towardness and good desert, I would not deny him. He hath had in all these troubles no other charge but 22 footmen, which Her Majesty long since bestowed upon him; and yet hath he in person served with great forwardness in all journeys, and especially in that of the Blackwater, whither with some horse of his own retinue he went voluntarily, and if all the gentlemen of his sort in that service had shewed such resolution and forwardness as he did, there had been a better and more honourable reckoning given of that day's work. I assure your Honour he is a tall gentleman, and of very good parts, and for his zeal to Her Majesty's service much to be esteemed. And so, wishing there were many his like to be employed in this service, I leave him to your honourable favour."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 30. *Signed. p. 1.*

Jan. 30.  
Naas.

61. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "Since my last letters of the 24th of this month, the former news of Tyrone's purpose to send up his son-in-law, Richard Butler, with great forces, and himself with the like to follow or go with him, to the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary (or rather to the town of Kilkenny, as his place of rendezvous for his meeting with the traitor Desmond and all the rest of his confederates), is confirmed unto me by daily advertisements from divers, especially from the Lord of Delvin, as by his own letters and other copies, which I send enclosed, will appear to your good Lordships. The great desire which this Archtraitor hath to waste and spoil those countries where I dwell, by all the extremity he can, groweth not a little, for that a great many of the gentlemen of the Pale have promised to join with him, if by such his forcible and violent means I be overlaid. But, as I assuredly know that my most gracious Sovereign is powerable to subdue a man of so base condition, who (with God's blessed assistance) hath prevailed against the greatest monarchs, so have I put on a resolution, with my travel, and to the adventure of my life, with such of Her Majesty's forces as I may draw together to a head of some better strength, to march forwards to be before him (if I can), to withstand his

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malice the best I may; they being now entered (onwards their way) into the Irish countries of Westmeath and the King's County, which are for the greater part wood and bog.

"A list of those forces I draw with me, and of them that are left behind, in several garrison places in the English Pale, together with their strength according their late muster taken by the Commissary, I send your good Lordships hereinclosed (*wanting*). And thus I must freely say, that there is great slackness in the rising out of the country to join with Her Majesty's forces for their own defence, though it was required but for a small time; I having charged my own countries with 500 men, ever since the beginning of this war, for their better defence, besides the bearing of soldiers, without payment as yet. The weakness of the army at this present is great, not a little occasioned through want of means, as victuals, money, and some of their provant clothes, so as many of them are not able to travel. And though sometime there is victual for them, yet the country in these parts doth not afford carriage for it. And, on the other side, I thought good to advertise your Lordships that the Traitor's companies (as I am informed) in this journey are well furnished with munition, victual, and other necessaries for six weeks. But, with your honourable favours, if the forces, which I often wrote for these two years past, had been sent to Lough Foyle, the traitors had never made these incursions into Leinster and Munster, as they have done, and now mean to do.

"I thought fit to certify your good Lordships of the success which the Marshal (who this last night returned hither unto me) had in his late journey into Leix, whither I directed him, with some of the companies, as in my said former letters of the 24th of this month, I signified unto your Lordships. The traitor, Onie McCrory, hath forsaken the country, and is gone to the Ranelaghs, either extreme sick or sore hurt. The Earl of Kildare, very desirous and willing to serve, though I did not appoint him to that journey, did of himself accompany the Marshal, who, with those forces he had, did overrun the country, burned 52 villages and great store of corn, besides the bringing away of many garrans, sheep, household stuff, and some cows. They were entertained with one skirmish, where some of the traitors were slain, but how many not as yet certainly known. After the first day's fight, their 'bonies' [bonnaughts] did forsake them, and every one of the country did betake them to their houses, thinking to save their 'cornes' [corn]; but as they saw the fire come near them, they went to the woods, and sometimes shewed themselves on hills and mountains, and so the companies remained in the country for five days, without any resistance, spoiling and eating great store of their bread, drink, *aqua vitæ*, and other victuals, which they had provided in plentiful manner, to entertain Tyrone and other the traitors; whereof they are now disappointed.

"In my opinion, the speediest way to end this war will be by fire and sword, as I did end the former war with Desmond in Munster; which (their corn and houses being burned) did bring



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famine amongst them, that they were driven to eat one another. And all little enough towards these traitors, who have brought the whole realm into danger of being lost, if, by the goodness of God, it had not been prevented. I doubt not but your Lordships do receive advertisements from some who are busy in laying down of plots for service, who, under your good Lordships' favours, I am bold to say do scarce understand what the same meaneth; they entertaining many intelligences, and informing your Lordships of them, but God knoweth how true or false many of them be. The sooner it shall please Her Majesty and your Lordships to dispatch hither the Lord Mountjoy, the better it will be for Her Highness[']s service."—Naas, 1599[-1600], January 30. *Signed.* [*Postscript.*] "After I had signed this letter, I had an intelligence this very day from one of the traitors among themselves, that Tyrone is at Durrow in the King's County (a house of Sir Edward Herbert's, which he lost), onwards his way to the county of Kilkenny. If it shall please your good Lordships to bestow the command of the garrison at Carrickfergus on Sir Arthur Chichester, I am of opinion your Lordships shall find it very well bestowed. I am the bolder to write for him, for that I know his sufficiency." *Signed.* *Endorsed,* Received 11 day of February. pp. 2½. *Encloses,*

61. 1. C[*hristopher Nugent, Baron of*] *Delvin, to the Earl of Ormonde.* "I send you hereinclosed Captain Lyster's intelligence. agreeing with McBrian McGeoghegan's, who came even now unto me with the same, and further said that Tyrone and Maguire, with all their forces, purposeth to assault his castle of Donowere tomorrow, and pull him out by the heels, if they can; all by James McRoss's procurement. From thence, Tyrone and all go to Durrow, and so along towards Kilkenny, where they appointed meeting with Desmond, and there to put your Lordship to all the extremity, they may, and, at their return, to use me in like manner. But in the mean, if I can, he shall want part of those traitors which he leaveth to front me. But, my good Lord, my disadvantages in following Her Majesty's service are great, wherewith, I beseech your Lordship, acquaint the Lords Justices. For, having several times written to the Sheriff all this week past, with as much vehemency as I could, urging the importance of Her Majesty's present service, that he with the forces of the country should gather unto me, I never saw or heard from the Sheriff as yet; neither of the whole shire did any meet me, saving my own retinue, and my nephew, Christopher Nugent, of Dardistown. Only Sir John Tyrrell met me the first night at Mullingar, whence he presently departed, promising to meet me the next day; but neither himself, his son, or any else, came, but sent a boy to tell me he was sick. The seven companies garrisoned at Mullingar have neither victuals, money, munition, or so much as shoes to wear. I have some dozen or sixteen horse of my own; the whole shire doth not yield me so many more, being here to make head these three days past against the traitors; and of all hence to Athlone, not one came at me, or sent me any notice, how I might annoy the traitors, if I had force, saving Brian and Hugh McGeoghegan,

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*Captain Lyster, and James FitzGerald of the Larraghs, of whose loyalty there needeth no doubt to be made in my opinion, confirmed by his intelligence and forwardness used at this time. But I assure your Lordship, if I had 100 horse, such as the country here are able to make, if they would and could be trusted, I might perform some service with them worthy the note. But being come hither yesternight, three miles this side of Mullingar, towards Ballymore, making reports that the army were coming on, I could not see ten horse of all the country. Yet the devices and idle plots of every runiaway fellow of them will be heard with greater attention than mine, whose whole study is with the hazard of my life, and loss of my blood, to further Her Majesty's service, by cutting off many of the rebels daily in the counties and borders towards me. Wherefore I could wish that actions were preferred in Her Majesty's service, before the 'brablings' of such as never yield any other fruit; and then, I doubt not, but the service will better succeed. There is great variance very lately happened between O'Donnell and O'Rourke, which may be turned to good use for Her Majesty."*—Dizard [Dysert], 1599[-1600], January 27. Signed. p. 1.

61. II. *Captain Edmund Lyster to [Christopher Nugent], Baron of Delvin. "I received your letters by my man. There is no other news, but that O'Neill is burning of Maghericork all this day, and [has] burned Sir Theobald's own town, and for the most part took all the preys of the country. He also took the castle[s] of Lysnoyd and Bellanegloghduff, and in those castles put in his own wards. Sir Theobald himself, his lady, and children, are gone to Athlone yesternight. I understand that three or four companies come to Athlone this night out of Galway and Athenry. Maguire with his forces encamps this night in the abbey of Shruer. This, as occasion serves, I will advertise your Lordship."*—Ballymore, "this present Saturday at night," [1600, January 26.] Holograph. p. 1.

61. III. *Hugh McGeoghegan to [Christopher Nugent], Baron of Delvin. "I have understood by my footman, who had conference with some that came from the camp, that he removes not before Monday, and then he draws either (sic) to Kenaliagh, as they report. He tells that several of the gentlemen of Dillon's country hath been all this day in conference with O'Neill, and especially Sir Tibbott's brethren, and Shane McMorrish his sons. James Nangell, who was with him also, is returned home, of whom your Lordship may learn all the news in general. He hath likewise sent his messengers to Sir John McCoghlan, and doth expect his answer, or some conference to be held between them. Thus much I thought good to advertise your Lordship, to the end you may the better resolve what course to follow for the advancement of Her Majesty's service."*—Castletown, "this instant Saturday at night," [1600, January 26.] Holograph. p. 1.

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62. *The Earl of Ormonde to Sir Robert Cecil. "At the making up of my packet, I received a letter (with an intelligence enclosed) from the Lords Justices and Council, which I have thought fit herewith to send you, in such broken sort as the same [came] unto me,*



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whereby you may see in what causeless fear their Lordships and the rest stand in at Dublin; who rather amaze men therewith and dismay such poor subjects as be loyal (to the encouragement of the traitors) than their advice and counsel in this to me (as the service requireth) doth or may comfort; some of them more regarding the safety of their own houses and goods about Dublin than Her Majesty's good subjects elsewhere.

"By the list sent in my general letter, you may perceive in what sort I have left the borders of the Pale defended; out of which number I have not taken with me above 700 foot and 100 horse, as by the list may appear; having left in my absence to command there, Sir Arthur Chichester, who is known to be a sufficient man. And seeing the Archtraitor is this night come to Durrow, Sir Edward Herbert's house in Offally (as I was even now credibly advertised), onwards his way towards the county of Kilkenny, there is the less cause why the Pale should be feared. And forasmuch as it hath pleased Her Majesty to commit the charge of her army here unto me, I purpose (God willing) to bestow myself, and the few forces with me, where I shall think most fit, for the advancement of her service, the preserving of her subjects, and annoying of the traitors; praying you, that howsoever you shall be informed thither, that, if any things be objected against my proceedings (seeing we may differ in opinion for the service), you will please to acquaint me therewith, that I may show reason for following any course I shall think fittest to take for Her Majesty's service.

"The intelligence, which the Lords Justices write came this day to them from a man of credit, was, I assure myself, from the same man sent unto me five days past, as by his letter herewith sent may appear; and how true they are, I refer you to the latest advertisements from the Lord of Delvin and others, which are enclosed in my general letter."—Naas, 1599[-1600], January 30. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at London the 11 of February, '99. pp. 1½. Encloses,*

62. 1. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to the Earl of Ormonde. "Since our last to your Lordship, we have received many intelligences, tending all to one end; but this morning we received one, whereof this enclosed is a copy, from one of very g[ood cre]dit upon the borders of the north, with which all th..... fully agree; whereby your Lordship may perceive, as in our last we wrote unto you, in what great danger the Pale now stands in, and we doubt not will be quite overrun, by reason of your Lordship's absence, and by drawing from the borders those forces which [it] is said your Lordship hath taken with you, if present remedy be not provided. Which, in the uttermost discharge of our duties in the places which we hold, and in a fearful regard of Her Majesty's indignation, if the Pale should be overthrown, we have thought it most expedient with all speed to signify the same to your Lordship, not doubting your Lordship will have that present honourable respect thereto, as may best answer Her Majesty's expectation, and the present*

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*distressed estate of the Pale.*"—Dublin, 1599 [-1600], January 30. Signed. p. 1.

62. II. *Captain Augustine Heath to the Earl of Ormonde.* "I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordship with such advertisement as I received of Tyrone's proceedings in his journey. After disputation in their council at McMahon's house, and that Tirlough McShane had brought tidings there that your Lordship was at the Navan with the army, he altered his former resolution, and undertook to go with his own forces, leaving the rest behind him to conduct Harry Oge almost to McGeoghegan's house, where there was a feast prepared for Tyrone, but [he] would not adventure so far himself, but leaving [?] and left it to be celebrated by Harry Oge and the rest of the Leinster rebels, with Captain Tyrrell, which met him there to convoy him to Munster with 1,000 foot and 100 horse, where he purposeth to remain till May, to take pledges of the meaner sort to be obedient to the better. Tyrone lives this night at Fergus McBrian's sons' house in Tenelick. Tyrone hath not with him in his return not above 400 foot and 200 horse, but Fergus McBrian's sons did undertake, being appointed for his guides, to bring him off in such a way that, if your Lordship did follow him, he should never be met with. Besides, he left order with the Reillys, McMahons, and Cormack, to attend your Lordship's army, and, if they found your Lordship to march after Tyrone, then should they likewise march to meet him; otherwise, to guard their own frontiers, and gather intelligence, against his coming back, what we meant to do.

"This advertisement I had of a[n] honest man, Harry Bettagh, which desired me to excuse his not coming to your Lordship, alleging to me that there is many in the Navan, that if they should see him there, that they would give notice to Tyrone, that he was there to do your Lordship service, and that would breed suspicion in Tyrone toward him, the rather for that he means to go down to his camp, as soon as he returns, to learn perfectly his proceedings. But first he must procure a safe-conduct from his cousin, Magennis[s'] daughter, which is now with Tyrone. I beseech your Lordship, make not this letter common, lest they should divine [sic, ? devise] something to his hurt, that which they understand not to their own good."—Kells, [1600], January 26.

[Postscript.] "I beseech your Lordship there may be some consideration allowed for intelligences, for I am at great charges therewith." [On a slip of paper affixed to the letter Captain Heath has written:—"Tyrone hath left to guard the Newry, Art McBaron and Magennis; after he came forward, he sent back Phelim Oge O'Hanlon with 160 shot more. For Dundalk he left Tirlough McHenry. For Ardee he left Con McCollo and Ever McCollo. For Kells he left all the O'Reillys and McMahons." Holograph. Seals. pp. 2½.

62. III. *Copy of intelligence lately received.* [This is certified by the Lords Justices and Council as a "copia vera;" but it is not an exact transcript of Captain Heath's letter, and entirely omits the second paragraph.]—1599[-1600], January 30. pp. 2½.



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- Jan. 30. 63. Thady Doyne to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. "These are to advertise your Lordships that this last Monday O'Neill came to Durrow [with] 2,800 foot and 300 horse; and, as I can learn, the intent and meaning of his coming is to meet Desmond about Shrovetide at the abbey of Holy Cross there, if he can procure the Bishops and other pastors of the Romish profession to give out an excommunication to all such as do embrace that religion, if they do not take part with him, making that now his quarrel of revolt; and, if he cannot compass that means to further his malicious enterprises, to entreat all such as are of Her Majesty's side in these quarters to be of his faction, and such as will not, to use all the violence he may now against them; and, if any do consent to his request, they must deliver him pledges of performance, and bear his bonnaughts, both for his and their own defence against Her Majesty's forces. He hath above a hundred handlocks for that purpose, and what effect this determination of his would take, at the writing hereof I could not learn, for that he neither sent to any, nor none of the neighbours that profess loyalty to Her Majesty came at him. But, as I shall further learn, I will advertise your Lordships thereof. It is most pitiful to hear the lamentation and moan of the poor, that knoweth not whither to betake themselves, and the danger that our holds are in for want of munition or hope of assistance. Our Lord help us, and inspire your Honours to have some care of us."—1599[-1600], January 30. *Signed.* p. 1.
- Jan. 31. 64. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to Dublin. the Privy Council. Concerning the controversy between Sir Ralph Lane, Mustermaster General and Clerk of the Check, and Ralph Birkinshawe, Comptroller of the Check, as to the custody of the muster books.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 31. *Signed.* *Endorsed,* Received at Richmond the 18th of February. pp. 1½.
- Jan. 31. 65. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "My last advertisements of the 29th concerning Tyrone and his marching through Dublin. Westmeath, and so into the upper parts of Leinster, are this day confirmed to be true by two several intelligences from those parts. They both concur that Tyrone entered and passed through Westmeath without impediment, and that upon Sunday last he went up to William Magawle's house, within three miles of Athlone; and the next day he lodged at the Durrow, Sir Edward Herbert's house in Offally, where he made his provision of victuals, to draw into O'Carroll's and McCoghlan's country, and so toward the borders of Ormonde and Tipperary. The forces he carried with him (as both my intelligencers affirm) were not above 1,400 foot and 200 horse, a slender army for such a traitor to bring out of Ulster, and to pierce so deep into the province of Leinster untouched, no not so much as to meet with any resistance; which fortune following them still, without being encountered by us, increaseth their pride above measure, and maketh their nation famous, to our infamy.

"In his passage through Westmeath, he wrote to Sir Theobald  
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Dillon to join with him, promising him many things. But Sir Theobald, using an honourable loyalty, rejected all his offers. In revenge whereof the traitor burnt all his country, and drove him and all his kinsmen into their castles. Yet Sir Theobald, fearing the traitor would attempt Athlone, went thither with no small hazard of his life; where he is now, to the great comfort of that place, though he cannot help them with victuals, as he was wont, for that now all his corn is burnt, and his country laid waste. Tyrone, in this passage to Ormonde, will no doubt do all he can to subdue O'Carroll and McCoghlan, if they stand out against him, a matter which I greatly doubt, considering they are cunning borderers, and do know how to handle the time for their own safety. The main purpose of this great journey of Tyrone's is (as I wrote to your Honour before) to have a meeting with Desmond about the Holy Cross, a place not far from Cashel, and there they will consecrate new combinations with new oaths in the presence of that idol, which for those matters is of greater reckoning with the Irish nation than all the other idolatries in Ireland.

"The Lord Lieutenant of the army is now gone after him, of whose doings I can write nothing till something be done; and, in his absence from the Pale, his Lordship hath left the Serjeant-Major to command upon the borders, but with what portion of the army, is not as yet come to my knowledge. Only, I look that all we can do is to defend, for to offend we are too far out of use. If the garrison for Lough Foyle were now ready to be sent thither, it would suffice to divert him, who otherwise I look not will be drawn back again, till he have done some great mischief. But I doubt the sending to Lough Foyle will draw a longer time, and therefore in the mean while it is most requisite, for preservation of the kingdom, to haste away the Lord Deputy, the Marshal, and the absent commanders, whose presence and industry might help to stay many things, that without that help will not be stayed."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 31. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

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66. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The bearer, Sir John Talbot, who is now employed into England by the Earl of Ormonde, has no suits to make there for himself, but brings with him a small reckoning due to Constanty McMaughon, a late Captain of kern. Recommends very strongly both the Captain and Sir John. Takes the former to be "the soundest man of all his nation." Sir John Talbot is "one of the chiefest gentlemen within the heart of the English Pale." The excellent service of both.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], January 31. *Signed. p. 1.*

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67. "The declaration of James FitzRedmond, delivered to the Lord Lieutenant of Her Majesty's forces, the last of January, 1599 [-1600], in his Lordship's way between the Naas and Rathduff."

His brother-in-law, Teig Oge O'Doyne, sent him word by Melaughlin McShane, a labouring man of the said James, by mouth, not daring to write, that it was certain that Tyrone with his forces was on Monday and Tuesday nights last at Durrow, Sir Edward Herbert's house, and that Edward Fitzgerald and Con



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O'Neill came to Rathdrum, and sent to Sir Terence O'Dempsey to have meat. Sir Terence refused, and then Con, with Lysagh McEcallogh, and other of the Connors, returned towards Durrow, and Edward's few horsemen to Morrehitt, in Leix, the house of his other bastard brother, Gerrot Fitzgerald. Melaughlin told James that he heard that McCoghlan had delivered his young son and his nurse as pledge to Tyrone, and that Mulrony McWilliam O'Carroll, brother to O'Carroll, had got to himself the forces of that country, and that O'Carroll keeps his castle. Melaughlin also told James that all the Connors, many of the Dempsies, Cormack O'Doyne, and others in those borders, are gone to meet Tyrone at Durrow. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

- Jan. 31. 68. Intelligence brought by Art McMoriertagh O'Connor to the  
Naas. Earl of Ormonde.

He says Edmund McTirlough O'Donnell, being now in action with Tyrone, came to Kiltoghane with certain of his bonnaughts yesterday, and told him, when he was on the top of the castle there, that Tyrone was at Tagheradrome in Gessill with 3,000 foot and 700 horse. He says also that he sent Edward Fitz-Gerrott to Leix with 300 foot. The latter is not yet past Clynmalire.—Naas, 1599[-1600], January 31. *Unsigned.* p. 1.

- Jan. 31. 69. "A check book of Her Majesty's army in Ireland for 214 days, beginning primo Martii, 1598[-9], and ended ultimo Septembris, 1599." Total of clear charge, 158,046*l.* 5*s.* 4*½d.* Signed by Sir Ralph Lane, Mustermaster General, 31 January, 1599[-1600]. *pp.* 17.

- Jan. 31. 70. "A monthly charge of Her Majesty's army, as they were in list, ultimo Januarii, 1599[-1600]." *Both in this list, and in the preceding one, "Katherin Butler" is named as in command of warders at "Clonghloughten."* [*? Clonelaughan or Clonglaughan, King's County.*] Total, 19,193*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* *Unsigned.* *pp.* 13.

- Jan. 71. "A view of the last certificate made to the Earl of Essex at entering into his government, and sent to the Lords of the Council, of the state of the province of Leinster in the particular counties thereof, together with the increase of the rebels, and their strength in each county since that time."

County of Dublin.—"The mountain rebels, consisting of the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, the gallowglasses, and other Irish septs, are all (very few particulars excepted) in actual rebellion, and are the very gall of the county of Dublin. All other parts of the county are for Her Majesty, and Her Majesty's castle of Wicklow, and the new castle in the Byrnes' [country], being a strong castle belonging to Sir Henry Harrington, are the only holds for Her Majesty there.

"The forces of these rebels, as they were certified to the Earl of Essex, were 500, whereof in horse 20; but since that time, many of the Welshes and Harrolds, being in number near 100, are entered into rebellion, and are very noisome neighbours to this city both by burning and preying."

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County of Kildare.—“The bastard Geraldines, being two base brothers of the late Earl of Kildare, are still in rebellion, of whom one of them had a pension of Her Majesty, of 3s. *per diem*, at the time of his breaking out; with whom is associate one of the Delahides, Glasny, and Lysagh O'Dempsey, with the retinue of the O'Dempseys, and certain of the Eustaces, of kindred to the late Viscount Baltinglass, attainted. The other parts in this county stand for Her Majesty, saving a few straggling castles, defaced by the rebels, but they have now left them.

“All these particulars, with James FitzPiers, who was then in rebellion, but now a subject, were last certified to contain in forces 250, whereof in horse 30; but, since that time, there are entered into rebellion a third Geraldine, who was then a civil man, all the Brymighams, except a very few, all the Leynaghs, and all O'Dempsey's country, except only Sir Terence O'Dempsey, so as the rebels' force in that county is at this present increased at least 250.”

County of Carlow.—“This county, being but a small county, is for the most part in revolt; only the castles of Carlow and Laughlin, being kept by wards for Her Majesty, do stand, and likewise the castles of Arklow, Ravilly, Clonmore, Tully, Cloughgreny, and Shroughe Boe, belonging to the Earl of Ormonde and kept at his Lordship's charge, are held still, but all the lands are laid waste about them.”

County of Wexford.—“In this county all the Irish countries consisting of the Kavanaghs are in rebellion, some few excepted. The castles of the rest of this county stand for Her Majesty, but most of the lands are laid waste, and Her Majesty's house of Ferns is kept by a ward at Her Majesty's charges.”

“The forces of these Kavanaghs and other the rebels within these two counties, who continue still rebels, were last certified to be 800, whereof in horse 50; but since, Morrogh McBryne, a principal Kavanagh, who is in force at least 100, hath not a great while come at the State, and by his actions is rather to be judged in rebellion than otherwise.”

Leix, the Queen's County.—“This county, being lately possessed by English, for the most part is now usurped and inhabited by the rebels, the O'Mores, saving the fort of Maryborough, belonging to Her Majesty, and three or four other castles kept by particular gentlemen, the owners of them.

“The forces of these O'Mores of their own nation, besides strangers, and joining to them the rebels of Ossory, are 600, whereof in horse 30.”

Offally, the King's County.—“This county, being likewise possessed by English, is wholly wasted in the lands thereof by the O'Connors, but the fort of Philipstown is kept for Her Majesty, and most part of the other castles are kept by the owners.

“The forces of these O'Connors, of their own nation, together with the O'Molloys and the O'Doynes, were last certified to be 450, whereof in horse 12; but since that time, Ballybirley, a strong castle of one Wakley, who at his own charge kept the same



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with a strong ward, hath been betrayed, and himself taken prisoner in it; the Durrow, Sir Edward Herbert's house, a strong castle, likewise taken; the Esker, Anthony Brabazon's house, lost; and both the castles, which guarded the two toghers of Crohan and Kishiwen, which were the chief passages into that county, are taken, and the toghers, or passages, broken. And since Tyrone's passage to Munster that way, McCoghlan is revolted with 200 men at least, and all O'Doyne's country, except only Teig O'Doyne, and his son, with some few followers, the Doynes revolted being about 100."

County of Kilkenny.—"The Viscount Mountgarrett, with his brethren, sons, and followers, with the O'Carrolls, besides the strangers, are in force 150, whereof in horse 20. This county standeth firm in all parts, saving the castle of Ballyragget, and Colekill, being held as yet by Mountgarrett, the rest of his castles are won by the Earl of Ormonde, and kept for Her Majesty.

"Since that time, Mountgarrett himself is received to grace, but all his sons and brethren are now out, and their force is no less than 150, whereof in horse 20; his castle of Ballyragget held by Her Majesty as a pledge for himself at Her Majesty's charge."

County of Meath.—"This county, being in the heart of the Pale, is greatly wasted by the Ulster rebels beyond the river of Boyne, but none of the towns or castles are possessed by the rebels; but many castles lie waste without inhabitants.

"Since the certificate delivered to the Earl of Essex, the Delahides, with some of the Rochfords, Husseys, and Darcys, to the strength of above 150, are revolted, which have done much mischief to that county; and the rebels next adjoining to the border of Meath, beyond the river of Boyne, are increased an 100, by the revolt of Captain John O'Reilly, who had a 100 foot in Her Majesty's pay, and is revolted with them well armed."

County of Westmeath.—"In this county the Omalaughlins, the greatest part of the McGeoghegans, being borderers of the said county, some of the Nugents, and Geraldines, are in rebellion, and most part of the lands in that border are waste.

"The forces of these rebels were last certified to be 160, besides Captain Tyrrell, who hath 200 Ulstermen and other strangers; but, since that time, the eldest son of William Nugent, second brother to the Lord of Delvin, and Gerald Oge FitzGerald's son, are both revolted to the rebels; who, being principal gentlemen, will no doubt draw a great many after them, besides many of the Daltons and Pettits, to the strength of above 100."

County of Louth.—"This county, as was last certified, standeth wholly for Her Majesty in their castles and holds, but most part of the lands are laid waste by the Ulster rebels, and all the chief towns in the county are for Her Majesty, and do so continue."

County of Longford.—"The force of the rebels in this county were last certified to be 120, besides strangers, but now in effect it is wholly revolted, and the force of the rebels increased at least 180, which makes their whole force 300."

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Munster.—“Since the last collection of the province of Munster, Tyrone hath ranged through that province at his pleasure, strengthening greatly his combination there, and, as we hear, hath taken pledge of almost all the Irish Lords and chief gentlemen in that province, who have been with him, so as the rebellion there is at this present so greatly increased, as it is beyond our estimation.”

Connaught.—“The province of Connaught standeth as formerly it did, except only the loss of the castle of Ballymote, the revolt of O'Connor Sligo, and the uncertainty of Tibbott Ne Longe, who, having an 100 foot in Her Majesty's pay (as he hath himself written unto us), hath made his peace with McWilliam till May; and, by the revolt of O'Connor Sligo, the rebels in that province are increased at least 300.”

Ulster.—“Ulster standeth now in the same state as last was certified, the towns of Carrickfergus, the Newry, and Carlingford, only, held there for Her Majesty.”

“Summa totalis of the rebels in Leinster, as they were certified to the Earl of Essex, amounteth to 3,230, whereof in horse 182.

“Summa totalis of the rebels increased in the said province of Leinster since that time, according to this estimate, amounteth to 1,280.

“So as the total number of the rebels in this province of Leinster, as they stood in the book delivered to the Earl of Essex, and as they are increased since, amounteth to 4,510, both horse and foot.”—[1600, January.] *Signed by the Lords Justices and Council.* pp. 6.

[Jan.] 72. Instructions for the Lord Mountjoy.

“Having now considered of how great consequence it is to us and our estate to provide for the safety of our kingdom of Ireland, wherein we have received dishonour, and consumed so infinite masses of treasure, besides the lives of our loving subjects, we have bethought ourselves where we might find a person so disposed and qualified, as might be fit to take the care of those things, which ought to be to us of so precious a valuation. Wherein, as all men, that shall justly observe our proceedings there, may clearly perceive how careful we have ever been to supply all things necessary for the good and preservation of the same, being one of those hereditary kingdoms in which Almighty God hath placed us; so whosoever is not of a weak or corrupt judgment must as clearly see that the dishonour, the expense, and the peril thereof hath been absolutely derived from their errors, to whom we have committed the former care and charge of that government. Of which sort of errors because the greatest are freshest in memory, and the perilous state to which the kingdom is brought so notoriously known to yourself, and any that knoweth less than you do, as it cannot be excused; we are now persuaded that, if we should have employed at this time a man of never so common and vulgar a judgment, it would be hard for him to fall into many errors, if he do but observe how much



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others have failed, that have of late years been our Governors. And therefore, when we cast our eyes upon such, as we would vouchsafe to honour with this so great and graceful an employment, we did resolve upon you, our right trusty and well-beloved servant, the Lord Mountjoy, out of opinion that we may promise ourselves from you all the fruits that can be gathered from his labour, that is clad with faith, valour, and true affection, to do us acceptable service." Gives some principal heads for his instruction.

Has resolved for the present to maintain an army of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse, and has appointed such sums of money to be sent to Ireland, as shall be necessary to defray the expenses of other officers and servitors. No addition is to be made to the army, except for some notorious peril to the kingdom, which is to be notified with all expedition. All superfluous charge is to be abridged.

Upon his arrival, he is to deliver his letters to the Lords Justices, to receive the sword, and to take the oath. He is then to assemble the Council, and to inform himself of the state of her forces, of the strength of the rebels, and particularly what persons are wavering. From these he is to take pledges. "And forasmuch as the two pillars of kingly estate are piety and justice, we do recommend unto your special care to preserve the true exercise of religion amongst our loving subjects; and, though the time do not permit that you should now intermeddle by any severity or violence in matter of religion, until we have better established our power there to countenance your actions in that kind, yet we require you that, both in your own house and in our armies, you foresee that no neglect be used in that behalf."

He is required to assist the officers of justice in the several Courts.

"You shall further understand that, although the present state of our Kingdom is so distressed, and the greatest part of our revenues are lost and wasted, yet because time may daily revive former losses, and that the distribution of our forces in places convenient will enable the tenants to make profit of their lands, we have by several commissions given you authority with others to proceed therein, as in other things of that nature, for the benefit of our service.

"And now to come to the matter, wherein you are like chiefly to be exercised, which is the well ordering and profitable employment of our army; first and above all things, we do hold it for certain, that no Prince can be more deceived, or kingdom more endangered, than we are in the matters of musters, which we cannot impute to any one thing more than to the bad choice of Captains; whereof although we know we have many that are valiant and well-deserving, yet divers are so needy and ill-disposed, as they do nothing but seek to deceive or corrupt those that are appointed Commissioners of our musters. In which degrees, how palpable soever the offences are, they are rather suffered to take pride in their practice, than at any time punished

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for example. This we write, not to excuse the Commissaries, but to move you (and so we do seriously), to make us know that you do mislike all such corruption in any of them, by sealing the same with severe corrections both to one and other. It is well enough known to you that both the Commissary and the Captain himself, or some other officer, ought to be sworn to every book that is delivered. And forasmuch as it is a common abuse of Captains to entertain Irish, because they may serve themselves aptly of them for the filling up suddenly of their companies upon the muster-days, we do require you to see that abuse straitly reformed by avoiding as much as conveniently you may the entertainment of Irish, for thereof follows this pernicious consequence, that they by such means run away armed to the rebels, or else upon days of service are like to turn their swords into their fellows' bosoms.

"For the main point which concerns the employment of our forces upon the rebels, albeit we must frame our counsels to the occasions, and according to the advertisements which we receive from you, yet may you see by all men's opinions that it is plainly confessed that there is no course to be taken but by plantation of garrisons in the heart of the countries of the capital rebels; where you see we have resolved to make them of such condition as they shall not only serve for diversion by making good the places of their residence, but also to be able to sally out, and make continual incursions into their countries. For which purposes, seeing you perceive that we do sort our garrisons both for numbers and places to make a mixed war, we doubt not but you will labour by all means possible to make the right use and application of the same."

He is not to make petty garrisons. The great lack of consideration when, for particular favour to private men, their houses and castles have been made wards. The misuse, in the time of the Earl of Essex, of money granted for extraordinary charges. Mountjoy to be careful; yet upon just occasions the amount allowed will be increased. Great provision of victuals has been made. Complaints as to victualling and apparel. "We do require you to take this order, that both these provisions may be so viewed and examined there, as we may be certified upon whom the fault is justly to be imposed. For things have hitherto been so carried and shuffled by posting errors one from another, as the uncertainty of the offender hath excused the offence. For although we are very apt to believe that the provant merchants of both these are greedy of gain," yet the Captains and Commissary are judges what they receive in both these kinds. So, if their mouth be not stopped by corruption, it must of necessity follow, upon their timely complaint, that the offender must receive correction. Victual to be taken by the soldier from the Victualler, rather than any other; and, if possible, the soldier to take half victual and half lendings. To inquire from the Treasurer how the great sums, allowed this year for the building of storehouses, have been employed. A precise account to be furnished as to what has become of "the infinite masses" supplied of powder, artillery, materials for fortifications, and such



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like. "For this matter also it shall be very good that you do depute some of the Council (beside the Master of the Ordnance), because it seemeth that the Earl of Essex, who carried over all these things, did not make him the assignee for the receipt, but committed it to other new officers, from whom we require you to procure you an exact account, and then to commit the certain care of them to such persons, to whom they properly belong." Defalcation for arms and powder. "Although we hold it reasonable that the soldier may be found his powder in day of service, yet in other times and places there is no reason but the same should be defalcable, saving such a competent proportion as you shall think fit to be allowed for his training."

An indenture to be exactly kept between the Captain and the Treasurer of the arms delivered to the soldier, whereby he shall covenant to send certificates of the true state of the same, to be testified by the Clerk of the band. "For, although the soldier pay for his arms, yet may he neither sell them, nor give them, because thereby the public service may be prejudiced." No passengers or soldiers to be embarked without license.

"And because we do see that many of our people do perish for want of good keeping, our pleasure is, that you do provide hospitals, with all furniture belonging to them, and appoint both officers and orders for the well government thereof."

The unreasonable fees of Clerks of bands to be moderated. The decay in the horse companies. These to be viewed, recruited, and formed into troops. No small broken companies of horse to be allowed. To inquire as to the 400 carriage horses supplied to the Earl of Essex. Abuses by Deputies with regard to the granting of pensions. The number of these not to be completed, until so much be diminished as the late pensions given to McSwyne Ne Doe and one Fox amount to. Regulations as to the selling of powder and arms in the corporate towns of Ireland.

"And, forasmuch as the corporate towns of Ireland and walled cities have received great benefit by the treasure which hath come to their hands since the beginning of these wars, it would be very convenient that these places were dealt withal (as an argument of their loyalty) to maintain by a common purse some convenient number of soldiers, at their charge, both for their own defence, and, in case of extremity, to attend the principal Governors of the province for some short time, notwithstanding their charters.

"And whereas it falls out very often that the years afford dearth of victual, it will be a very great providence that every householder be moved to make provision of corn for himself and his family for half a year at the least, and, if it may be, of butter and cheese likewise."

To ascertain what shipping there is belonging to the ports of Ireland. Abuses with regard to debts alleged to be due to towns and principal commanders. Two auditors, Gofton and Sutton, appointed to attend Mountjoy, and proclamation to be made that all such bills be brought to Dublin within two months at the

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furthest. Apparel and treasure to be shipped severally to convenient ports in Ireland, and not all to Dublin.

Has thus taken care to instruct Mountjoy how to avoid the offences of former Governors and ministers, "wishing in this, even as we would in the prescribing of all our laws to our subjects and servants, that they might rather by precise commandments be kept from offending at all, than punished for offences when they are committed."

Refers other matters to his direction and to the advice of the Council. "And, having now summarily run over directions for two of the principal things, wherewith, as we made mention in the beginning, you should be trusted, which are, first, the safety of that kingdom, and, matter concerning our expenses, it remaineth that we open ourselves in the third, which is very precious unto us, and that is, how to repair and recover our honour by speedy ending this war, and in what sort soever we shall be contented to proceed by any course of mercy, to see that we be not thereby still dishonoured, as we have been.

"It is true that it hath ever been natural unto us to avoid occasion to shed blood, a matter which you know is inseparable from prosecution by the sword, and in this consideration we have been contented to give large commission and authority to our Governors, to receive even those that have most notoriously conspired against us. But this hath been so absurdly and indiscreetly used, as, in shewing mercy to the rebels, we have punished our best subjects, and dishonoured ourselves. For, first, it is apparent, whensoever we took any course to invade Tyrone, whereby at his beginning we might have distressed him, though not totally reduced him, he would then use some device or other, by general offers of submission, to cause a suspension of his prosecution for the present, until he might so waste the time, as either the forces must break, that should have been employed against him, or the opportunities and occasion be lost. Hereby not only the expectation was deceived of his followers, over whom he hath usurped, which were like to have left him, when our armies should approach their countries, but he got daily greater reputation among them, won more love in seeming to care for them, and became more fearful to them, when it appeared how apt we were to forgive him, who was the sole cause of this rebellion, and from whom, as from a fountain, all these late foreign dangerous practices have been derived. And therefore we do command you, even for the saving of our honour, to take heed that we be not any more abused, either by him or any other, in that kind, but to use all means possible to cut him off as a reprobate to God, and leave him to the force of our sword. And if it shall happen at any time that he do make offer or suit to submit, we require you to consider well what may be the cause he doth it, to the intent that under such colour he do not abuse you. And in such case, upon his first offers, except they carry with them great probability of good intention, besides all humility in the manner, our pleasure is that you give him no other answer than as to an abject person, to whom you contemn



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to lend any ear. But if his overtures do continue, and that you think any good opportunity may be lost in sending to us, then if he will simply submit himself to our mercy, we can be content you do receive him. But of (*sic*) this liberty given you, we would have you keep secret, for we could better like that by all means you should notify to the world, that you will only receive all others that will leave him, and make their dutiful and personal submissions. Which had been a better course heretofore, than to have yielded to his false offers, whereby he made this advantage, that as long as they saw he might be heard for them, so long they would stick unto him, and so long durst they not make any offers underhand for themselves, to whom we may with more honour grant pardon, considering their defections were in the beginning only forced for fear of his oppression, and the rather continued for lack of forces properly placed by us for their defence. In which point, because we have now directed once again that course, which was heretofore prescribed, howsoever our trust was deceived, we are contented, upon overture of any of those principal men, whose submission and coming in to us may be of good use and consequence, that you do hearken to their motions, and receive them into our mercy, with such conditions as, by the advice of our Council, you shall find convenient. Provided always, that in their submissions it may be specially considered that they come in personally, and that we may be secured for their continuing good subjects, both by such pledges as are likeliest to bind them, and all other good means, and especially by making them draw blood one upon another, if you can. And herein we would have you make a great difference between the northern rebels, and the others of Munster and of Leinster. Of those of the north, we have not had much profit, and therefore can be content you do therein for a beginning order things so in their compositions, as rather to seek provision for continuing them in obedience, and abatement of their greatness, than to strain them to any matter of profit, saving to answer some composition and rising out, as you shall find fit for them with the advice of our Council; whom you shall command to acquaint you with such memorials, as have been in former times sent to our servant Norreys, when he dealt with the northern traitors, that you may tie them to as many of them as you shall think most convenient. But for the rebels in Munster and in other places, where our English subjects are seated and planted, we require you there not to yield to any conditions that may displace them, or bind us to give away to traitors any matters of value, which of right appertain to us; for that were to reward traitors, and not to forgive them."

The abuses of protections. He is to be very sparing in granting them, except in cases of great necessity; and, when he does, he is to take good pledges, and enjoin the protected to make some draughts upon each other. Colonels paid by the establishment to have no further entertainment as Governors of towns. In Connaught, Lord Dunkellin to command the forces, until some Governor of English blood is settled there. Mountjoy to give

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him a commission accordingly, with this reservation, that the command of the garrisons in Galway and Athlone be in no way affected thereby. The entertainment of Lord Dunkellin. The Chief Justice and Council of Connaught to have the sole authority in all civil causes, Lord Dunkellin acting only as a Justice of Peace with them. Allowances for diet to the Chief Justice and others.

"And whereas Samuel Bagenall had 20s. by the day, under the pretence he was to be Governor of Lough Foyle, forasmuch as we have appointed Henry Dockwra, knight, to command there as Colonel, we are pleased that that entertainment do cease. And forasmuch also as we have our cousin the Earl of Thomond residing in the county of Clare, who hath ever carried himself so well, as he is to be favoured and countenanced, our pleasure is, that he have likewise the commandment of any such forces, as shall come into his country, and be continued in the entertainment of a Colonel still. And that in no case the Lord Dunkellin appear to have commandment over him, but that they both hold correspondency together upon all occasions for the good of our service.

"To conclude, our end is, to settle with as much speed as we may some quiet state in that kingdom, which, as we do well consider, must principally be effected by the well managing of our Army, so are we content to let you know that we are not unwilling that our mercy, being grounded upon safe conditions, should co-operate with our force, and that mercy may be shewed, upon the conditions aforesaid, to such as have taken part with him, if you find it good for our service; whereby they being drawn from him, he may be the sooner confounded. Which course we are contented to follow, though not for their merit, yet for the sparing of the rest of our loving subjects, who do so willingly expose their lives for our service. And because it is not unknown to you that we have lost the best part of our possessions by the rebellion in Munster, where there are plenty of good cities and towns, which are likeliest to be shot at by the common enemy, we do require you to give all convenient furtherance for the reducing of that province, and to see the President sent to his charge, as soon as you can dispatch him.

"Lastly, our pleasure is, that you shall in no wise bestow the order of knighthood upon any person in Ireland, without making us first acquainted with your purpose, and hearing from us; a matter which we do in no sort forbid you in regard of any ill opinion we have of you, but because the excess, which other Governors have used in that particular, hath not only made that degree so common, as the honourable calling itself is generally become more contemptible, but it hath wrought an opinion in divers gentlemen of blood and quality here, that they are disgraced so much when they do meet in public place about our service, as they are wholly discouraged for taking pains in the same." When Mountjoy recommends any for knighthood, will not deny him the authority to confer the same, except for some notorious cause to the contrary, "provided always that you make



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none that are not of years, because our right in the wardship of their bodies is often called in question thereby.”—[1600, January.] *Draft.* pp. 16½.

[Jan.] 73. Additional clause for the instructions to the Lord Mountjoy.

“You shall understand that we have written a letter to our Cousin of Ormonde, to take notice of his good services; and in respect that he hath been much toiled now in his later years, when haply he would be contented to repose himself more than he hath done, except there should fall out some extraordinary occasions, we have left unto him the choice, whether he will retain the place of Lieutenant under you, or no; wherein as you shall find him affected, so we do hereby give you warrant, either to make a commission out, with the same fees and entertainments he had as Lieutenant of the army, under you, or otherwise to leave him to his own best liking, he being a nobleman so well affected to us, and so well deserving of us, as we would have himself and all the world know that we make extraordinary estimation of him.”—[1600, January.] *Draft.* pp. 1½.

[Jan.] 74. Notes concerning the ordnance, &c., sent to Ireland, and the Auditor's accounts there.

Great portions of armour, pikes, culivers, &c., have been sent for some years past, but no accounts for the same have been yielded by Jacques Wingfield, the late Master of the Ordnance. The Lord Deputy to see that the officers of the store in Ireland state what has been delivered to them, for what time, and what sums have been defalked upon the pay of the army and garrisons. The heirs and successors of Wingfield to make an absolute account.

Her Majesty has been charged with the daily entertainment of an Auditor and his clerks in Ireland for divers years past, yet officers have greatly complained of the stay and detraction of their accounts. The Lord Deputy to enquire and certify the cause thereof, that order may be taken for better expedition. Mr. Peyton, the present Auditor, to finish the accounts left unfinished by the late Auditor.—[1600, January.] p. 1.

Jan. 75. Queen Elizabeth to Lord Mountjoy. Appointing Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the army in Ireland. *Endorsed*, January, 1599[1600]. *Draft, with corrections by Sir Robert Cecil.* pp. 1½.

[Jan.] 76. “Certain points necessary for the army in Ireland, offered to their Lordships' consideration” [by Lord Mountjoy].

That, as “the musters from henceforth shall be very strictly looked unto,” ten dead pays be allowed to each Captain, “as in other services almost in all other places is accustomed,” upon which allowance severe punishment may more justly be inflicted upon any offending Captain.

That every horse company be allowed a trumpet and a surgeon,

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"as in all other services, and in that kingdom continually allowed, till now omitted in the Earl of Essex[<sup>s</sup>] government."

That no check be imposed by discretion, but according to the "defaults."

That as the Captain bestows an increase of entertainment upon "gentlemen and others of the better quality," out of the means allowed unto himself (besides the bare lendings), the dead pays may be weekly fully satisfied, at the rate of 8*d.* *per diem* for every dead pay.

"That there be several hospitals maintained, at Cork for Munster, and at Dublin and Drogheda for Leinster, every hospital to have two Overseers that shall be honest householders in the towns, a Master that must be a surgeon or a physician, a servant, and four women to attend the sick and hurt men, and a hundred beds furnished for them.

"The Overseers of those hospitals or guesthouses to have nothing for their pains, the Master at 5*s.* *per diem*, his servant 12*d.*, four women at 6*d.* 'le peece,' this entertainment to be levied upon the army, the house-rent, reparations, and bedding to be defrayed by Her Majesty.

"That the Lord Deputy have power to give allowance of powder, lead, and match, unto the soldier for his signal and training days of service, but for other waste upon their ordinary watches and marches, to have the same defalked upon the soldier himself, which, although it hath been anciently accustomed, yet is decided to be ratified by instruction.

"That, when munition shall be sent unto Ireland, there be 3,000 especial good swords, broad and basket-hilted, provided, to be issued by the Master of the Ordnance, for those swords sent out of the counties with the soldiers are nothing worth."

—[1600, January.] *Endorsed*, Offered by the Lord Mountjoy. *Unsigned.* pp. 1½.

[Jan.] 77. "A supply of munition to be sent for out of England."  
—[1600, January.] *Signed by Sir George Bouchier.* p. ½.

[Jan.] 78. "A proportion of store [of arms, &c.] to supply the garrison in Ireland." *Against one of the items*, "oil for cleaning of armours and other necessities in the store, 1 hogshead," *is written in the margin*, "none in store, or to be had in Ireland."  
—[1600, January.] *Unsigned.* p. 1.

[Jan.] 79. "Summa totalis of all and singular such sums of money as hath been issued and paid to Her Majesty's army within the realm of Ireland, as before in this book (*wanting*) laid down particularly appeareth, as well within the governments of the late Lord Lieutenant as also the now Lords Justices;" 1 March, 1598[-9] to 31 December, 1599. Total, 171,883*l.* 0*s.* 6½*d.*—  
[1600, January.] *Unsigned.* *One sheet.*

[Jan.] 80. A note of divers concordatums granted to the Lords Deputy and others for their transportation from London to Dublin;—



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1584, July 12.	Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Con- naught and Thomond .....	43 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> sterling.
1584, July 12.	Sir John Norreys, Lord President of Munster .....	98 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> Irish.
1584-5, January 1.	Sir John Perrot.....	248 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 3½ <i>d.</i> sterling
1597, May 19.	Lord Burgh .....	296 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> sterling.
1599, July 14.	Earl of Essex.....	340 <i>l.</i> sterling.
[1600, January.] <i>Unsigned.</i> p. 1.		

[Jan.] 81. Copy of the preceding.—[1600, January.] p. 1.

Feb. 1.  
Dublin.

82. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Tells him a secret which he learned of Sir George Bingham, in the latter's last sickness. Sir George had been put in trust by his brother Sir Richard Bingham to have made the same known to Her Majesty, "as a part of his last will for the good of her service" in Ireland.

"Sir Richard, at his last departing from Court, had some speeches with Her Highness for the entertaining of Scots, who of all other were fittest for the Irish service, if good security might be had for their faithful service, and safe withdrawing. But Her Majesty making then some question, whether fit and faithful instruments might be found for working of that matter, Sir Richard did deliver to Her Highness the names of two Scottishmen, who had lived a long time in this land, and for whose honesty he offered to pawn his credit, and so left Her Majesty in good conceit and liking of that course; and immediately coming over himself did effectually deal with one of the said Scottishmen concerning the premisses, and, as Sir George did assure me, had so laboured and cleared the whole course with the said Scottishmen, as he made no question but to have effected the service, to Her Majesty's high honour, and recovery of this her kingdom.

"Now so it is, Right Honourable, that the same Scottish gentleman is repaired thither for some suits in the behalf of the College here, of which he is a Fellow. His name is James Hamleton [Hamilton], of a good family (as your Honour may know) in the inland of Scotland, and, as I hear, of very good credit to effect some service there; and for his honest carriage and loyal demeanour, he hath lived with the good liking and commendation of the State and best affected.

"If therefore it may please your Honour (in whom only it rests to work Her Majesty to the entertaining of the said Scots) to demand his knowledge in this matter, and to what resolution Sir Richard Bingham proceeded with him, I stand persuaded that you shall find good matter to enforce, that the service may be by them performed, so as the whole honour of it (next under God) shall redound to Her Highness, and the Scots at Her Majesty's liking [be] withdrawn.

"And notwithstanding the number of soldiers assigned to come over is (as we hear) stinted already, and the places appointed to

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which they must go, yet if the number yielded unto be 20,000, and only 6,000 of them to come over, 4,000 Scots may be well entertained, without increase of charge to Her Majesty. For the army here (the sick men deducted) will hardly make up ten or eleven thousand by poll, and if one thousand of the 6,000 to come over be abated, 4,000 Scots may be well entertained, and Her Majesty's army made thereby full and strong, as is requisite; and if any be appointed to Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, the Scots may (without any inconvenience) be divided amongst them to the same places. And the Scots being once come in, they will (without all question) draw many Scots from the rebels, to their great weakening and discouragement, and, in the end, their utter overthrow. Especially McSorley may be withdrawn, of whose disposition to fall from them I have good evidence." Prays Sir Robert to look to the matter.

Will not trouble Sir Robert with the particulars of the controversy lately happened between himself and the Comptroller of the Musters [Birkinshawe]. During his absence of four months, has detected omissions and corruptions by him, to the amount of 700 or 800 pounds, in the half-year ended 30 September last. Charged him accordingly to the State. Embarkation of Birkinshawe for England, to make complaints. "In truth it is nothing but very shame that chaseth him away, it appearing manifestly to the State, by that which is already set down unto them, that he cannot in any sort answer the matter, but to his worthy disgrace, in regard of Her Majesty's loss by him sustained." Prays Sir Robert to suspend his opinion of any report by Birkinshawe touching the writer, until advertised by the State; will then submit to his censure. Has written the matter at large to Mr. Henry Maynard, the Surveyor-General of Musters in Ireland. Refers to his report. Sends copy (*wanting*) of a letter he has written to the Queen touching his own particular estate, and begs Sir Robert's furtherance of the same. —Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 1. *Signed. Seal. pp. 3.*

Feb. 1. 83. "Confession of [Bernard] O'Donnell."

When he returned to Ireland after wanderings of nearly three years, there came thither by chance at the same time messengers of the King of Spain, bringing letters to the chief Irish nobles. These compelled him to write replies to the King. When the messengers were dismissed, he accompanied them into Spain. There his letters were taken away from him, and he suffered much anxiety. Thence he went to Italy. As far as he remembers, the sum of the reply to the King was to pray for the succour from Spain, which had been delayed. Was received into the priesthood in Castille, "*in civitate Conquenci* [Cuenca]."—1599 [-1600], February 1. *Holograph. Witnessed by John Peyton and William Waad. Latin. p. ½.*

Feb. 2. 84. William Waad to the Attorney-General [Sir Edward Coke]. "The former examinations of O'Donnell, being now found out by Mr. Willis, I am commanded to send presently unto



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you (*wanting*), and withal to let you understand that Mr. Bacon's name was, by my man's negligence, omitted in the late letter unto you proceeding against O'Donnell, whom it may please you to admit, according to their Lordships' pleasure, for the proceeding in that cause."

"I never saw these examinations, but two letters directed to myself."—1599[-1600], February 2. *Holograph. p. 1. Encloses, 84. 1. Bernard O'Donnell to William Waad.* Having been gently admonished by him, will confess his faults, and throw himself on the clemency of the Queen. Perceiving the cruel persecution by those who held office under Her Majesty, he fled into exile. Went to Spain and Rome, and thence into Flanders, and stayed for some time with the Archbishop of Tuam, and in the Douay academy. Then he went into Spain, where he was received into the priesthood by the Bishop of Limerick. Having been extremely ill with fever, he went for the sake of his health to Toulouse in France, whence, although dwelling in comfort with the Cardinal there, longing for his unhappy country, he sought again the shores of Spain, and found the Archbishop of Tuam in the port of Santander returning into Ireland with some Irish nobles and Spanish soldiers, a treaty having been made with the King of Spain in the name of the Irish nobility. But the Lord did not wish that the writer, although longing for his native land, should go and perish with them. And when he had stayed for long and with little pleasure in those parts, going to Madrid, he met the Bishop of Clonfert, who himself so managed the business, that the King sent ships with certain leading men and several letters into Ireland. The Bishop also gave him letters to the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, telling them to fight bravely and strenuously for their religion and country, and that the assistance of the King should not be wanting to them; and since they did not possess that with which they might repay the King for such great kindness, they should show their fidelity and devotion in their letters. Besides, from the days of its most ancient Kings, Ireland belonged of right to the Pontiff, wherefore they should seek for the King to designate some illustrious man to rule over it, and the Bishop especially commended the Cardinal or the Archduke of Austria. But when those nobles wished the Bishop of Derry, who was present, to reply to the King's letters in their name, it yet pleased them to use the writer's hand. Visited his paternal property, and found it waste. The messengers from Spain returning with letters a second time, and going back, he joined himself to them, having received letters of credence from the Irish nobles to the King, and from the bishops to the Pope. His quarrel with the Spaniards on the voyage. The bad treatment he endured at Ferrol, where the remains of the King's fleet, dispersed by the storm, had assembled. His letters taken away from him. When he pressed Juan Idiaques for the letters, the latter being of great authority with the King, Juan gave him letters to Martin Idiaques at Madrid. Suspecting what was in these, he opened them subtilly on the way, and found his suspicions confirmed. Nevertheless he delivered them closed to Martin, and was told to come back on the

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following Thursday. He did not go, and, being destitute of letters and money, he took his journey towards Rome, but turned off to Toulouse in France, that he might obtain assistance from his friend, Cardinal Joyeuse. Was intercepted, and thrown into prison, where he has suffered for eighteen months. This is all he has to tell Waad, except that, when he visited his native place, where [Sir] John Norreys at that time was treating for peace with the Irish at the river Roe, he frequented the Irish army; but the negotiations were carried on in the English tongue, which was unknown to him. The sufferings on the Irish side. The tactics of their army, not meeting the English in open fight. Into his own wanderings and miseries he will not enter. Implores the Queen's clemency.—[1600, January.] Holograph. Latin. pp. 2.

84. II. Bernard O'Donnell to William Waad. The promise of royal clemency, if he made a full confession. The divine punishment of false swearing. The Spanish hatred of the English name. Juan, Martin, and Francis Idiaques brought him into all the evils, which he suffered hitherto in France, and now suffers in London. His setting out for Italy, and his turning off across the Pyrenees to France to see the Cardinal Joyeuse. Prays that the hearts of the Privy Council may be inclined to a true peace. If Her Majesty would deign to use him, and he was enabled to promise every favour and reasonable conditions of peace to the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, on whom in this matter the rest of the nobility depend, he would persuade them to return into Her Majesty's favour, and the Earl especially should recognize her kindness, and he and the others should bid a long farewell to the Spaniards, whose cruelty and pride oppress all their subjects everywhere. If the Spaniards were to possess the whole of Ireland, how would they preserve Irish honour, which they have so grossly violated? His misdeeds are greater than his good service; but the more unworthy he is, the more will Her Majesty's clemency shine forth. The turbulence in Ireland. There is nothing they can repay the Queen with, but confession and returning from their folly. His desire to repay Spanish perfidy towards him. His longing for a peace. But, if there be no hope of peace, unless the Irish are first crushed by more powerful forces, prays God he may sooner die. But more joyful results are to be expected from Her Majesty's clemency. Begs to be commended to the Lords of the Privy Council. Prays for some good books to console him in his solitude.—[1600, January.] Holograph. Latin. pp. 2.

Feb. 3.  
Athlone.

85. Sir Arthur Savage to Sir Robert Cecil. Apologizes for his long silence. "I wrote once unto your Honour about the beginning of April last, and enclosed it with others in a packet directed to Sir Edmond Uvedall, but they were all intercepted and kept back. The matter therein contained imported little, yet was it sufficient to aggravate matter against me. There were other more particular reasons which I will omit, till God give me leave to see you. In the meantime, I beseech your Honour to qualify the opinion which by that demerit you may haply have conceived.

"We all here, by report from England, take notice that your



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Honour is now made choice of, as the fittest and worthiest to direct and manage the affairs of this kingdom, and all men have both their eye[s] and ears prepared, first to attend your direction, and then to expect the fruit which by consequence it must bring forth. For myself, I will not take upon me, being defective of judgment sufficient, to deliver you my opinion in anything, as to ground on; yet will I, in my duty to your Honour, let you understand what I conceive, by the small time I have spent here, to be requisite, and make you my reasons, that, comparing them together, you may select or disallow at your pleasure.

“The reason of so many our disasters, which is cause of the continuance of this rebellion, proceedeth chiefly, as I take it, by the weakness and impotency of the soldier, although sometimes by the rareness of the Captains. Whence doth your Honour think their weakness proceeds? Your Honour will haply say, from the air and cold moisture of the country. It is true that the country is moist, and men are generally more inclined to fluxes and fevers here than in hotter countries. But the weakness of our men groweth most for want of their due means to sustain them, victuals and clothes. I speak not that they want it from Her Majesty, but they want it, being detained by their Captains. And this must your Honour seek to remedy. You will see else this country lost, which by this means only is brought to hazard, and as many kingdoms else as we shall seek to defend.

“Another ens[u]ing evil I thought to give you notice of, to the end your Honour might beware how you advised therein, for it will no doubt be rather a means to continue this war than to shorten it; which is, the enlarging of the authority of the Irish, or continuing them in entertainment, especially so great numbers. The fruit hath yet been nothing; but what have they done, if they have killed or invaded any? It hath been but those, between whom and them there hath been some ancient quarrel, or some matter pretended against their neighbours, to bring them to their obedience. Your Honour will think this no fit time chosen to discharge them in, but in my opinion this is the fittest time, when the army is strong, and all places at once undertaken; for the end of it will otherwise be this, that when Her Majesty may think, by the reducement of those now in rebellion, she hath finished, she will have a war break out upon her by these being discharged after long continuance. That will be by many degrees more dangerous than this was in the beginning. I wish not they should be discharged at an instant, but clipped shorter, neither do I think fit to discharge them in general, because there is distinction to be made. But whosoever he be that you may think fittest to give command to, let it be remote from his country. For this we see daily cometh of it; his company is for the most part, if not altogether, composed of the people of the same country, that would not depart thence, if they were not entertained, so Her Majesty is nothing strengthened; besides, this inconvenience it bringeth with it, the Captain, he putteth up the whole entertainment, and his company are cessed upon the

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country, to their utter destruction and ruin; and then, when Her Majesty's rent or composition is to be paid, they are not able, in regard of the continual charge of soldiers; if her rising out be called for, they cannot answer it, for the cause before named. Your Honour, I am sure, doth know that there is not any of them, who is entitled to the name of a country, that of duty ought to hold it properly to himself, for much of it is Her Majesty's, and some of it belongeth to mean Lords; but, because of this imposition, every one is weary of his tenure, and happy is he [*? who*] can put himself under the Lord entitled. By which means Her Majesty is not only robbed of her rent and risings out, but of her subjects and their obedience. Many other reasons I have to confirm this, and such as I dare not commit to paper.

"Touching the occurrents here, your Honour may please to understand that the Archtraitor Tyrone came the 25th of January into these parts, within four miles of this place. He at the instant sent out his letters to summon many, among the rest to Sir Tibbott Dillon to this effect, that he should be with him the next morning by mass time, to join with him, otherwise he would prosecute him with extremity. He came hither to me to be advised, and denied him. The traitor kept his word accordingly, for he hath burnt all his country, and taken all his cattle, some few cows only saved; but there is neither castle or kinsman of his yielded unto him. He lingereth still hereabouts to bind these our neighbours, as Sir John McCoghlan, and Sir Charles O'Carroll. He is now tampering with them. What will become of it I know not, but they can give him no such assurance, but that a strong army will reduce them; neither do I think they will combine, especially O'Carroll; and McCoghlan was here with me not four days before, and sware upon a book not to join with him. But I hope his coming will return profit to Her Majesty, for there were many intended to have joined with him before his coming, that having been with him, seeing in how base and beggarly manner he is come, that (*sic*) refuse to go any more unto him. Maurice Fitz Thomas, he that is next in remainder to the Earldom of Kildare, after the Earl's brother, we were all jealous of him, being a very great man in power, if he should have gone out; he hath yet utterly refused him. He wrote unto me for leave to speak with him, which I refused, and gave him my reasons. This day he hath sent unto me thanks, and sweareth he will not come at him. He came hither, and two days after Maguire followed him, and yet both they made not 1,500 horse and foot; and yet he holdeth all men in his camp, and no man dare stir to take anything, but when he commandeth.

"Right Honourable, my coming into this country was propounded by others, but desired by your Honour, and, although I had no affection to have come at that time, yet because your Honour desired it, conceiving you did it for my good, I was willing to obey. I beseech you, therefore, that you will either be a man to repair me, or to draw me from hence; but, howsoever, yet that I may be admitted to come over for 14 days. What I



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do else desire, I refer me to Sir Walter Raleigh, to be reported unto your Honour."—Athlone, 1599[-1600], February 3. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 5.*

- Feb. 3. 85A. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and James [Fitz Thomas, Earl of] Arlo. Desmond, to Cormack McDermott. "We have, for the exaltation of the Catholic religion in this realm to be planted, as also to expel the enemies of the Church and our country from the wicked treachery and oppressions which they have daily used towards us, undertaken to visit those places, which as yet have not joined in that godly enterprise. And for that you, by sinister persuasions, is (*sic*) altogether seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against the Church and us, we thought good to write unto you, and also heartily to entreat you (as you regard the advancement of the Catholic faith and your country[']s ease) to add to us your helping hand in accomplishing of our said enterprise. Which if you intend, you shall make all speed possible to meet with us before we enter into your country, and bring with you pledges for your constant performance. Otherwise assure yourself we will follow that course, which peradventure will fall out little to your liking. And therefore, we pray, urge not the ruin and destruction of your country, which we would be loath to work, if cause to the contrary be not ministered. The due consideration we refer to yourself to be further thought of. From Arlo, the 13 of February, 1599." [1599-1600, February 3-13.] *Signed, O'Neill; Ja. Desmond. Copy, certified on the dorse by William Meade, Mayor of Cork. p. 1.*

- Feb. 4. 86. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to Dublin. the Privy Council. "By our last despatch, we advertised your Lordships of the extraordinary preparations made daily by the Archtraitor Tyrone to invade the English Pale, and how he had prescribed the residue of his partakers abroad to be ready to answer him, when he should draw to the borders with his forces of Ulster. And to that end, both he and they made great gatherings of men, and cut victuals upon their countries, for longer time and in greater quantity than they have been accustomed, which was a manifest argument that they had dangerous designs to carry the Pale, and consequently to hazard the whole state of the kingdom. Since, we have observed him and his doings with the best espial we could get, and have found that he hath carried on all his proceedings to answer his first purpose to distress the Pale, and to attempt all the mischief he can, even to subtract the kingdom from Her Majesty, if it lay in his power. For, after he had apportioned so many of his forces as he thought meet to leave behind him for the guard of his country, and to attend such garrisons of Her Majesty's as were laid upon the frontiers to resist his incursions, he put himself into the field with the residue, and, passing through Monaghan and the Brenny, he marched directly to Westmeath, where he burned the Dillons' country, for that Sir Theobald Dillon refused to join with him; and from thence he held his way into Magawle's country, being

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within three miles of Athlone; from whence he drew into Offally, to a house of Sir Edward Herbert's, called the Durrow, being taken before by the rebels, and ever since kept in their possession. And being there upon Monday last, he took view of his provisions to serve his turn for his further journey into the upper parts of Leinster, and so to the borders of Tipperary and Ormonde, where he looketh to meet with the supposed Earl of Desmond and other traitors of Munster about the Holy Cross, which is the place where it is like they will conclude and confirm all their combinations, and consecrate them with new oaths afore that idol, whom the Irish nation do more superstitiously reverence than all the other idolatries in Ireland. [*See second paragraph of No. 65.*]

"We understand very credibly that, as he passeth, he laboureth to draw to him as many of the Irishry as he can, and we doubt not but both by his fair promises, and the terror of his forces, he will bring many of them under him for the time. Of which sort, touching O'Carroll, McCoghlan, and the Lord of Upper Ossory, who hitherto have stood reasonably firm, considering the adversity of the time, yet now upon these great alterations, we know not what assurance to repose in them, other than as in wily and well-experienced borderers, who know how to manage the time to their own best advantage. But for our parts we cannot but hold it very strange that he should march through so many countries, full of bogs, passes and fastnesses, and to (*sic*) lead his army along, without great hazard to be dangerously distressed, if not cut off. As again, we find it as strange that he should make his entry into Westmeath, and pass through so large and plain a country, in open daylight, without any encounter, yea not so much as the alarm given. All which your Lordships may think was not done by a single negligence or connivance of the country, but rather out of their unsound hearts, whereof they have made demonstration in many other matters before. And in this they have most probably erred, when they would not so much as give advertisement to the State, nor (for anything that we know) to the Lord Lieutenant of the army, who at that time lay with the army upon the borders of Meath, being the next country to Westmeath. His Lordship is now gone after them, to see if he can overtake them, whom he could not cross at their first entry into the country, having carried with him such part of the army that was here in Leinster, as he thought meet for that expedition, and left behind him the residue to guard the frontiers and the Pale, under the charge of the Serjeant-Major, as we hear.

"Concerning the list of the companies, as well such as his Lordship taketh with him, as of the rest left behind, and of the perfect strength of them both by poll, we hope his Lordship hath acquainted you therewith, together with many other things appertaining to this great service he hath now in hand; only, considering the importance of the Pale, being the most precious part of the kingdom, we wrote to his Lordship, before his going from the Naas, to take care as to leave it guarded, as, whilst his Lordship was pursuing the Archtraitor in the outward parts of Leinster, the more inner parts of the Pale, which is the life of



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the kingdom, should be provided for, and not left open to disasters; the copy of which letter we send to your Lordships herewith, together with his Lordship's answer to us [*wanting, but see Nos. 51, 61, 62, and 621. above.*]

"God prosper his Lordship in this great action, which is the greatest and most dangerous that hath happened in the knowledge of us, that have served longest here. For it was never heard that any of the O'Neills out of their deserts of Ulster, and with an army of Ulstermen only, did pierce so far into Leinster. And according to reason and experience, it may be thought incredible, were it not that the defection is universal and apparent in the Irish, and no assurance to be reposed in some others that pretend to stand fast, who in the trial we cannot but think will be ready to run with the rest. We most humbly beseech your Lordships to consider what is the state of this unhappy kingdom, when the sworn enemy thereof, the Archtraitor Tyrone, lieth now in the heart of it, and hath in his power in effect all the outward and inward parts, and nothing left free from danger but the heart, which cannot long subsist without present relief, and to be succoured by Her Majesty, being the sacred fountain and life of this heart. It may please your Lordships, therefore, to acquaint Her Majesty with these dangers, and that in her rare and excellent wisdom, she may provide out of hand to send means to stand against them, and to stay from utter falling this great oak of the kingdom, to the which the axe is laid ready to give the deadly stroke, if God and Her Majesty do not out of hand remove it.

"We wish that the garrison for Lough Foyle were hasted away with all speed, which assuredly would draw Tyrone back again into Ulster with all his forces. And if it be not at this instant ready to be sent, that it may come with all possible diligence; and in the meanwhile that your Lordships will speed away with all haste the Deputy, and such commanders as are to accompany him, by whose presence and ministry there may be yet some stop given to these extremities, which otherwise will not be stopped.

"We have sent your Lordships herewith (*wanting*) the double of such letters as we have received concerning Tyrone's progressions, but we can write nothing as yet of the Lord Lieutenant's proceedings, till we hear further from his Lordship."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 4.

[*Postscript.*] "We cannot now write any certainty of Tyrone's forces, which he carrieth with him in this journey, for that our intelligences differ much touching the numbers, some affirming that he was not above 1,400 foot and 200 horse, though the Lord Lieutenant's advertisements run to a far greater number. But we assure ourselves that by the access of the Irish, as he marcheth, he will greatly increase his strength. We understand the Lord Burke and his brother are lately slain in Munster by some of the Connors of Connaught, being bonnaughts to the Munster rebels."

*Signed. Endorsed.* Received at London the 11 of February, '99. pp. 3.

Feb. 4.  
Dublin.

87. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey to the Privy Council. According to their Lordships' letters of January 9, have sent the

state and strength of the horse troops, as they stand now upon the late musters, whereby they may perceive the number of the English horse that remain in Leinster. These for the most part are very weak, and decay fast. When the late Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom departed for England, a great many, which served on horseback as "voluntaries," departed also at that time with their horses. "And this country at this time yieldeth, little means for keeping of horses; there is almost no hay to be gotten for money."

Have also sent a list of the true strength of the foot-companies, as it appeared upon the last musters at Navan and Naas, taken before the Earl of Ormonde.

"And where your Lordships signified Her Majesty's pleasure, by your Lordships' letters of the 14th of December, that we should deliver over the house in the Castle of Dublin to the Lord Deputy's officers that they might put all things in a readiness against his Lordship's coming over (who we wish were now here present), none of us doth use any part thereof, sithence the late Lord Lieutenant's departure; so as his Lordship's servants may dispose of all matters there, as may be best fitting for his Lordship."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 4. *Signed. Seal. p. 1. Enclose,*

87. I. "*A brief of horse troops, mustered since the 11 of January, 1599 [by Commissary Edward Hayes], only of horsemen shewed present in the field before the Lord Lieutenant.*" Total in list, 688; present, 537. p. 1.

87. II. "*A brief of foot companies, mustered since the 11 of January, 1599 [by Commissary Edward Hayes], only of men shewed present in the field, before the Lord Lieutenant for the most part.*" Total in list, 4,568; present, 3,208. pp. 3.

Feb. 4.  
Dublin.

88. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. "The Lord of Delvin in his private letters hath complained unto me that to his great grief (as he saith), he is given to understand that there is some question made in England of his loyalty; and therewithal sent unto me this enclosed, as a declaration of his former services, with great protestation of his good endeavours to do Her Majesty all dutiful and loyal services; of the which I shall see good testimony very shortly. I humbly beseech your Honour, let his Lordship receive some letters of encouragement from their Lordships. It is possible it will work some good effect in his Lordship to put his best endeavours for the furtherance of Her Highness[s] service."—"From my house by Dublin," 1599[-1600], February 4.

[*Postscript.*] "I do assure your Honour that my Lord of Kildare and the Marshal of late did very special good service in the county of Leix, spoiled and burnt a number of their towns and corn. It was pity they were so soon called back."—*Endorsed, Received at London, February 11, '99. Holograph. Seal. p. 1. Encloses,*

88. I. "*A note of services done by the Lord of Delvin, sithence the year 1596, until the first of February, 1599[-1600].*"



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*The number of rebels he had cut off and those he had apprehended amounted to 246. Speaks of many heads sent to Dublin. Mentions the names of several of his kinsmen, who had been killed by the rebels. Unsigned. pp. 4.*

Feb. 4.  
Dublin.

89. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "It may please your Honour to see, by the public letter now sent, what is the distressed case of Leinster, by the rage of Tyrone, who, finding his entry free and quiet, as if he had been in Ulster, is now marched through Westmeath towards the borders of Tipperary and Ormonde. In all which tract he draweth to him sundry Irish Lords and their countries, of whom he taketh pledges for their assurance; and for others that will not yield, he maketh havoc of their goods. By this course (not being fought withal in all his passage), he will make himself strong by new confederacies, and weaken Her Majesty in the hearts of many that stood fast before; but now, finding that they are not answered with a requisite defence in so great dangers, will no doubt run with the time, and make that destitution a reason of their so doing.

"What hope is there of the reduction of this kingdom, when Her Majesty, paying an army of 14,000 foot, cannot have a fourth part thereof drawn to a head to defend the heart, which is but the fourth part of the kingdom; while the sworn enemy findeth way to march (as it were) through the bowels of it, and to use an insolent liberty to take or leave, as he listeth? The fault of this is not to be put upon Her Majesty, for that she hath still countenanced her army with royal supplies of men, money, victuals, and munition. But it must of necessity rise out of another root, which hitherto hath got too much sufferance than to be remedied but by Her Majesty's peremptory commandment. For young men (being preferred to be Captains before they had learned what was the office of a Captain, or were touched with a true feeling of the honour and reputation of that calling), have little regarded the service, neither could they, being ignorant in the true points thereof. Only they have devoured Her Majesty's pay, leaving their companies to live by discretion, and Her High[ness's] service to run to hazard. And in all these courses they are borne up by the greatness of their parents, in respect of whom these inexperienced Captains must not so much as be reproved. I pray your Honour secrete me in this other than to Her Majesty, otherwise you will pull upon me the whole tribe of Levi and Judah. But, for remedy of this evil, I wish the Lord Deputy, before his coming away, were commanded by Her Majesty to make it his first work, at his entering into charge, to go through the list of the army, and remove unskilful young Captains, and raise up in their places old Captains of longer standing, who know the service, and have bled in it. For it is out of such that the end of this rebellion must be wrought, and not out of a company of young and raw Captains, who either know not how to serve upon the rebels, or will find cause to be absent, when they ought to be in the field.

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"I understand that Tyrone is still drawing up towards Cashel, and that the Lord Lieutenant is preparing to follow him. But as yet no encounter hath passed between them, that is heard of. I have sent your Honour herewith an Irish letter interpreted, which Tyrone wrote to McCoghlan, and both the letter and the messenger were brought to me by one of my espials."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 4.

[*Postscript.*] "Many great abuses besides these are in the army, all tending to rob Her Majesty in her purse, and deceive her in her service, besides grieving of her subjects with the soldiers' extortions, for want of good discipline and industry in their Captains. Her Majesty is not to look for an end of these wars till her army be better disciplined, and repurged of these abuses. I humbly beseech your Honour, take to heart the speedy sending away of the garrison for Lough Foyle, who, if they were now here, or upon the way, would divert Tyrone from Leinster into Ulster."—Signed. Endorsed. Received at London, February 11, '99. pp. 2. Encloses.

89. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir John McCoghlan.* [See 89. II.]—*Knockdufmayne*, 1600, February 6 [1599-1600, 27 January-6 February.] Signed, "O'Neill." Irish. p. ½.

89. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir John McCoghlan.* "We commend us to you. We have received your letter, whereby we understand you intend none other but use fair words, and by delays win time. For our part of the matter, who taketh not part with us, and defend (sic) the right, we take that man to be against us. Wherefore deal for yourself and for us the worst you may, and we accordingly use you to the uttermost of our power, by God's help. From *Knockdufmayne*, 6 February, 1600" [1599-1600, 27 January-6 February.] Translation of preceding. p. ½.

Feb. 4.  
Ballymore  
Loughseudy.

90. Captain Francis Shaen to Sir Robert Cecil. Would have written oftener, but the let thereof has been "the usual intercepting of letters written thither, which hath wrought many times the writers' woe. A late accident befalling Sir Arthur Savage, conducting to Athlone certain munition, forceth me to write unto your Honour, understanding that some, I know not who, have touched the gentleman but wrongfully in his reputation. The chief blame of that action, if any be at all, I cannot avoid, being an actor therein, the truth whereof well weighed will both satisfy your Honour, and clear both the knight and myself of that hard opinion delivered of us.

"About the beginning of December, Sir Arthur was to come to Mullingar, with ten barrels of powder and some little proportion of money, for furnishing of the house of Athlone. But he, riding before the munition to Mullingar, fell into an ambuscade of the enemy's, who took the said money and Sir Arthur's chief horse; upon which occasion he returned, and with a convoy came to Mullingar, from whence he writ to me to meet him the 8 of the same, by the way, with my foot company. According to his direction, I set forward myself with six horsemen, two whereof reasonably horsed, and ten footmen, scouring the way, and clear-



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ing the passages, which I found without danger, until I met with Sir Robert Drury's company; whom I wished him to return to their garrison, assuring him that I had searched all the places of danger in my coming, and that I had sent for Sir Tibbott Dillon's horsemen, who with my own footmen were to follow me. But the enemy, to the number of 140, whereof 40 gentlemen, advertised of Sir Arthur's being at Mullingar, drew into the woods adjoining, and by their espial perceiving that I had passed by with some few on horseback, followed me, and striking betwixt me and my footmen without discovery, until we almost met, by reason of the hilliness of the country, upon the first view I took them to be my own footmen and Sir Tibbott Dillon's horsemen. But, finding the contrary, I returned such horsemen and footmen as I had, willing them to draw the munition to the next castle, and that Sir Arthur, riding upon a little hackney, should draw to a place of safety. They drew the carriages as fast as might be, the leaders having cast part thereof down, and ran away with the horses themselves. I stood at the head of the enemy, stopping the few horse the enemy had and their loose footmen, and in the end brought so much of the carriage as the drivers had not flung off the horses to the next castle yard, where, the fight growing hot, my horse was slain, and so being afoot fell into the enemy's hands, God so providing for me, as such as were next me were men in peace time greatly beholden to me, who, contrary to 'many is minds,' saved my life; albeit, by the greatness of my ransom, I shall never be able to recover myself, except Her Majesty be gracious to me. There was but three barrels of powder lost, howsoever the report goeth otherwise. This being the sum of this unfortunate action, I thought it my part to make known unto your Honour, as well to purge myself as Sir Arthur Savage of imputation, whom I think worthy of power in his profession, if he were enabled to make trial thereof, where he commandeth, which, as the bruit runneth, Her Majesty will abandon, leaving a small garrison at Galway and Athlone. Which if she shall do, in my simple opinion will in the end prove most prejudicial to her estate here; considering that the Connaught men are for the most the valiantest and expertest men employed by the enemy in this war. And truly I think that Her Majesty shall not employ a sufficient gentleman in reducing Connaught to their former obedience than he is, that now exerciseth that place, being a man well acquainted with the nature and disposition of the Irish nation, and therefore fittest to encounter their treacherous devices. If Her Majesty will dissolve the government of Connaught, the service of Ballyshannon and O'Donnell's country will not take that expected effect, but will grow to a lingering war, being furnished with the strength of Connaught men. And to commit Athlone, the very heart of the kingdom, to any but the English, will prove most pernicious to this near lost kingdom; besides the Irish borders by east the river of Shannon will grow the more insolent, if this Connaught government be dissolved. Be it spoken under reformation, if this government be laid down, Her Majesty, I fear, in the end shall lose her kingdom; but this and the service of

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Ballyshannon may be performed better by the Governor of Connaught than by any other, Connaught affording many good helps thereunto.

"The present estate of this kingdom is most miserable, Tyrone being past near Ballymore with some fifteen hundred men, and hath spoiled Sir Charles O'Carroll's country, where his men have been shrewdly galled. Many of these parts have been with him, and more like to follow. What the success of his journey will be, doth not yet appear. The county of Longford in general are revolted; many in Westmeath are tottering; so that, if the Lord Deputy do not come speedily, although bad, the country will be worser."—Ballymore Loughseudy, 1599[-1600], February 4. *Holograph. pp. 2.*

Feb. 4.  
Athlone.

91. Sir Arthur Savage to the Privy Council. "Your Lordships may please to understand that, at my last being at Dublin, I obtained with great difficulty of the State there, ten barrels of powder and 100*l.* in money for provision of this house; and because the way was dangerous, I besought them for convoy. But two days before, the cessation was agreed on between the Earl of Ormonde and Tyrone, that Archtraitor. Wherefore the State answered me that now, in the time of cessation, I 'ned' [needed] no convoy; and yet, after great importunity, they agreed to let me have ten horsemen for the first twenty miles, being of least danger, and gave me a letter to such Captains as lay in my way. The day I set forth of Trim towards Mullingar, after I had seen the carriage laden, I committed them to a convoy, which I was fain to hire, and one of mine own to oversee them, and then took my way onward. Two miles short of the town I fell into an ambush, myself and five more that were with me, where I lost the 100*l.* and all the money, I protest to God and your Honours, which I had in Ireland, with the best and only horse I had to serve on, and very hardly escaped. Some three days after I went forward, accompanied by 50 soldiers of Sir Robert Drury's, and, being five miles past this town of Mullingar, in the midway between that and Francis Shane his house, I met with himself, whom I had before appointed to meet me with his company. He brought with him nine foot, and three horsemen well-horsed, and three more upon nags, but he told me his company was at hand, and entreated me to send back the soldiers, assuring me the country was clear. Not long after the company was returned, which he hastened the return of for fear of oppression, we discovered, being in a champaign country, a company coming the very same highway against us. I asked Francis Shane whom he took them to be. He assured me his company. We sent out one or two of the horsemen against them, and kept on our way. At length, drawing nearer to them, we might plainly see that their number were too great to be his company. We then, being in all, both horse and foot, but 21, drew back both ourselves and carriages towards a castle, which lately before we had passed. But the enemy pressed so hard upon [us], that we could put in but seven barrels of our powder. So the rest they had the spoil



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of, myself and those Englishmen that were with me, Captain Weynman being one of them, because we were ill-horsed, and all our company having long before left us, took our way, as soon as we perceived ourselves to be within danger of the shot. Mr. Shane, trusting to his horse, suffered the shot to come up, who slew his horse, and then was he taken. The enemy were 140, of as good foot as any were of that kind in Ireland, besides six horsemen, whose horses if they had not been spent before in catching of cows, we had never a man of us escaped. I have made your Lordships a true declaration of my success taken in this journey, for which there hath been by the State here such imputation laid upon me, referring me wholly to your honourable excuses.

"Touching the estate of this province, your Lordships may please to know that at this time, now that Ballyshannon is undertaken, if there were companies here, I would make small doubt to reduce it, and that in short time. But there are now here only six companies of English, four in Galway, and two in this town, and the rest are Irish, intended for the defence of Clanrickarde. I have not one horseman under my command, so that now Tyrone is so near me, and the Dillons' country being spoiled, I am to expect nothing but famine, if the Deputy come not in time to relieve me. I have only six weeks' wheat and three weeks' malt, and no manner of other provision, not so much as one beef, either for myself or company. If I had not with great importunity gotten this corn, we must have starved ere this. But if either I had horsemen or boats, which I have often sought, I would be in no such danger of want. There are three boats here, which have been sunk this two year; 150*l* would set them up, and make them serviceable. I wrote so much unto the State, and told them myself, but could get no answer. I have bought one boat for present use to fetch wood, and I have disbursed other money for such necessary uses, first by instruction of my Lord Lieutenant, and then by letter from them (*sic*), which they assured me payment for; but, at my being at Dublin, where I shewed them my accounts, they answered me that, for the money disbursed by instruction from the Lord of Essex, I must seek it of him; and, for that they had wished me to disburse, they had yet no warrant for, but they would commend it to your Lordships. Now, my Lords, I fear that upon the coming of this Deputy, to whom I must make petition for allowance hereof, that he will tell me he hath nothing to say to it, being before his time. I therefore most humbly beseech you for your favourable letters in my behalf unto him and the rest. It is not much, and yet it is more than I believe to get in Ireland, and I would be loath to be troublesome to your Lordships for the regaining so small a sum, being laid out of my purse. The treasure hath been landed this sixteen days, and the passage yet open between this and Dublin. Notwithstanding, there is not any one penny come or coming hither, for aught that I can learn; by which means the three castles of the county of Roscommon, which hath hitherto been so carefully preserved, are now in danger. Their victuals are wholly spent, and some of them have eaten horseflesh a fortnight sithence. Herewith the

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State hath been made acquainted, but no remedy to be had. Tyrone lay within four miles of this place four or five days, and is now gone into Offally, and lieth far out of the highway from Dublin hither. He keepeth his forces very orderly together, without straggling. He came not hither above 1,500 horse and foot, but now the Leinster rebels are joined all with him."—Athlone, 1599[-1600], February 4. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 4.*

Feb. 6. 92. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Ormonde. Her committal of the care of Ireland to Lord Mountjoy. He is to make out a commission for Ormonde of Lieutenantancy over the army of Ireland. The acceptance or refusal thereof left to Ormonde. Her acknowledgment of his services, and regard for his health. Is assured that, upon any occasion, he will be ready to give counsel to Mountjoy.—*Endorsed*, 1599[-1600], February 6. *Draft. p. 1.*

Feb. 6. 93. "An establishment expressing the number of all the  
Richmond. officers and bands of horse and foot, appointed to serve in the realm of Ireland, together with their several entertainments by the day, month, and year; the same to begin and take place the first day of February, 1599[-1600], in the two and fortieth year of our reign."

Officers of the army [chiefly staff], 4,453*l.* Twelve hundred horsemen, distributed into 24 bands; 12,000 footmen, distributed into 120 bands. Total for both, 200,458*l.* Extraordinaries, 4,000*l.*—Richmond, 1599[-1600], February 6. *Signed by the Queen. Sheet of parchment.*

Feb. 7. 94. Account of a privy seal of 5,000*l.*, issued for the province of Munster.—1599[-1600], February 7. *Signed by Paymaster H. Rymesman. pp. 4.*

Feb. 8. 95. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "Tyrone remaineth still within Leinster, making his exercise to pass from one Irish country to another, without resistance or impediment that is heard of. He lay five or six days in Fercall, where O'Molloy, the chief Lord of that country, who hitherunto hath stood for Her Majesty, is fallen into his hands, with what conditions your Honour may easily guess, where the weaker is driven to bend under the power of the stronger. From thence he drew into O'Doyne's country, where Teig O'Doyne, heir-apparent of the country, not being able to stand against him, hath left his country, and is retired hither to the State, together with Sir Terence O'Dempsey. In this country, being called Iregan, Tyrone took his pleasure, putting many of the poor inhabitants to the sword, and making booty of the wealth and substance of the country. From thence he drew to McCoghlan's and O'Carroll's countries, where (as I understand by my spy) he was the day before the writing of this letter. But what he hath done in those countries, or what course he holdeth with the Lords thereof, my spy cannot report, for that he wrote unto me very soon after his entry into the country; only, he sendeth me word that Tyrone doth what he will in all these Irish countries he passeth through, and taketh what he list, as if he were in the freest parts of Ulster;



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and so he may do, so long as there is no force nor resistance made against him. I understand that the Holy Cross was brought to him by the priests, before he left Fercall, so as I conjecture he will alter his purpose to go up to the Abbey of the Holy Cross near Cashel, but will spend his time within Leinster, to draw the Irish Lords to him, and to assure them by pledges; neither shall he need to go up to the Holy Cross to answer the meeting with Desmond, for that they two may meet as well by their messengers, as in their own person, and communicate their whole affairs one to another, as if they had had a personal meeting.

"I have no certainty as yet how long he will tarry in Leinster, or which way he will make his return. But I fear he will pass home through the heart of the English Pale, which he may easily do, now that he hath assured the Irish Lords in Leinster, and won them to be a back to him in his retreat. And besides, he knoweth the forces left in the English Pale are not sufficient to stop him; and, in my understanding, I see no other refuge for us, but to strengthen the corporate towns, and suffer the traitors to keep the field, and take their pleasure in the champaign. This is my fear; I pray God make my fear vain, and by His preserving mercy save this poor portion of the Pale, which in all appearance is now running down the hill to destruction.

"Nothing is heard as yet of the Earl of Ormonde, other than that four days past his Lordship was at Kilkenny, making preparations to pursue Tyrone. God bless him in the service, for the whole state of the kingdom (in all reasonable construction) resteth upon the good or ill success of his endeavours at this instant. I am still bold to urge the sending away of the forces to Lough Foyle, for, till either they be come or known to be upon the way, I see not that Tyrone will make any haste back again. And the longer he is suffered to rest in Leinster, the more is the kingdom endangered, and the public honour blemished; and, but by the rumour of a force to be sent to Lough Foyle, I see there will be no other way here of his diversion, unless it be by the coming of the Lord Deputy, by whose presence and authority a new life may be given to the whole matter. This is to answer the present passage; by my next your Honour shall know further of all things, as they come to me."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 8.

[*Postscript.*] "Tyrone thinketh that by his long lying in Leinster the State here will take occasion to write to your Lordships, that such forces as are raised in England for the service of Ireland may be addressed directly hither and for Munster, and so drawn quite away from Ulster; whereby he thinketh to rest quiet at home. God put into your heads there to hold firm the resolution for Lough Foyle, which will deceive this imagination, and prevent all his other drifts. Thus much was written to me this morning by one that was present when Tyrone used this speech." *Signed. Endorsed, Received at London the 19th. Seal. pp. 2.*

Feb. 10. 96. [Charles Blunt], Lord Mountjoy, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I  
Paintree. have received, since my departure from London, letters from the  
2. DD

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Earl of Ormonde and Sir Geoffrey Fenton, the particularities whereof, being of any importance, I assure me you have, by their letters unto you. Only this I find by them both; the proportion of the army ordained by the Queen to make the war is thought insufficient; which doth but concur with all their opinions that Her Majesty was pleased should be called to the consultation of this cause. Wherefore I pray, Sir, consider whether the suit which I perceive all we that are Her Majesty's ministers of that kingdom must make will not come hereafter with less opportunity, seeing we are now presently to enter into the plantation of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, two actions of exceeding difficulty, without some army to divert the forces that will front their sitting down, and that Tyrone is already afoot, and master of the field in person, as far as Munster. It would grieve me much to omit so good an occasion as may be offered for the want of those men, which perchance at my coming over I shall be driven to cast [*sic*; cass]. Wherefore, Sir, I beseech you to move Her Majesty that if the English fall out stronger than we imagine, or that the cause by her Council shall be thought of exceeding importance, that I may have power from Her Majesty to retain either one or two thousand more in list; which, if the English should not be full, would be easily supplied for so many with the Irish, of whom there will be as great or greater use made than of sundry as are sent over."

[*Postscript.*] "Sir, I beseech you to excuse me to Her Majesty, if I make not as much haste to the seaside as she expecteth; for the ways by these frosts are so exceeding dangerous, that I can scant travel at all; and I have already spoiled many of my best horses."—February 10. *Endorsed*, 10 February '99. From Daintree. *Holograph.* p. 1.

[Feb. 11. Dublin.] 97. The Lord Justice Carey to Sir Robert Cecil. Will pay, according to her Highness's pleasure, 100*l.* to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, in respect of his charges for intelligences. Craves warrant for this, and for the other sums he has disbursed for extraordinaries.

"I know well that your Honour meant this place unto me as Treasurer for my good; which I acknowledge with as great a desire as any man living to deserve it. But I find the perils and hazards such, that I protest unto your Honour that I never had quiet night's rest sithence I first came into this cursed land. These extraordinaries which the service doth daily and hourly require, the great sums of money which I am enforced to borrow before the treasure do come over, and the hazard of my accounts if my ministers should fail of the sudden, or be dishonest, being in so remote places, my peril were very great. God bless Her Majesty with long life! If she should fail, I were undone." Again begs for the warrant for extraordinaries. "For, by the living God, I swear to your Honour, before the receipt of the last treasure I borrowed, as now upon the reckoning it doth appear, above 8,000*l.*"

Has received the letters of the Privy Council of the 16th ult., requiring him to send over to Chester, by February 29, two pay-



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masters, the one for Lough Foyle, the other for Ballyshannon, or to be ready to go from Dublin with the 1,000 men that shall be sent from Dublin to Carrickfergus.

Prays that his paymasters may start from Dublin with the treasure, and that, after he understands what instructions the Lord Deputy brings over for the issuing thereof, he may give directions to his paymasters accordingly. Thinks he ought to send two each, instead of one each, to Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon. Finds his place twice as chargeable to him as it was to his predecessor, but there is nothing too heavy for him, if his service were pleasing to Her Majesty, or if their Lordships did not require things impossible at his hands. "And your Honour (by your favour) is the greatest cause why I object myself to these so many dangers, which I now forbear to write."

Has received from the Earl of Ormonde of the 7th of this present, dated at Kilkenny, on his departure thence to encounter Tyrone, who was going to the Holy Cross to meet Desmond. Conjectures that Ormonde's forces are 800 foot and 100 horse, which he took with him out of Leinster. Afterwards he sent for James FitzPiers's company, being 150; Thomas Williams's, 100; Captain Eustace's, 100; and Walter McEdmond's, 100. So that out of Leinster Ormonde has 1,250 foot and 100 horse. Out of the parts about Kilkenny, his Lordship has, of Her Majesty's army, 150 horse and above 700 foot, so that his whole force is 1,950 foot and 250 horse, besides the foot and horse of the country. "I pray God they may meet, and some good may be done to the abating of the pride of this Archtraitor."

Has received a letter from Captain Egerton, touching the arrival of a great ship at Lough Foyle. Sends the letter herewith.—[Dublin.] *Endorsed*, 1599 [February 11]. Received at London, 19 February. *Holograph*. pp. 3. *Encloses*,

97. 1. *Captain Charles Egerton to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey*. "Upon Thursday last, towards the evening, four horsemen of Tirlogh McHenry's did run their horses close to one of our ports, called Ardee Port, and, before they returned, one of those horsemen was dismounted and taken prisoner, which was the man from whom we took the last prey, being one of good account with Tirlogh McHenry, and, as I hear, there will be eighty cows given for his ransom. It may please your Lordships, our prison is very weak, and the man exceedingly well-beloved by the most of this town, who had been slain in the field, if Weston had not saved him before my coming in. I beseech your Lordships, let me understand what shall be done with him. It is doubtful, if he be long kept, Tirlogh will light upon some man of worth, either of this town or otherwise, and then earnest suit will be made unto your Lordships for exchange of prisoners.

"May it also please your Lordships, I am advertised that there is a great ship arrived in Lough Foyle, freighted with 400 tuns of wine and twenty ton[s] of munition. They give it forth they be Frenchmen. Sir John O'Dogherty, upon pledges, hath been aboard them, and drunk with them. They will not let it be known whether those goods come in merchandise or in gift, before they do speak with

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*Tyrone, unto whom there is messengers sent in all haste. A poor man brought me these advertisements forth of Art McBaron's house. And yesterday, being Saturday, Tirlogh McHenry drew Cormack McBaron and McMahon with their forces; who ambuscadoed in four several places about this town, being, with Tirlogh's forces, Con McCollo's and Ever Roe McCoole's in number, as I am credibly informed, 700 shot, 200 pikes, and 300 horse. Part of their ambuscadoes brake forth towards our cattle about ten of the clock. But, God be praised, we rescued all our goods, and lost not the worth of a goat, and skirmished with the enemy in our strengths above three hours, and retreated without the loss of any man; and of the enemy's side there was slain a principal horseman [of] Tirlogh McHenry's, and one called Captain Hanlon, shot through the nose, besides seven or eight others hurt; and as yet they do encamp within three miles of this town."*—Dundalk, 1599[1600], 'February 10. Holograph. Seal. p. 1.

Feb. 11.  
Dublin.

98. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "This day I received your letter of the 16th of the last, wherein your Honour requireth me to haste away Captain Thornton for his own person, for that he is to take charge of certain shipping intended for Ireland. He was ready to come away four or five days before the coming of your letter, with the Queen's pinnace, to transport the Lord Deputy; but, finding the wind contrary, he could not pass, and therefore I sent for him this day from aboard the pinnace, and have charged him again to speed himself thither, according the tenor of your Honour's letter. I humbly thank your Honour for writing to the Treasurer for payment of my spial money; but here is no money to be had, either for that or any other extraordinaries, till it come out of England, together with warrant for payment.

"At the writing of this letter, my Irish priest, who followeth Tyrone's camp, sent his boy to me, to tell me in private that Tyrone will assuredly pass up to the Holy Cross in person, and hath found such ways thither by his guides, that he careth not much for any resistance that is to be made against him; a matter so strange to me, as I see not how a reason is to be made for it. For I know he will not pass through the plain countries, which were utterly to hazard him and his whole army; neither hath it been the manner of him, or any of the Irishry heretofore, to try with the Queen's forces upon hard ground. But now they hold over base an opinion of us. If he leave the plains, then must he seek his way through woods and passes. In which course, if diligence be used that those straits and woods by which he must pass be first possessed by us, then is he utterly disappointed, and I hope it will be easy for the army to get the start of him in those passes, for that the country is well known to the Lord Lieutenant, and almost all the Butlers are very good guides there. Upon the occasion of this passage arrived this day, I have possessed the priest's boy that the garrison for Lough Foyle is now upon their way thitherward; who will report it to his master, and his master relate it over to Tyrone, and to divulge it otherwise in his camp.



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It may be this will work some operation in him to make haste home again by the same way he came, and not to drown time by seeking of byways."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 11. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed*, Received at London the 19th. *p. 1.*

Feb. 11. 99. Note by William Greatrakes, Deputy-Commissary, of victuals received into Her Majesty's store at Cork, the 11th of February [1599-1600]. *p. 1.*

Feb. 12. 100. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, to Sir Robert St. Alban's. Cecil. "This bearer, the agent for the city of Limerick, hath shewed me a brief of the agrievances which those townsmen have received at the hands of the Earl of Thomond; which if they be true, they are worthy of regard, and very meet to be redressed. And therein (albeit the nobleman be one whom in my particular I do love), yet I do exceedingly desire reformation of them, as a thing very important for Her Majesty's service; and so I humbly refer the consideration of the same unto your Honour's wisdom. The other suit which he prays me to prefer unto you is, that the remainder of the money due unto that city, which is 200*l.*, may be paid them in munition; which I think to be reasonable, and void of danger to the Queen. For it is meet that, in these dangerous times, they should have means to defend themselves; and there is no fear that any part of the same can be converted to the rebels' use, when the same shall be bestowed in the common storehouse in the city, from whence nothing can be taken but by the consent of the Corporation, who will not admit the disposing of it to the rebels' aid, except the town do wholly revolt, whereof I hope there is no doubt [fear]. The relief of munitions issued to the rebels is by private merchants, and not out of the common store. But herein I will not labour to persuade, but deliver my opinion, and humbly refer it to your honourable consideration."—St. Alban's, 1599[-1600], February 12. *Holograph. p. 1.*

[Feb. 12.] 101. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I know not well how to satisfy your Honour to describe unto you the three rebels, which is so much commended for their reducing (*sic*), for I do not remember any special note that was taken of them in particular. But, as near as I can, I will call to mind all those of quality, which were received by his Lordship during his government.

"Teig O'Brien, brother of the Earl of Thomond, who is of no great force, nor cannot be, while his brother liveth.

"Thomas Burke, brother to the late Lord Burke, who was a man of no strength.

"The Lord Mountgarrett and the Lord of Cahir, who being out did no great harm, and their reducing of small advantage to the Queen.

"Sir James FitzPiers, a gentleman of the county of Aildare, but no Lord of any country.

"Donnell Spainagh, a man of no possession, but, according to the Irish account, of great blood, for he is a Kavanagh, descended from McMurrough, King of Leinster. The sept whereof he is

derived is called the sept of Art Boy Kavanaghs, and by right above forty of his name to be preferred before him. In time of peace he is nothing to be esteemed of; but, in this turbulent time, of good reckoning, for that he is a good leader. The ancient inheritance appertaining to his sept is about Enniscorthy, Sir Henry Wallop's house.

"Walter McEdmond, a man of no estimation, for he is but a gallowglass. His dwelling is not above 12 miles from Dublin, at the mountain foot, hard by the Naas.

"O'Connor Don, according to the Irish reckoning, is a man of as great blood as any is in Ireland; for that his ancestors were Kings of Connaught, and some of them have been Monarchs of Ireland. But of latter times his power hath been so much weakened, as that in Connaught there hath even been divers Lords stronger than he, as the two McWilliams, &c.

"Terence O'Dempsey was knighted by my Lord. He was never yet a rebel. He is Lord of a little country called Glynmalryie, adjoining to the Barrow's side, part whereof is in the Queen's County, the other part in the King's County.

"McSwyne a doghe [Ne Doe] is a Lord of a good country in Tyrconnell, and a natural follower to O'Donnell. He was made knight by my Lord, and was in rebellion, but defected from O'Donnell, as is said, upon jealousy, that he conceived unto O'Donnell for his wife, and, as I think, was come in to Conyers Clifford before my Lord's government.

"I know not any man called Sir Hugh Boy; but in the Queen's County there is a gallowglass of good livelihood, called Hugh Boy McCalloghe. His sons, as I understood, is (*sic*) in rebellion, but himself is an aged, corpulent man, and lives in neutrality. There were some others of the Burkes in Connaught, that were brought in and rewarded with entertainments, but were not Lords of countries, nor of any greatness in following; and more than these aforementioned I do not remember, or can call to mind.

"My wife, I thank God, is in some better estate of health than she was, and I am in good hope of her recovery, for the malignity of her sickness is spent, and weakness is her greatest danger. If this night she do not relapse, I will, God willing, begin my journey to-morrow, and leave her to the goodness of God."—[1599-1600, February 12.] *Holograph. pp. 2.*

Feb. 12.  
Barry  
Court.

102. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. "I am now to complain to your Honour of Florence McCarthy, how, by his affinity with the traitor James FitzThomas and his access unto him, [he] hath of late assembled together seven hundred of the traitors' bonies [bonnaughts], otherwise called here among us, scabbage soldiers. The first service he attempted with that graceless company, was to direct them to a small cantred or barony of mine, called Ibane Linge, in a remote corner towards the sea near Carberry; and there for the space of six weeks remained, taking forcibly meat, drink, and money, besides the spoil of all my poor tenants there, so as they are in



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manner quite undone. That small barony was one of the best stays of living that I had; and now, by the said Florence's means, my said tenants thereof are scarce able to sustain themselves." Would have withstood these proceedings of Florence McCarthy, but for Sir Robert's letter on his behalf. Prays for the remittal of his old fine. Begs that Her Majesty may grant his son a *custodiam* of the lands lately held by the traitor James FitzThomas in Kenaltalon, so that the castle of Conybie may be fortified for the furtherance of her service; and that after he himself may have some further estate in the same. Would have sent Sir Robert some hawks, but the season is not fit to transport them. Wrote formerly to him touching the sending to England of his eldest son. Prays to know Sir Robert's pleasure therein.—Barry Court, 1599[-1600], February 12. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 19th of March. p. 1.*

Feb. 12.  
Cashel.

103. Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, to [Sir Robert Cecil]. "I have divers ways and times sought from your Honour to be righted and defended against O'Dwyre, whom I know to have devised many ill practices to work mine overthrow. And when I could no other way prevail, I laboured Her Majesty's letters unto you, to right and defend me against him and all others to your power. Yet I was never worse (although many times ill) used, or less regarded, by the said O'Dwyre, and your own officers and kinsmen, than since Her Majesty had signified her pleasure in my behalf. So that I am altogether unable to follow what direction is given me, or to work any private commodity for myself. O'Dwyre was not contented to break my castle, to burn and spoil my town of Ballyvoyre, in Killnemanaghe, and to take the spoil of the whole lordship of Emly, to the number of eleven towns and villages, and to take a great prey from the very churchyard of Cashel; but the last Sunday he sent a number of his traitors, having none but such, to Hiltowne, within half a mile to Cashel, brake a part of the very stone walls there; and others of your Honour's officers and kinsmen, since the said O'Dwyre is Sheriff, took in hand to cess the rest of the country with horsemen kern, [? upon] the only two manor houses of ancient freedom I have, viz., Cames and Killogh, out of which the said O'Dwyre and other traitors took all the cattle before. And now by his means the whole army being driven there only for that intent, the very corn and the remnant of their substance is consumed. And, although your Honour's great affairs is (*sic*) such, that you cannot attend to see the same redressed, and my place and calling (in respect of my profession) amongst the common sort altogether despised and persecuted, yet the wrongs and injuries are so palpable and apparent, that I must cry for help. And now, having no worldly substance left, I beseech your Honour once more to provide security for mine own, my brother['s], and my children's lives, against the said O'Dwyre and his confederate; and for the rest you may use your discretion. The last year another manor house of mine, named Leighmoke-moge is (*sic*) utterly wasted by drawing the army to it, where three ricks of corn, better than 40*l.*,

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although valued but 24*l.*, and ten fat beeves, with many other provision[s] and stuff being taken, no satisfaction is done in any part thereof as yet.”—Cashel, 1599[-1600], February 12. *Signed. Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. 14.  
Dublin.

104. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. “As advertisements increase, I am bold to transcript them to you, specially such as materially concern Tyrone and his doings. The advertiser is a gentleman of the borders of Offally, one of good observation, and a sworn servant to Her Majesty, whom I have employed in this course of discoveries, since Tyrone first entered Leinster. I am written to this day from Dundalk, that a ship of 150 tons is come into the harbour of Lough Foyle, fraught with wines and munitions. But from whence she is come, or to whom sent, I cannot yet learn; only it is said that a messenger is sent to Tyrone, to signify the coming of that ship, till whose return she will not break bulk. I cannot think this ship cometh from Spain, or is sent by that King, but rather to come (*sic*) from France, to make sale of some rotten wines amongst the Irish in Ulster; or it may be some Lowcontriman [Low Country man] let slip thither underhand by the Archduke, by direction of Spain; or, lastly, it may be some Scottishman, who are wont to trade thither with wines, when they can find no vent for them at home. These are but conjectures; it may be the ship is sent directly from Spain, but that is further off than all the rest. And yet I am of opinion (unless it be foreseen and prevented by Her Majesty) that Spain will more shew themselves this year in the quarrel of Ireland than in any time before; for that the still prevailing fortune of Tyrone, subduing daily one portion or other of this kingdom, will quicken them to apprehend the opportunity, and prosecute a total alteration, if they find no greater resistance of English forces than they have done before. And therefore, under your Honour’s favour, to whom the designs of Spain are best known, it were not amiss that some of Her Majesty’s ships of war were put in preparation to cross the Spanish army at sea, if need were, and also to guard the Irish coasts for a time, lest some of the principal harbours in Munster or Connaught might be surprised.”—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 14.

[*Postscript.*] Thanks Sir Robert for writing for allowance to be made to Sir Geoffrey for intelligences. Finds Lord Justice Carey would pay it, if he had it; but he has promised to pay at the arrival of the next treasure. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 21st. Seal. p. 1. Encloses,*

104. i. “A letter of advertisements written to Sir Geoffrey Fenton from the borders of Offally, dated 13 February, 1599[-1600], and by him abstracted as ensueth.”

“Your letter came to me in good time, for that in the same afternoon there came one to me out of O’Molloy’s country, who had been in O’Neill’s camp two days before, and for news he saith:—

“That Tyrone hath lately sent James Blake and one more into Spain, to tell the King of Spain that now Tyrone had all Ireland



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under him, except the corporate towns; and therefore he willed the King to send unto him out of hand great artilleries, powder, and men, to batter the towns, which he doubted not to win by that course, and so to put the whole kingdom into the King of Spain's hands [Note in the margin:—"James Blake is an Irishman, born in Galway, called Spanish Blake, because he hath served amongst the Spaniards in Brittany, where Sir John Norreys took him in the fort of Bluett, and afterwards employed him as a spy, but Blake played false with him." See account of him in the last volume of this Calendar, pp. 49, 53, 54.]

"That Tyrone had four special purposes in his coming into Leinster.

"First, to draw as many of the Irishry as he could to join with him, to whom he swore that he sought nothing but reformation of religion, and to put back the oppression of Englishmen.

"Secondly, that he had a meaning to go to the Holy Cross, there to meet with the Earl of Desmond, and to consult together thoroughly of all things.

"Thirdly, that his coming up into Leinster was done of policy to withdraw the forces that should come out of England into the north, to land in Leinster, whereby his own country of Ulster should rest quiet.

"Fourthly, that such of the Irish Lords as would not join with him, and be willing to maintain the wars in Leinster, he would put them down, and make other chieftains in their places; as, for example, he hath put down Sir Charles O'Carroll, and raised up in his place Mulroney McWilliam O'Carroll.

"He is past into Maigherye's country, being the next way to the Holy Cross, having burnt before all O'Carroll's country and O'Doyne's country, O'Molloy and McCoghlan, with divers others, having yielded to him.

"It is spoken in Tyrone's camp that in his return he will attempt the English Pale, which he maketh but a handful to get, in respect of the rest that he hath gotten, and hath appointed the Byrnes, Kavanaghs, and Mores, at that time to meet him, and so to overrun the Pale in all parts, and will march thither through the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary.

"His force at the highest hand is thought to be 3,000 foot and 200 horse, and that O'Donnell and O'Rourke come to second him by the way of Connaught, and there they will have a fling at the Earl of Clanrickarde.

"He hath promised the O'Connors, at his return from the Holy Cross, to pass through Offally, and there to divide that country amongst the septs of the O'Connors, every sept to have according to his desert, as they shall recover the same from the Englishmen.

"When he parteth from the Earl of Desmond, he meaneth to leave Richard Butler with 1,000 men to vex Kilkenny and Tipperary. [Note in the margin:—"Richard Butler is eldest son to the Viscount Mountgarrett."]

"The party saith he heard that the Earl of Ormonde was ready to march out of Kilkenny, but which way he would take to cross Tyrone, he could not tell.

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"I have returned this party back again, with a horseboy of mine own to accompany him to O'Neill's camp, and from thence to bring me all news, which I will send to your worship as soon as they come to my hands; and, according your worship's letter, I will send out another by another way; and yet one of them shall not know of another, to whom I have given 20s. sterling, as you wrote to me. When Tyrone doth return, he will be between my Lord of Ormonde's army and the forces of the Pale; and I hope between them both he will catch a sound blow, if all do their parts as they ought. But, if he go back untouched, as he came up untouched, I say it is the hardest destiny that ever came to Ireland. Your worship had need to send spials abroad, to watch what the Byrnes and Tooles do, and how they stir."—Rathbride, 1599[-1600], February 14. The signature was copied like the rest of the foregoing, but Fenton has run his pen through it. The name is "John Ly.c." pp. 2.

Feb. 14.  
Cork.

105. Sir George Thornton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has served in Ireland these thirty years past, and had no entertainment, till, of late years, as Provost-Marshal of Munster, he had 2s. *per diem*, with 12 horsemen at 12d. *per diem*. Essex gave him the command of the town and garrison of Kilmallock, with allowance, by concordatum, of 6s. *per diem*, "being the smallest allowance that was made to any in this realm for such a place." However, Essex promised him the next company of horse or foot that should fall vacant in Munster. Could not procure this promise in writing, by reason of his Lordship's sudden departure. The Treasurer at Wars has since stayed the allowance of 6s., alleging that Essex spent more than Her Majesty allowed for those causes. Is thus forced to run into debt. Prays for the continuance of his allowance, and for the next vacant company in Munster.—Cork, 1599 [-1600], February 14. Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 22nd. p. 1.

Feb. 15.  
Chester.

106. Lord Mountjoy to the Privy Council. "I came to Chester the 14th of this present, where I find the soldiers (appointed to be here by the last of January) not gone hence about three days before my coming, and those, and most of them (as I am informed), such poor and unable men as the very counties themselves, through which they have passed, and this place where they were received, do exclaim of their insufficiency; and all the gentlemen of these parts (many of them being with me, and whereof some of them are Commissioners for the Musters), do hold them unlikely to do Her Majesty any service in her wars. Besides, there are here 50 Carnarvonshire men yet remaining, who came hither so late as they lost their passage; and, being this day viewed by the Mayor and others, are held so insufficient (the most of them being taken out of prison or are boys), as they desired me to see them, and to give order for their dismissal, and to write unto your Lordships together with them for redress; but I have given order to the conductors to see if, in some short time, they can procure fitter men; otherwise, such as they are, I must send them over, or want so many of the number. For this present, I do think it my duty to acquaint your Lordships with



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these abuses of the country, and the defects I shall have in my means to do Her Majesty service; and the rather because it may please your Lordships to take some order for the prevention of the like negligence in the levies of the rest that are appointed to be there the last of this month, lest they suit with the former, both in the disability of the men, and in their slackness of repair.”—Chester, 1599[-1600], February 15. *Signed. pp. 1½.*

- [Feb. 15. 106 A. Lord Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. “Captain Thorton is newly arrived in this town, and tells me he is sent for to come to my Lords of the Council; but because, as I perceived, it was only to take charge of one of the cromsters, which I hear is in the way hitherward, and that I shall have great use of him, both in this passage, and of (*sic*) some resolutions I must presently think of touching the plantation of Lough Foyle, I have made this presumption to stay him till I shall further hear your pleasure.”—1599[-1600, February 15]. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed, Received at London the 20th of February. [See No. 98, February 11, above.] p. ½.*

- [Feb. 15.] 107. “A list of the flyboats taken up and victualled for the transportation of soldiers, and of the several companies shipped in them.” Lord Mountjoy’s vessel was the *Flying Hart*.—[1600, February 15.] *One sheet.*

- Feb. 15. 108. William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Sir Robert Cecil. “Craving pardon for my presumption herein, being as yet unknown unto your Honour, and hereunto moved in discharge of my duty, the present calamity of this unhappy land, and especially of this province considered, and that the redress thereof lieth in your Honour’s directions chiefly.

“The sequel of former proceedings taken for the recovery of the malady of this kingdom sheweth, that mild courses have much hindered and hurt it, and been the death of many a worthy servitor, and cause of expense of much of Her Majesty’s treasure, as your Honour well knoweth. Cessations never did good to this savage and barbarous nation, but service and justice without partiality. The last year’s mild courses, cessation, the great charges Her Majesty was at, and the greatness of the person sent, effecting so little, have given the enemy a mighty courage. In the cessation time the rebel compassed in town and country, all the kingdom over, that which without it he could not otherwise have done, to Her Majesty’s great dishonour, the hazard of the loss of all, and to the utter undoing of the poor oppressed English, who lived in hope to be relieved. The rebels, seeing this, resolved with themselves that, Her Majesty employing hither the greatest man in England, and he not able to daunt them, but to do as he did, Her Highness cannot now bring them under. These speeches were sent to the Council of this province by the traitor James FitzThomas, at what time they sent to him for the victualling of Castlemaine in the cessation time; which then was lost, for then and still they play upon the vantage, and kept no promise, word,

nor oath. The rebels then also returned word to the Council of this province, that they had too long feared the English power more than there was cause, and that now they were resolved to win all, or lose all.

"The state of this province at this instant is, as it were, in a pair of balance[s]. The country is in a mammering whether to stick to the traitors, or seek to Her Majesty. The distrust that many have in Her Majesty's power to suppress the rebels, and recover the country; and again of others, that Her Highness will not deal but mildly and gently with them still, is the cause hereof, being stirred up and misled by the wicked priests, to whom they hearken in all things. The towns are the nurses of this rebellion, for they furnish the traitors with munition and victual, as wine, salt, *aquavita*, &c. Every creek along this coast hath merchants in it, trading without restraint. This relieves the traitors, and will do, until by your Honour it be redressed, and a provident care be had, that no Irish merchant may bring out of England weapon and munition, as now they do, nor sell any; for, besides that they bring thence, they provide them of the French, with whom they trade. Where an Englishman dares not to go a quarter of a mile out of any town, but he shall be murdered, the Irish merchant passeth amongst them quietly; they will not hurt their best friends and maintainers. The whole kingdom is of a conspiracy by means of the Romish priests, which were and are the plotters of this general rebellion. The names of the principal traitors I have given to Mr. Watson. They that pretend subjection are no better than the rest, nay worse rather, and do more hurt to the State than they in open action; for they give intelligence to the enemies, and relieve them, and keep companies of 'bonoughes' [bonnaughts] (as they call them) upon the territories of their countries, not to serve for Her Majesty against the Traitor, but rather to withstand Her Majesty's forces, lest they should come to their countries. For the enemy comes thither daily, and they make no resistance, nor draw blood one of another, albeit they jar now and then.

"In December last, James FitzThomas, the traitor, came into Muskerry, Cormack McDermott's country, with a 700 men, remained there six days refreshing himself, yet never resisted by Cormack, who had 800 men. The traitor quietly passed through his country; from thence the same traitor went into Carberry, McCarthy Reogh's country, who refreshed him with 140 beeves, and levied on his country 200*l.*, and sent it after him. This McCarthy married the same traitor's sister, and thus entertained him, never demanding aid for his defence against the traitor, of Her Majesty's forces then being at Cork, and but 16 miles off, a thousand soldiers. And so of the rest, which go for subjects. If such a company of Her Majesty's forces had gone thither for meat and drink, they had been sure to have been fought withal. But the priests rule and direct all things here; and namely, Dermott McCrah, who hath been a practiser of this rebellion this 22 years, James Archer, and Owen Kegan. This Kegan is now to pass over sea to Rome, with letters from the traitors in his commendations



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to the Pope, shewing his good service, and what number of people he hath drawn from Her Majesty to the subjection of the Pope. This is confessed by a principal traitor, that came in upon protection; who also saith that the rebels agree not among themselves, but by the priests' mighty persuasions. He further said that, if Her Majesty's forces come upon them in time, it will hasten their destruction upon their jarrings. Also he saith they have great want of powder, and that they that pretend subjection did more hurt and annoyance to Her Majesty than those in open action. He gave reasons which I omit for brevity's sake.

"The soldiers here have want of their allowed victual and apparel from Her Majesty, whereof, because the Commissioners here have already advertised that Honourable State particularly, I omit to write at large, to avoid tediousness.

"Also, there are some things to be reformed in the Captains and Mustermaster, which I have made known to Mr. Watson, this bearer, to be delivered to your Honour, because I am too wearisome, with my poor opinion for the redress thereof. Other matters also concerning this State, needful to be considered of, I have acquainted this bearer with, and leave them to his report to your Honour. This I have done in all dutiful manner, referring them to your Honour's wise and godly judgment, and myself ever at your commandment.

"Florence McCarthy, about the first of the last January, went into Desmond with some 500 men, and there on a parley hill had a rod given him by O'Sullivan More, after the Irish custom, and so was made McCarthy More. Since his departure into Desmond, Henry Pyne certified the Commissioners here that Florence was sworn unto James FitzThomas Desmond, the traitor; and, after taking of the oath, they both received the sacrament. This is Pyne's information, and that he knew the priest that ministered them the oath and sacrament. Hereupon Florence was sent for, but as yet hath not appeared.

"Moreover, I am to advertise your Honour of the two agents of Cork now at the Court, suitors for the enlarging of their liberties (as the report goes). I have heard wise [? men] of great experience in this country say, that their liberties are too large already, unless they used them better. These two agents are, John Meade, the Recorder, and Edmund Tirry, Alderman, evil-minded men to the State and Her Majesty's government, as hath been proved. I leave them to your Honour's consideration. This rebellion time the towns on the sea coast have greater trade with the French than in former years, by reason of the great number of hides now slaughtered. The rebels deal with the French ships now in the harbour for powder and munition. So doth the merchant of Cork also. He buys his powder of the Frenchman, sells it to the rebel for a hide, and that hide he returns back to the Frenchman for a French crown. So the towns, having the soldiers' pay and the rebels' prey, cannot choose but grow in wealth. May it please your Honour, in my poor opinion some especial regard would be had to the towns for redress hereof, and for the issuing of powder and munition, and namely this city of

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Cork. Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and Clonmell be the chiefest in this province.

"I may not omit to give your Honour to understand, how two agents of a town corporate in this province, returning from the Court, used often to make themselves merry, and their friends also, by declaring how cunningly they dealt to bring about the late Lord Treasurer, your good father and my honourable good Lord, to fit their humours; and, because I will not be too wearisome, I leave it to Mr. Watson to declare to your Honour." The Bishop's indebtedness to Lord Burghley and Sir Robert.—Cork, 1599 [-1600], February 15. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 22nd. pp. 3.*

Feb. 15. 109. "A brief certificate of the munition and arms that I, Michael Hughes, clerk, received out of the Tower of London, and that which I have issued out of Her Majesty's store in Cork, and what remaineth the 15th of February, 1599[-1600]." *Signed. p. 1.*

Feb. 16. 110. Lord Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. "I do find by their Lordships' letters to the Commissioners that are to view the horse I have undertaken to raise, that some two or three days before the last of this month, they are at one time to muster them all, and after to receive them into pay. By the which I am driven to an exceeding charge, that have already 150 horses provided, and cannot pass them, until either the whole be provided, or, if they were, not until the last of this month. And to avoid this inconvenience unto myself, if you be remembered, Sir, I moved you, and understood by you, that their Lordships' pleasure was, that, as I brought them to Chester, they should be presently mustered and entered into pay. To which end if you take not present order, I shall be a great loser, that have already in the raising of these horse found many difficulties; as, first, by the shortness of the time all such as have taken notice of my present occasion have raised the price of horses to their own pleasure, as commonly in these cases they are used to do; and then, by reason of the dangerous weather, many of the horses I have bought are lamed in coming hither, the loss of which doth remain on me; but especially the difficulty I find in raising of the men that are to serve, who, with the name of Ireland, but principally of Lough Foyle, are so unwilling, as I can hardly as voluntarily procure them; and many of them, which I entertained at London, and gave them imprest to bring them down, and to some of them delivered horses and arms, have quitted the service and deceived me both of their imprest and the horses delivered them. But these, Sir, are such losses as I expect no other amends for them, but to pass the muster of such I bring, with such favour as shall not be prejudicial to the service. I am not tied by the contract I made with my Lord Treasurer to provide them coats, yet since I have thought it necessary, and bought for them all very fair, I beseech you, Sir, that there may be present order to receive such into pay as I shall bring hither to muster; and that, upon the certificate of the mustering of 150, I may receive the other 1,000*l.*, to make satisfaction to sundry as



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I have already agreed with for horses and arms for the last fifty. And so, Sir, being now shipping all my company, and ready myself to depart, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty."—February 16. *Endorsed, 1599[-1600], February 16. Holograph. p. 1.*

Feb. 16.  
Chester.

111. H. Hardware, Mayor of Chester, and other Commissioners of Musters, to the Privy Council. Immediately after the sending away of their last letters, Colonel Oliver St. John arrived to see to the conducting over to Ireland of the 800 soldiers appointed to be at Chester by January 31 last. "But, may it please your Honours, that by reason the soldiers were not discerned, either by their coats or other apparel, many lewd and evil-disposed persons have shrewded themselves within this city, under the names of soldiers, and given advantage to divers for their escapes, which hardly could we prevent, albeit a sufficient watch of honest and substantial householders, as well within the city as in the towns adjoining, was appointed and charged to be very vigilant for meeting with that abuse. But the soldiers did daily escape with those which usually had concourse unto the markets within this city, being nothing different from them in the manner of their attire; which want of their apparel did admit another inconvenience, for, notwithstanding that the victuals and barks were ready by the said last of January (according to your Lordships' directions), and the wind serving the fourth of this month for their departure, yet did the soldiers, for space of eight days, until the time of their embarking, remain here idle and undisposed of, by reason the arms for the soldiers came not to this city before the 5th and 6th of this month, and their apparel not until the 9th of the same,\* whereby Her Majesty was put during that time to a needless charge of forty marks *per diem* at the least, and Her Highness[']s service delayed both in respect of the soldiers' unnecessary stay here, as also in regard the barks, which were appointed for this service, through the said delay, and other barks, which are appointed to transport Her Majesty's treasure, the Lord Deputy, his followers and goods, are not likely (especially if, upon their landing in Ireland, they shall be employed for any other service), to return so speedily as to perform the second, whereof we thought meet to advertise your Lordships."

Muster of the men after the arrival of the arms and apparel. From some shires in Wales, not such good choice of men as heretofore. After muster on the 12th instant, 750 men were embarked, and are probably safely arrived at Dublin. After these, 50 men from Carnarvonshire were embarked, without any perfect view of the same, and without their defects being supplied.

"We are commanded, by your Honours' letters of the third of this month, to take a view of 200 horse, appointed to be here by the last of this February; but whether it be your Lordships' pleasures that we should intermeddle to view or muster the 2,800 foot appointed also to be here by that time, we are not certain,

\* Sir Robert Cecil has noted in the margin, "Apparel not come in nine days after the day of rendezvous."

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and therefore humbly desire to be resolved by your Lordships therein.

"And where the Right Honourable the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland, this present day required us to take the view of 100 horse, and that I, the Mayor, would receive them unto Her Majesty's pay, I refused so to do, until your Lordships' pleasures might be made known unto me in that behalf." The charges of Lord Mountjoy in this respect.—Chester, 1599[-1600], February 16. *Signed.* pp. 14.

Feb. 16.  
Cork.

112. The Commissioners of Munster to the Privy Council. Received on the 6th instant, their Lordships' letters of the 11th of January. Of the 5,000*l.* to be brought to them at this time, Mr. Watson informs me that 2,000*l.* is to be detained, until the President's coming into Munster. Insufficiency of the treasure and victuals. The charges for transporting victuals from the magazine at Cork to the rest of the garrisons, as also for sending away of the sick and maimed soldiers, and for the discharge of divers other accidents. Have written thereof to Dublin, but find small contentment thence. Pray to be relieved.

"The want of apparel is such in the soldiers serving in this province, that we should hold ourselves very much to blame, if it should be let pass unspoken of. For they do not only all in general want this winter's proportion, much contrary to informations given to your Lordships, but to some companies the summer suit itself [is wanting], and that in the rest so scantied, both in respect of the smallness of the proportion, as it was first set down for them, as also through the small care taken for bringing of it hither, that it could not in any good manner suffice to supply their wants; which considered, your Lordships may please to take notice of the bare or rather naked estate of these soldiers, of which somewhat Mr. Watson may certify your Lordships (to whom we have shown the companies which be hereabouts); whose wants if they seem great, lying in the best places of the province, how much more miserable may the estate of the residue be thought to be; the which, and the redress whereof, most humbly we leave to your Lordships' considerations, knowing assuredly that it will prove very prejudicial to the service, if not presently looked unto."

The munition remaining at Cork and Limerick. Want of victuals at Limerick: they can be supplied only by sea. Pray for a store both of victuals and munition; also that a pinnace or two may come into the river Shannon. These would not only take divers pinnaces that the traitors have built there, but much annoy the traitors, and stop the intercourse that the Malleys and Flaherties have daily out of Connaught into Munster.

Have been forced to issue 1,000*l.* of the 2,000*l.* Mr. Watson wished to be stayed till the coming of the President. If the latter come not soon, will be forced to make bold with the rest. The two garrisons of Mallow and Kilmallock are to be supplied with money only. Have no means to send victuals to either of them.



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“Since the repair of James FitzThomas towards the borders of the Lord of Ormonde’s country, our several garrisons have been stirring in some killing of their men, women, and children, and burning both their villages and a great quantity of their corn. But now the traitor Tyrone, with a great army, is come into the Lord Roche’s country, as we are very credibly informed. He brought from the north, as the least advice we can have is, 4,000 foot and 700 horse. The cause of his coming may appear to your Lordships by the enclosed letters (*wanting*). They are the copies of the letters which the traitors sent, together with another from two traitorous usurped Bishops, yet so well loved even in this city, as, since our repair hither, in the last cessation, either one or both of them were in this city secretly, better entertained than the best of us. By the greatness of this army, we can only now defend our garrisons. We have been enforced to afford the Lord Barry one hundred men for the defence of an island that he hath, in which he hath put the greatest part of his country’s cattle. He was the first that brought us the certainty of the traitors’ approach to these parts. He brought us hither these letters, and brought with him his brother John, who is lately come to us, and hath put in pledge for his loyalty. Likewise he brought his two sons, and hath left them here in this city. We have likewise let him have two barrels of powder, for he is the only man of note that seemeth to affect dutiful obedience to Her Majesty within this province, although there be others that do yet remain with good show of subjection. At this time we have likewise been enforced to help Mr. John FitzEdmond with some few men and some munition; and so to some other that have entreated the like of us. No doubt this will be a time to try all that are well affected, for of them that now stand constant subjects there will be no doubt hereafter. Florence McCarthy was by us assisted with some barrel of powder, at his going to Desmond, and with all other favours that we could, in regard of the favourable letters both from Her Majesty and some of your Honours. He entertained some 5[00] or 600 of these Connaught traitors; but, since his departure thither, we have not heard from himself; only report goeth that he is possessed of the country, and Donnell himself come towards this mass of traitors to get more aid. Our opinion is that Florence will receive no hurt, for, as we are informed, he is likely to have good friendship from the traitors; which we the rather believe, for that he hath not sent to us since his departure, as likewise for that he took many, yea almost all, traitors in his company with him. He hath, as we are now assured by one that came from him, taken upon him the name of McCarthy More, and hath received the rod from O’Sullivan, and written to O’Neill. But, if he fail of his duty, we hold him an easier McCarthy to deal with than the other.

“Since the writing of this, we have received other copies of the traitors’ letters written to John FitzEdmond; the Lord Roche, and Cormack McDermott, Lord of Muskerry; all which, especially Cormack McDermott and John FitzEdmond, make great protestation of their loyalty, and are now here with us in the city. And

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we have granted them some munition for the defence of their castles. We have this day received a letter from Florence McCarthy, excusing his not writing to us by the villains of these Connaught traitors, who, as he saith, hath (*sic*) made him swear that he shall go to Tyrone, upon safe-conduct, as he writeth, and withal doth earnestly desire two barrels of powder for the defence of his country. We are not so well persuaded of him that we shall grant that."—Cork, 1599[-1600], February 16. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 22nd. pp. 3.*

Feb. [16.] 113. An account by Birkinshawe of 5,000*l.*, delivered by Thomas Watson to the Paymaster of Munster.—*Endorsed, 1599[-1600], February [16.] pp. 2½.*

Feb. 16. 114. William Meade, Mayor of Cork, to the Privy Council.  
Cork. "I thought it my duty to advertise your Honours, that the traitors Tyrone and James FitzThomas of Desmond, having joined their forces together, are at this instant entered into the Lord Roche's and Lord Barry's countries, about nine or ten mile from this city, and have by their letters threatened to waste and depopulate the Lord Barry's country, and the country of Muskerry belonging to Cormack Dermott, if they refuse to assist them, and deliver up pledges to that effect. The copy of one letter I send enclosed (*wanting*). They intend, as they have written to the Lord Barry, to encamp at Glanmoyre, within three mile of this city; and by some report it is given out that they will continue there, and upon these borders, for a month, to bar our trade, and to keep us from wood and other commodities of the country, and to bar the intercourse from hence (where Her Majesty's treasure, munition, and victuals are) to the rest of Her Highness[']s garrisons of Mallow, Kilmallock, and Limerick. Upon the approach of the enemies to these parts, there were resident here but two companies of foot, of which it pleased Sir Warham Sentleger and the rest of the Council to dispose of one company to an island of the Lord Barry's, upon his request for his better aid, and some of the other company to succour Mr. John FitzEdmond.

"This place is but of small circuit, compassed with good walls and water, and it can make 300 shot and 500 with other weapon, which (I hope) will prove good soldiers for defence of this city for Her Majesty and for themselves. It is given out by some light report that Tyrone his coming to these parts is in expectation of some foreign assistance, which I thought fit to advertise, though I think the report is but to countenance his proceedings, and to terrify others. Mr. Florence McCarthy is grown strong in Desmond, and hath put Donnell McCarthy to the worse, who is newly assisted by the enemy; but I hear the conclusion will be an agreement amongst themselves. Such is the misery of this poor country."

Suit of the Corporation of Cork for some liberties and privileges. Prays for a favourable dispatch of the same.—Cork, 1599[-1600], February 16. *Holograph. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 23rd. pp. 1½.*



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Feb. 17. 115. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "I can write no  
 Dublin. more now of the miserable state of things here than is laid down in the public letter, neither have I leisure, for the great concurrency of business multiplying daily above all our strengths. Only by this I make bold to give your Honour notice, that in Council I have stood against the sending out of the Pale the 500 foot and 100 horse now written for by the Lord Lieutenant of the army, as a matter so full of danger, as thereby is laid open a plain way for the rebels of the north and south borders to set upon the Pale, and overrun it at one instant. For, if we were not strong enough before to break their incursions, much less shall we be now, when so great a part is withdrawn, and but a handful left to defend the most precious portion of the kingdom, which is the Pale. And for the sequel, I look that it will not be long before the Pale be attempted, and put to hazard. Sundry other reasons I used in Council to stay the sending away of the men, but, by plurality of voices, and authority of the greatest, I could not prevail; so as, to avoid singularity, I was driven to give way, being thoroughly grieved to see, by the absence of those forces, a dangerous foundation, laid to hazard this poor remnant of the army that is left, and, consequently, the total ruin of the Pale. I humbly beseech your Honour, be my defence to Her Majesty in this case, if any disaster happen; for to your Honour I say, *ex intimo corde*, that not in heart but in ceremony I have given way to this resolution of the table. The passage being ready to depart, I have no leisure to write at more length."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 17. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 23rd. p. 1.*

Feb. 17. 116. William Jones, Commissary in Munster, to Sir Robert  
 Cork. Cecil. Replies to the charges against him of delaying the certificates of musters, and of dismissing from their colours men still able to serve. Has held his place almost three years. The low estate of the soldier. "I am sure he may truly say, the most of them are as poor in apparel as the common beggar in England, and now grown to that mutiny for want thereof, that I had much ado to free myself from them without outrage.

"They have not yet received their winter suits, nor many of them their summer, which were sent to Waterford, where every Captain was fain to pay forty shillings towards the charges of the bringing of them from Dublin, before he could have them delivered, besides his other expenses, and the hazard thereof by the way. And the most of the packs was so rotten, that of 67 suits, which was proportioned for a company of 100, some found 20, some more, few less, that were not serviceable. Touching the soldiers of the cased companies, which were delivered over for supplies in October last, they are all likewise ready to mutiny for their apparel (as I formerly wrote, whereof I have sent your Honour another note enclosed), which is to be charged upon the accounts of the cased Captains."

Discontent of Captains and soldiers at the defalcation of 52s. per week in a company of 100. "The detaining of an allowance for

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a chirurgeon in every company seemeth very hard both to the Captain and the soldier, besides an allowance for a preacher and cannonier, whereof there is none in this province, but the Lord Bishop of Cork and his chaplain.

"The victuals heretofore were very bad, and great want of them. And in my opinion, if the soldier might receive his whole entertainment in money, he might victual himself better cheap, and be the readier for service, and the country would be the sooner unfurnished of their store, wherewith they maintain the rebel, they receiving ready money for it; which would be brought to the soldier, wheresoever he is garrisoned; the carriage whereof is a great hindrance to the service, and, so soon as the victual is spent, the soldiers must needs return where the store is.

"By reason of the forces of Tyrone their coming down into Munster, I could not pass any farther than Mallow. I sent my man to Kilmallock and Limerick, who escaped thither in great danger, Captain Clare his Lieutenant, being taken by the rebels by the way, in whose company my man was, from whom I have not yet heard, nor can possibly, till the rebels be returned. I have sent your Honour a perfect certificate of such [as] I could muster myself this month, hoping to perfect the rest by the end thereof, and an estimate of the rest of the companies. The next month I trust to send the certificates for the whole half year.

"It was at the first reported that Tyrone himself was come down with 3,000 foot and 400 horse. Since, it hath proved contrary. Maguire (they report) is there, Art McO'Neill (Tyrone his base son), with the forces of Munster. They have brought with them bulls of excommunication for all such as shall not adhere to Tyrone, wherewith they have threatened all the gentlemen of Munster. They attempted three castles in the Lord Roche's country; Karicklemelary, which one Williamson holdeth, and was taken in by the late Lord President; Michael Roche's (a kinsman of the Lord Roche); and one Robinson's; and had the repulse in them all. The report is this day they are going back again. By the next I shall be better able to inform your Honour more particularly of their proceedings.

Before the coming down of these forces, the several garrisons of Munster did very good service at Limerick, Kilmallock, Mallow, and Youghal, in burning the enemies' country and fetching in of their prey. Amongst the which, Captain Flower, Sergeant-Major of this province, behaved himself with judgment and value, being in a manner besieged by the White Knight and most of the forces of Munster, he having not 300 in his company. Notwithstanding, he skirmished with them oft to their loss, and retired only with the hurt of three men, and the loss of one."

The writer's obligations to Lord Burghley and to Sir Robert.—Cork, 1599[-1600], February 17. *Holograph. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 22nd. pp. 3. Encloses,*

116. I. "*A certificate of such companies as I have mustered from the beginning of the month of February until the 15th of the same.*" *Total of efficientes for the field, 1,400. Signed. pp. 3.*



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Feb. 17. 117. Sir Henry Power to the Privy Council. The small notice taken of him by their Lordships in the resolution for the managing of these wars. The great disgrace he is likely to fall into thereby. Was drawn out of France, with the companies there, and instructed to deliver them to the Earl of Ormonde. Was promised his entertainment as Colonel. Ormonde, being then busy about the affairs of the north, commanded him by letter to hold his regiment together until his Lordship's coming. Was employed by Ormonde in the Leinster wars, and so remained until the coming of the Earl of Essex, "in which time what I did I will omit, lest I might seem thereby too much to justify mine own cause." Nothing, worthy of their Lordships' notice, was done during that time, but what was done by him, or in which he was a principal actor. "As for the killing of Brian Reogh, that dangerous traitor, and the often victualling of the fort in Leix, I hold that no man can take any part of that reputation from myself." So far from receiving his entertainment, a great part of his company's means is as yet detained from him. Essex continued him in his command, and, at his departure, appointed him chief commander of the forces in Munster, joining him also in commission with Sir Warham Senteleger for the government of the province. Has not so much abused these favours as to have them taken from him. No one has struck more blows to gain himself a reputation, nor had less reason to have been so disgraced. Submits himself to their Lordships, and entreats their license to return into England, "assuring myself that few there be that will content themselves to spend so much time, money, and blood, as I have done in Her Majesty's service this twenty years, being so lightly respected, and now lastly so much disgraced. Since my coming hither into this province, the cessation hath held, until this last January; yet, although it be not about a month since it was out, I dare undertake these rebels have not been so much spoiled, since these wars began in Munster, as in this time they have been. For with the garrisons I have taken from them three and twenty hundred cows, and burned about three thousand pounds' worth of corn in the stacks, with many villages. So he that shall come hither, shall find the greatest brunt of this war overpast, if their assistance grow not the greater out of the north. For, in my opinion, they will not be able to hold out another winter. My greatest reason is, that they plough not; so that, if the forces do but keep their garrisons, and with some 300 horse to range the country, they would very shortly be overcome. The great want to perform this service is horse, here being but six score horse in list; and, in my opinion, fewer foot and more horse would bring the service better to pass. And further I find the exaction of the rebels of this province to shake many of them making their way to come in, and the greater part of the rest weary of their bad action. If, therefore, it shall stand with your Lordships' pleasures so disgracefully not to take me from hence, but to continue me commander of the forces, and if your Lordships shall think it fit to send horse hither, that I may have a hundred, and hold the entertainment which I now have for the command

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of the forces in this province, I shall hold myself very well contented, and doubt not but to satisfy your Lordships' expectation of me."—Cork, 1599[-1600], February 17. *Holograph. Seal. pp. 2.*

- Feb. 17. 118. Sir Henry Power to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have heretofore  
Cork. solicited Sir John Stannop to be my means that I might have been remembered in my absence at this time, when employments into provinces are resolved on by the Lords, not daring too much to presume upon your Honour's favours. But now, finding all places to be disposed of, and not any notice to be taken of me, I have presumed to solicit the Lords either to remember me, or else with their favours that I may be withdrawn." Entreats Sir Robert's assistance in his suit. Nothing has been so sinister to his advancement as his absence from the Court.

"Tyrone is come into the country with 4,000 foot and 700 horse, and daily the country comes unto him. What his purpose is to do, as yet I have no intelligence; but I have, for the securing of the garrisons, divided the companies into them. He threatens Mallow very much, and thereto hath reason, because it is very offensive unto his friends; for the securing whereof I have put in my own company and two companies more, and fifty horse, so that I stand little in doubt thereof. In our general letter your Honour shall see the copies of his warrants directed to the gentlemen Her Majesty's subjects, by which your Honour may gather his purposes, as likewise the copy of the bull, which is held to be more available to him than many more forces, and calls the allegiance of the citizens here in question. I have weakened this town, and drawn out the forces, and put them into places of weaker defence, the rather for that I daily expect the coming of the supplies, which I heard were long since ready. I hold his purpose is to lie some twenty days or a month hereabout, to see if by his practices he may draw the subjects into his faction." Begs for the speedy sending away of the supplies.—Cork, 1599[-1600], February 17. *Signed. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 22nd. p. 1.*

- Feb. 18. 119. Sir Henry Power to Sir Robert Cecil. "Tyrone and  
Cork. James FitzThomas are this day past the Blackwater, which, by reason of the greatness and height thereof, he (*sic*) was not able before this time to do. This we are given to understand by John Barry (who upon his coming in had license of James FitzThomas for certain days to put his cattle and goods in security). The rebels importuned him for his pledge, but he refused them, and by him [they] sent to his brother, the Lord Barry, for his absolute answer. Who thereupon sent them his defiance, and is retired unto an island; to whose help, besides his own forces, I have sent two companies. There is but one ford possible into it, so that I think, if they come thither, they will gain little.

"Justice Saxey, against all our opinions, is going into England, fear urging him thereunto. How ill a precedent it is to all men, I leave to relate of, that he, being held a wise man, should think the State so dangerous as not to be trusted; but for this, his ser-



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vice otherwise were easy to be spared. The like he hath done before this time, at Youghal, to the no little discouragement of the townsmen. He is so resolutely bent therein, as [he] cannot be contradicted; therefore I leave him to give account of his little care of the State to your Honour."

With regard to the Commissary of musters, certifies that his sufficiency and order in executing his place are such that they cannot be better carried by any, neither can he easily be blinded by any, who would go about to do it.—Cork, 1599[-1600], February 18. *Holograph. Seal. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 22nd. p. 1.*

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Dublin.

120. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the rest of the Council to the Privy Council. Received yesterday from the Earl of Ormonde two letters, of the 12th and 13th instant, and send copies of the same. They represent some proceedings of Tyrone near the Holy Cross, and his passage further westward into Munster, as far as the foot of Arlow woods, being one of the strongest fastnesses in that province. He was accompanied by the pretended Earl of Desmond and other traitors of Munster. Ormonde wrote to the Serjeant-Major, whom he left in charge upon the borders of the Pale, to send to him out of hand, out of the companies left for the Pale, 500 foot and 100 horse, together with means to sustain them and to give help to the residue of the army with him.

"For the first, touching Tyrone's drawing so far into the heart of Munster, though we cannot think but it is upon some deep pretence and drift, yet it will be hard for us to sound the true bottom of it, albeit we may in reason conjecture that such a course, being sudden and unexpected, carrieth in it a purpose to some great exploit. And, for our parts, we cannot gather other ground of it, than that he hath some secret hope of the coming of Spaniards, whose descent he will be at hand to favour with all his and Desmond's forces; and, in the meanwhile, to be practising with some of the maritime towns, to prepare them to receive them. This is but our conjecture. We have no means to induce a further certainty; neither hath the Lord Lieutenant given us any light by his letters, as it may please your Lordships to see by the copies."

As to Ormonde's request for the 500 foot and 100 horse, he has power to dispose of all Her Majesty's forces in Ireland. Not knowing what important occasions he has to employ those men at this time, they may not contradict his direction. But it is apparent that the danger of the Pale doth thereby greatly increase. For, three or four days before Ormonde's letters were brought to them, the Serjeant-Major remaining upon the borders wrote that he had taken an exact view of the horse and foot under his charge, and found not above 800 foot strong and 160 horse to be drawn out to fight, were it for the safety of the kingdom, the frontier towns being but meanly guarded. When 600 men shall be taken away out of this small handful, what will be the distress of the Pale on all sides, with Cormack, Tyrone's brother, the O'Reillys,

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McMahons, and other Ulster forces, lying strongly on the north borders, and the Moores and Connors, Byrnes and Toolles, and many other septs of traitors, on the south borders, and all ready to break into the Pale, when they shall find their advantage. Besides, O'Donnell and O'Rourke have made great gatherings of men, and are ready to attempt some present mischief, either by breaking into Westmeath, and so overrunning that part of the Pale, which they may easily do, or else by passing through Connaught to invade Clanrickarde and Thomond, and be ready there to second Tyrone's return, whether he take through the heart of the Pale, which is very doubtful, or make his way through those parts of Leinster, which he took in his passage up. The help looked for from the forces of the Pale against these dangers is so little, as not to be worth writing. Few or none have appeared, after the use of many commissions and directions; "which we think groweth not so much by their poverty, as by the impressions of the late libel, and the still prevailing fortune of Tyrone. And for the county of Louth, they have plainly written unto us that they cannot minister to the defence of the borders, for that every one of them is driven to attend the particular defence of his castle; and out of Meath, Westmeath, and Kildare, we look for no other. But that which, with the rest, increaseth greatly the danger of these parts, and consequently the total hazard of the kingdom, is, that the two Archtraitors having met and joined their forces together, do make their way whither they will into the heart of Munster, where it cannot be but they have some compact of great mischief against the whole realm, the estate whereof was never so despairful as now. And therefore we most humbly beseech your Lordships, in the uttermost discharge of our duties, to move Her Majesty for the sending away with all possible speed of the Lord Deputy, with greater forces and all other means to stand against these perilous extremities; and likewise to speed away with all haste the forces that are appointed for Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon; whose coming, if they were now there or on the way, might do much to draw back Tyrone into Ulster, whose diversion otherwise we fear may be too long lingered. And the longer he is suffered to range, either in Munster or Leinster, where, as a sponge, he sucketh to him all the Irish, and shaketh the loyalty of many good subjects that have stood firm hitherto, the more doth he weaken the general state of the realm, and hath time to seduce the particular parts to embrace an alteration. For our parts, we are at the end of our strength. We have no other hope than in God and Her Majesty, for the preservation of this falling kingdom, which, to our great grief we speak it, was never in so great a hazard of overrunning as it is now.

"For the means the Lord Lieutenant writeth for these companies, we have with great difficulty borrowed some money to advance them 14 days' lendings, part in money and part in victuals; and for the victuals, we are driven to take them out of a proportion the undertakers have here above their contract, as they say, which, God willing, shall be ready to be sent to the Naas within two or three days to answer the companies his Lordship



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hath now sent for; who, we pray God, may find safe passage to his Lordship, the rebels, on both sides of that tract that they must march [through], lying so strong, as if they go not upon good keeping, they may receive a disaster, specially not having so good choice of Captains to send with them as were meet, by reason that some are absent still in England, some withdrawn from hence by a late letter from the Lord Deputy, to repair to Chester, where they are to receive further direction, and some remaining with the Lord Lieutenant, whom he took with him at his going up to Kilkenny."

The new supplies lately brought from Chester by Captain Oliver St. John. Hear they are near 700 men. Mean to use them to reinforce the companies remaining upon the borders. Hear nothing of the residue to come from Bristol. Pray for a good proportion of treasure with all speed, "for here we have gone already so far with borrowing of money, as there is no more to be had; and, till money come, we shall not stay the complaints of the Captains and others, crying out for want of money, whose complaints we know are just, and yet we have no means here to relieve them." Have no means of sending their Lordships a list of the forces remaining in the Pale, after the withdrawing of those Ormonde has now written for, nor do they know certainly what numbers he took with him at his going. As soon as they can get a list, it shall be sent.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 18. *Signed. Endorsed, Received at Richmond the 23rd. pp. 3½. Enclose,*

120. 1. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council.* "Being come as far as Cashel, I received most certain advertisement that the Archtraitor Tyrone came in his own person, with Maguire and a multitude of the northern forces, and very many of his confederates of Leinster, into this the county of Tipperary, where did meet him James FitzThomas Desmond, whom they call Earl, with great numbers of the Munster traitors. So as your Lordships may see how true your advertisements, sent to me to the Naas, was (sic) of Tyrone's return to the north, concurring, as you wrote, with all other your advertisements. Having spent some time hereabouts with those few forces I have with me, and with the best help I could get of mine own servants and the country rising out (being now very sorry I brought no more forces of horse and foot up with me), I disappointed Tyrone of his place of rendezvous, which was at the Holy Cross (encamping there myself), and also of his purpose to burn and spoil the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary at this time. These traitors being gone up now westwards through bogs and woods for seventeen miles, long after they had left the strength of O'Dwyre's country, called Killnemanaghe, encamped yesternight at Pollaghbege and Shangnanaghe, in the foot of Arlow, the greatest place of strength in these parts. But, in Tyrone's return, he braggeth to perform great actions. Before my last going to Dublin, at which time I heard a motion of this meeting, I gave special instruction by word to Sir Henry Power, and sithence by my several letters according as I was 'assertened' of their said

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meeting, I wrote to him that, hearing of James Fitz Thomas his drawing to these parts, he should in his absence take the opportunity of the time, with provident care to his own safety, not sparing to use all extremity towards him and his adherents. Wherein as yet I have heard nothing from himself, nor from any other, more than by report that the garrisons of Youghal, Kilmallock and Mallow have burned somewhat. And now being certainly advertised that Tyrone his further purpose is, in his return from Munster, with his own great forces and all the Munster traitors (for which there is a certain day of meeting), to take his way through the Decies and 'Poeren' country, and other parts of the county of Waterford, and so by the Carrick and through the Carrick and the county of Kilkenny, to establish his son-in-law, Richard Butler, and to join with him such as he may win to his party, and besides to use all violence by fire and sword, I mean (with God's favour) to give the best impediment I may to divert that, or other his courses. And, for my better strengthening against so powerful a force as he is, I have written to Sir Arthur Chichester to send unto me presently 500 foot, and Captain Richard Greme with the remain of his own horsemen and so many more as will make up 100 horse strong. Wherein I most earnestly pray your Lordships with all speed possible to give all good means, as well for them as for the rest of the forces here with me, lest through the want thereof the opportunity of this time, in the cause of so weighty a service, might be hindered or foreslowed; the extremity whereof, as your Lordships may see, lieth now in these parts. Towards the proportion of moneys to be sent with this so good a convoy, I thought good to put your Lordship the Lord Justice Carey in mind of my former letters, whereby I signified that 600*l.*, or 800*l.*, or a thousand pounds, might be had of certain merchants in Kilkenny, upon your warrant to be paid in London, praying your Lordship to send the same presently to your man Archdeacon, who shall endorse thereon the merchants' names, and the quantity he shall receive, and be accountable for the same, as for other sums he receiveth of Her Majesty's treasure; wherein, for so much, all danger of the way shall be avoided, and Her Majesty's charge of transportation saved. Withal, as in my former letters to your Lordships, I pray that the last of powder, with the spades, shovels, pickaxes, and crowes of iron, may be presently sent to Waterford by sea. And now that very many of the traitors in those parts (as I am informed), whose names are enclosed (wanting), do accompany Tyrone in this his journey, I hold it most serviceable and expedient on that side, that Sir Arthur Chichester, having the command in my absence (and the Marshal accompanying me), of the rest of the forces left in the Pale and the borders, together with the particular commanders in each country, should in every part seek to annoy those traitors in the Irish countries; and most especially, that the greatest bulk of those forces, together with a general rising forth of the whole country from 16 to 60, do bend their forces towards Westmeath, to meet with the return of these northern traitors, if the devil, their great master, do carry them back. According to which I left instructions with the Serjeant-Major, whom also with other Her Majesty's forces in those parts I think



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*fit to be relieved with means, lest that by want thereof they may excuse any their neglect in Her Highness[']s said service.*"—Camyshe, 1599, [-1600], February 12. Signed. Copy. Endorsed, Received the 17 of February at noon. pp. 3.

120. II. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council.* "After the dispatching of my last letters unto your Lordships, I received advertisements from the sovereign of Kilkenny, that Edward Butler, son to the Lord of Mountgarrett, and other his confederates, have burned the Irish town of Kilkenny, as by this enclosed letter (wanting) may appear unto your Lordships, besides other burnings done in the county of Kilkenny towards the Carrick by some of the Datons and others. Whereby your Lordships may perceive their malice and traitorous purposes towards Her Majesty's good subjects in these parts. I earnestly pray your Lordships therefore with all expedition to hasten hither unto me the 500 foot and 100 horse I formerly wrote for, with means for them and the companies now with me."—Federth, 1599[-1600], February 13. [Postscript.] Since the 'perclosing' of the above, has received a letter from Durrinlare, which he sends herewith (wanting), whereby may be seen the danger in which that castle stands. In his opinion it were better to raze it, as the castle stands in an unfit place. Has already written to their Lordships touching the same, but has received no answer. Desires to know their resolution by the bearer. Signed. Copy. Endorsed, Received the 17 of February at noon. p. 1.

Feb. 18.  
Dublin.

121. *Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil.* "Two days after the sealing of my other letter now sent in this packet, which could not pass away before for contrary winds, I understand that Tyrone marched near the Holy Cross, but was not at it, being prevented by the Earl of Ormonde. But I am advertised that he, with the supposed Earl of Desmond, are passed further into Munster, to the woods of Arlow, which is one of the greatest fastness[es] in all that province, and that the Lord Lieutenant is in pursuit after them. In which course I cannot conjecture what should be Tyrone's purpose, now that he hath pierced so far into the heart of Munster unfought withal, specially having marched through so great a part of Tipperary and Ormonde, being the Lord Lieutenant's countries. I doubt not but his Lordship will do his best to give him a blow, but in my opinion there was a greater hope of that, when the traitor was within his Lordship's own country, than now that he is entered so far into the strongest fastness of Munster. And, in so long and hard a journey, it cannot be but the army which containeth the strength of the realm will be much weakened and diminished, which I fear is one of the chief drifts of the traitor. If Tyrone hold his course, either to Cork of (*sic*) the one hand, or to Waterford on the other hand, being two principal maritime cities of the province, then he hath an expectation to meet some Spanish forces thereabouts, and, till their coming, will hold some practice with those cities to prepare them. Or, if he do not bend to the one of these two towns, yet he may from Arlow shoot up towards Limerick, and in some parts thereabouts pass his forces over the Shannon into Thomond, and

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so set upon Thomond and Clanrickarde, where it is to be doubted O'Donnell and O'Rourke will meet him, and so carry the province of Connaught in his return, as he did Leinster in his coming. And now, whilst those Archtraitors are taking their pleasure upon Munster and Leinster, Cormack, Tyrone's brother, with the O'Reillys and McMahons, lie so strong upon the northern borders of the English Pale, and the Mores, Connors, and Byrnes on the south borders, as I see not (if they break in) how they can be resisted by those weak companies that are left for defence of the Pale. So as your Honour may see how needful it is to haste away the Lord Deputy, with further forces to stand against these despairful extremities. And still I wish it were seriously considered there (as I have often given notice before), how long the Lord Lieutenant hath wrestled with this rebellion, and tried his uttermost strength against it, and what hath ensued thereupon, after so many years spent, and so great a waste of Her Majesty's people and treasure. There is no doubt but his Lordship doth his best, but you see these sores of Ireland have festered above all the remedies his Lordship hath applied, and now is the action passed to that height of greatness and damage, as more hands and greater helps must be used. I dare wade no deeper in this ford. I beseech your Honour secrete me in this, otherwise than to Her Majesty, and remember that in most perilous diseases, it is policy to change the physician, at least not to repose the cure wholly in one alone."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 18. *Signed. Seal.* [The signature has been crossed out, probably by Sir Robert Cecil himself, in order to "secrete" the writer.] pp. 14.

Feb. 18.

Barry  
Court.

122. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. In behalf of the bearer, Andrew Barrett. His loyalty and good carriage. "He is rightful inheritor, in the right of his wife, of certain lands in the county of Cork, called Barrett's country." He has been spoiled of all his goods, and had his lands wasted, by the traitors; yet he maintains a sufficient ward to defend his castle of Ballencolly, to the annoyance of the rebels. There is an adversary to his title, called William Barrett, a notorious traitor, who has committed many spoils and murders about Cork, and the country adjoining. If Andrew had any good furtherance, he could do good service upon William and other traitors. The bearer is repairing to England to move some suits for himself, and has undertaken to solicit the causes contained in the writer's former letters. Recommends the bearer.—Barry Court, 1599 [-1600], February 18. *Signed. p. 1.*

Feb. 19.

Barry  
Court.

123. David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. "Since my last letter unto your Honour, I have reclaimed from the traitors a wilful brother of mine, John Barry, by bestowing upon him (with the consent of the Council of this province) a great portion of my inheritance, because he made the want of such livelihood a pretence and colour of his revolt; and besides him I have withdrawn many other of some account from them, by whose means I hope shortly (as the traitors are weakened) I shall be the better enabled to do Her Majesty service.



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The traitor James FitzThomas, and others his accomplices, what for revenge for so withdrawing his confederates from him, as for the accomplishing of his own malicious and traitorous purposes, hath committed many great spoils upon me and mine. The traitors Tyrone, Maguire, and others, are now drawn up to this province (by the procurement of the said James, and others his confederates of the said province), accompanied with five thousand foot and five hundred horse of Ulster forces, besides this province[s] rebels. Their first attempt in this county was against me, most of their forces being robbing and spoiling of me and my tenants this seven days, and now have at this present all joined together, intending the utter spoil of as many as they can. Their further intent and purpose your Honour may understand by these two letters enclosed, the one from Tyrone by the name of O'Neill and from James FitzThomas by the name of James Desmond, and the other from their clergy; to which I made answer as I thought best might stand with my duty, whereof I have sent a copy by this bearer, that your Honour, if you please, might know the same."

Begs that the enclosures may be returned to him. Upon his receipt of the said letters, and before he answered them, the said traitors, without regard of the time they had limited, took from his tenants 4,000 kine and 3,000 garrans and mares, besides spoil of corn and houses, and took some gentlemen of his prisoners. These they still detain. The traitors and their army remain as yet in this country, and he cannot certify what end they will make. Not being able to stand in the field against them, he is fain to keep his castles. Need not tell his losses, when all lies in the traitors' hands. Seeing he is driven to these straits, prays for help of maintenance, and charge of foot and horse, that his credit may be supported, and that he may be enabled to do good service, and to revenge the injuries he has received. Has entrusted the bearer, Andrew Barrett, with certain matters on his behalf.—Barry Court, 1599[-1600], February 19. *Signed. Endorsed,* Received at Richmond the 19th of March. *pp. 1½. Encloses,*

123. 1. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone [O'Neill], and James [Fitz Thomas, Earl of] Desmond, to David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. "We have, for the maintenance of the Catholic religion to be planted in this realm, as also for expelling our enemies from the continual treachery and oppressions used towards this our poor country, undertaken a journey to visit those places which as yet have not joined in that godly enterprise. And for that your Lordship, by sinister persuasions, is altogether seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against us and the Church, we thought fit to write unto your Lordship, and to entreat you withal, to add your helping hand in the accomplishing of our said enterprise, and to meet us at Glanawora on Thursday next, or so soon as you may, with a good pledge for performance; otherwise we will follow that course which shall be little to your liking and your country[s] ease. Urge not, we pray, the ruin of your followers, which we would be loath to work. And so referring the due consideration to your Lordship*

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to be further thought of. *Tipperary, the 13th [3-13] of February, 1599*"[-1600.] *Signed. p. 1.*

123. II. *Der[mot Creagh], Bishop of Cork, and Eugenius Heganius, Vicar Apostolic; to David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. "We have received an excommunication from the Pope against all those that do not join to this Catholic action. The same was just published in Ulster and in the north, and, upon receipt thereof by us, we have accordingly published the same. This much we thought good to certify unto you beforehand, and do wish you therefore to consider of the same, like a good Christian Catholic and an obedient child of the Church, as hitherto you were; otherwise it will redound both to your soul's destruction and your country[s] ruin, of which we would be sorry, although we cannot remedy it. So to God we commit you, praying the Almighty to direct you according to his will. 12th [2-12] of February, 1599[-1600]. From the Catholic camp, in haste. Consider not the secretary his imperfection."* *Signed. p. 1.*

123. III. "A true copy of my answer to Tyrone[s] and James Fitz Thomas[s] letter of the 13 of February, 1599."

"Your letters I received, and if I had answered the same as rightfully they might be answered, you should as little like thereof as I should mislike or fear anything by you threatened against me. Which manner of answer leaving to the construction and consideration of all those that are fully possessed with the knowledge of the law of duty to God and man, you may understand hereby briefly my mind to your objections in this manner, how I am undoubtedly persuaded in my conscience that, by the law of God and his true religion, I am bound to hold with Her Majesty.

"Her Highness hath never restrained me for matters of religion; and, as I felt Her Majesty's indifference and clemency therein, I have not spared to relieve poor Catholics with dutiful succour. Which, well considered, may induce any well-disposed mind that, if duty had not (as it doth), yet kindness and courtesy should, bind me to remember and requite to my power the benefits by me received at Her Majesty's hands.

"You shall further understand that I hold my lordships and lands immediately, under God, of Her Majesty and her most noble progenitors by corporal service, and of none other, by very ancient tenure. Which service and tenure none may dispense withal, but the true possession of the crown of England, being now our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth. And though ye, by some overweighing imaginations, have declined from your dutiful allegiance unto Her Highness, yet I have settled myself never to forsake her, let fortune never so much rage against me, she being my anointed Prince. And would to God ye had not so far run to such desperate and erroneous ways, offending God and Her Majesty, who hath so well deserved of you. And I would pray you to enter into consideration thereof, and with penitent hearts to reclaim yourselves, hoping that her Highness of her accustomed clemency would be gracious to you. Wherein I leave you to your own compunction and consideration.



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*"And this much I must challenge you for breach of your word, in your letter by implication inserted, that your forces have spoiled part of my country, and preyed them to the number of four thousand kine and three thousand mares and garrans, and taken some of my followers prisoners within the time by you assigned unto me to come unto you. By your said word (if you regard it) I require restitution of my spoil and prisoners; and after, unless you be better advised for your loyalty, use your discretions against me and mine, and spare not, if you please; for I doubt not, with the help of God and my Prince, to be quit with some of you hereafter, though now not able to use resistance. And so, wishing you to become true and faithful subjects to God and your Prince, I end. At Barry Court, this 16th of February, 1599"[-1600.] Copy certified by Lord Barry. p. 1.*

Feb. 19. 124. Ralph Birkinshawe to Sir Robert Cecil. By view of the letter from the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, perceives that one part thereof touches the last controversy between Sir Ralph Lane and himself, and another part their dislike at his sudden departure, because, as alleged, it was unknown to them.

As to the first, needs not be tedious, as he finds that Sir Ralph's objections and his own answers have come to Sir Robert's hands. The objections are made from envy and malice. "But as he dealt with Mr. Kyffin, and Hugh Tudor, his man, whom he never left pursuing with his discontentments and hatred, until death parted them, so he keeps the like bias with me, and would willingly send me after them; and God knows neither those men [n]or myself have taken anything that pertains in right from him, but only held him and his ministers from the prodigality and liberal allowance of that which was Her Majesty's." Sir Ralph's dispute as to the possession of the muster-books.

As to the second, Sir Ralph delivered in his objections on January 24. On January 25, Birkinshawe replied, and heard nothing more till the 29th of the same month, on which day the ship was to depart. Then he was told of Sir Ralph's reply, but thought it was not material, and after seeing the Lords Justices (both of whom signed his commission), he departed. Abuse by James Carroll, deputy of Sir Ralph. His unfitness for office. To what end Carroll and others work this controversy between Birkinshawe and Sir Ralph, "is fitter to be in private delivered to your Honour, than in writing to be laid down." Prays for protection.—1599[-1600], February 19. Signed. pp. 3. Encloses,

124. 1. Note [by Ralph Birkinshawe.] "By the letter it may appear to your Honour, how partial[ly] the same is written against me. The cause is by reason there be some of them that would rather have me away than there, for that they see I will not allow so well of their forwardness to lash out Her Majesty's treasure to make their friends with, as Sir Ralph Lane will do. To which end I have herewith enclosed a list of the preachers, whereby your Honour may see what husbandry is used for Her Majesty. Against which and others because I make exceptions, this letter was written, as also by

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*the procurement of Sir Ralph, to help the matter for him here [at Court], if I had complained.*"—[1600, February 19.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*

124. II. "A list of the preachers of the army in Ireland."—*Endorsed, 1599, [-1600], February 19.* Duplicate, with slight alterations, of No. 126, December, 1599. *p. 1.*

Feb. 19. 125. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir Warham Sentleger. "Upon the coming hither of this bearer, Henry Geye, I thought good to let you understand that, inasmuch as upon sundry meetings, as well with yourself as with several others, touching conclusion of peace, I could not directly answer in the behalf of the Earl of Desmond and others of Munster, I have taken the pains to visit them, and to know their absolute resolution, the which I will reserve to be used according as occasion shall be offered. So, having no more to trouble you withal, commending me to yourself, I commit you to God this last [19-29] of February, 1600, your loving friend once, O'Neill." [*Postscript.*]. "I pray you commend me to your bedfellow." *Copy. p. 1.*

Feb. 20. 126. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Justice Carey, Treasurer at  
Richmond. Wars in Ireland. Approves of his payment last autumn of the extra 2,000 men for two months. Her acceptance of his diligent service as Treasurer.—Richmond, 1599[-1600], February 20. *Draft, corrected by Sir Robert Cecil. pp. 1½.*

Feb. 20. 127. The Lords Justices Loftus and Carey and the Council to  
Dublin. the Privy Council. In favour of Brant Moore, one of the brethren of Sir Edward Moore. His long and faithful service these 24 years past. He bare office in Lord Grey's government, and has attended all journeys since at his own charge, especially "that unfortunate disaster at the Blackwater." His courage and skill on that occasion. His losses. His brother Sir Thomas Moore slain by the rebels. He cannot afford to repair to their Lordships. Recommend him for relief.—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 20. *Signed. p. 1.*

Feb. 21. 128. Lord Mountjoy to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning his taking over with him his cousin, Sir Edward Blount, only to oversee his "domestical affairs," which he found to grow "to a high proportion." Sir Edward met him by the way at Lichfield, merely to bring him to Chester; but on his entreaty is gone with him. He is no recusant, and a Justice of the Peace in his country, "though, I think, somewhat affected to the other religion." Will answer with his life and all he has for him. If Udall, or any such like, infer any thing, which may come to Her Majesty's ears, touching Sir Edward's going over with Mountjoy, prays that Sir Robert will make an honourable answer. Loves Sir Edward better than any kinsman of his name.—February 21. *Holograph. Endorsed, 1599[-1600.] Received at Richmond the 28th February. p. 1.*

Feb. 23. 129. Sir George Carew, President of Munster, to Sir Robert  
Beaumaris. Cecil. "At Chester I received from you a letter by the running



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post, and two others with a copy of a letter by Captain Fisher, all the which, according to your direction, I returned unto your Honour by the running post in a packet, dated the 18 of this present. This I do repeat unto you, that if they do not come unto your hands, that (*sic*) the default may [be] enquired [of].

"The wind now serveth for us to depart, which my Lord Deputy is willing to take, though with much inconvenience, as well unto his Lordship as unto his followers; for there is not in this harbour more than one small bark of twenty tons, and heavily laden with victuals. So as his Lordship and we that go with him cannot carry with us more than twenty persons. The rest of our company we are enforced to leave in this town, until shipping come from Chester; which is hourly expected, but not yet arrived."—Beaumaris, 1599[-1600], February 23.

[*Postscript.*] "When we were ready to go aboard, the wind changed, so as we were enforced to return to our lodgings. This morning, being Sunday, the 24 of this month, the Queen's pinnace, the *Popinjay*, and one other small bark, are come from Chester to this haven; and, by God's grace, this afternoon my Lord doth purpose to embark. The weather is exceeding fair, and the little wind that blows doth favour us." *Holograph. p. 1.*

Feb. 25. 130. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to David, Viscount Buttevant, Lord Barry. "Your impiety to God, cruelty to your soul and body, tyranny and ingratitude both to your followers and country, are inexcusable and intolerable. You separated yourself from the unity of Christ, his mystical body, the Catholic Church. You know the sword of extirpation hangeth over your head as well as ours, if things fall out otherwise than well. You are the cause why all the nobility of the south, from the east part to the west, you being linked unto each one of them either in affinity or consanguinity, are not linked together to shake off the cruel yoke of heresy and tyranny, with which our souls and bodies are oppressed, all those aforesaid depending of your resolution, and relying unto your judgment in this common cause of our religion and country. You might, forsooth, with their help and the rest that are combined in this holy action, not only defend yourself from the incursion and invasion of the English, but also, by God's assistance (who, miraculously, and above all expect[ati]on, gave good success to the cause principally undertaken for his glory, exaltation of religion, next for the restoration of the ruins and preservation of the country), expel them, and deliver them, and us from most miserable and cruel exaction and subjection, enjoy your religion, safety of wife and children, life, lands, and goods, which all are in hazard through your folly and want of due consideration. Enter, I beseech you, into the close of your conscience, and, like a wise man, weigh seriously the end of your actions, and take advice of those that can instruct you and inform you better than your own private judgment can lead you unto. Consider and read with attention and settled mind this discourse I send you, that it may please God [to] set open your eyes, and grant you a better mind

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From the Camp, this instant Tuesday, the 6th of March, according to the new computation." [*Here is inserted in a different hand:—"I pray you to send me the papers I send you, as soon as your Honour shall read the same."*] Signed, "O'Neill." Endorsed, "O'Nei[ll and Fitz]Thomas . . . A letter . . . Archers sent me, and sent from O'Neill's camp, the 27 of February, according to our computation, and yet the same beareth date, the sixth day of March, according to their computation." [*The 6th of March, 1600, was not a Tuesday, neither was the previous 25th of February. It is more probable that the month and date are correct, than that the day of the week is. Thus the date would appear to be 1599-1600, February 25-March 6.*] p. 1.

*Encloses,*

130. i. Paper endorsed, "A copy of papers which O'Neill and Father Archer sent to be perused unto me, the 27th of February, 1599, from O'Neill's camp at Woodstock, near Barry Court, together with a letter O'Neill signed, which letter beareth date the sixth of March, according to their new computation." [A long rambling statement of the miseries of Ireland, said to have been caused by English impiety and cruelty. Mere verbiage.] pp. 8.

Feb. 26.  
Cork.

131. The Commissioners of Munster to the Lords Justices Loftus and Carey. Dispatched some letters to them by sea last month, but understood they had not arrived by the 9th instant. Hope they have ere this, as the vessel was driven into Waterford. Since the writing of those letters, money and victuals have arrived, or the garrisons would have been in exceeding distress. Five thousand pounds came, but with commandment to reserve 2,000*l.* until the arrival of the President. This could not be done, as 4,000*l.* were owing, and the garrisons of Kilmallock and Mallow could only be victualled with money. "All our soldiers are naked, not having received one rag of clothes for this winter, and some not for summer." Tyrone has now continued in Munster twelve or thirteen days. He lay some three or four days in the country of Lord Roche, who, it seems, agreed with him, for Tyrone did him little or no hurt, except to two or three gentlemen, enemies to Lord Roche. Are credibly informed that Lord Roche sent presents of wine and *aquavite* to the traitors, and had James FitzThomas with him in the house. Cormack McDermott, Lord of Muskerry, came into Cork, and stayed there, but in the meantime his brother and all the country repaired to the traitors, and have given pledges. "That which is most suspicious, his brother's pledge, which was delivered to Cormack's keeping, and was in his house of the Blarney, was delivered out, and given to the traitors; for which we think good to make stay of Cormack. His rival, young Charles, is likewise here with us, who expecteth to be employed in that country. He hath likewise stayed in this town, and his wife, and in this very time hath delivered us a notable traitor with protestation of great loyalty, and desireth to do the Queen service. And if he will, he may be a better instrument than the other, and so consequently a worse (*sic*). After the traitors had agreed with Muskerry, they suddenly,



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unlooked for, returned upon my Lord Barry, and Mr. John Fitz Edmonds, and have utterly spoiled them, in preying and burning of their countries. They have entered the Islands all, and not left a house unburnt, saving such as was under defence of a castle, to which before we sent one hundred soldiers. My Lord was of opinion he could have defended his great Island by that means, but they found another entrance. Upon the first coming of the traitors, he came hither, and left both his sons in this town. "In a word, there is not any man of account, within this province of Munster, at least for the counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, but is either joined with them, or patcheth with them, except these two, who deserve exceedingly to be cherished.

"What course the Traitor will hold, we cannot learn. Some say he will return home, some say to Kerry, and some to the west to Driscoll's country, which is not likely. We send your Lordships the copies of the letters that the Traitor sent to the several Lords of the province, and likewise the copy of a letter he sent to me, Sir Warham Sentleger; for I sent a man thither to bring a true report of his forces, and what men were with him, by whom he returned me that letter." [*For the original, see No. 125 above; February 19.*]

Beg for direction to be given to the paymaster for the extraordinaries they have been forced to disburse; otherwise "we must make bold to help ourselves."—Cork, 1599[1600], February 26. *Signed. Copy. pp. 1½.*

*On the third page of the sheet is the following letter:—*

"Commendations from O'Neill unto John FitzEdmonds and his sons. O'Neill desireth you to come unto himself, and to fight for your conscience and the right. And if you do not so, be well assured by the will of God, that O'Neill and all that taketh his part will come and sojourn with you for a time. From the abbey of Ballymegalle, 23 February, 1600." *Signed by O'Neill and Desmond. Copy. p. ½.*

Feb. 27. 132. "The names of the towns and villages burned and spoiled by the Archtraitors Tyrone and James FitzThomas Desmond, with their wicked associates, in Barry More's country, parcel of the inheritance of David, Lord Viscount Buttevant, from the 13 of February, 1599[1600], being the first day they entered into the said country, till the 27 of the said month." *The list extends to 220 names. One Sheet.*

Feb. 28. 133. Sir Geoffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "The 26th of this month the Lord Deputy arrived at the head of Howth, within seven miles of Dublin. The next day he came to Dublin, and this day, being the 28th, his Lordship took the sword; of whose further proceedings there is nothing to write more at this time. Sir George Carew and Sir Henry Davers were the two men of note that are come with his Lordship, besides Sir Edward Blount, brother to Sir Christopher Blount, who, as is said, will return shortly back again. It is a good token of his Lordship's zeal and care of the public service, when he deferreth not a day to enter

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into his charge. And there is hope the service will succeed the better, that he sheweth a mind to follow it with sincerity and resolution.

"Touching Tyrone, he continueth still in Munster, passing from one country to another without impeachment, wherein I must make it a wonder, for that I see no reason to approve it, and the more I think of it, the more it draweth me into admiration and suspicion, when I see nothing is done against him. This is only to answer the present landing of the Lord Deputy, letting your Honour know withal, that I hear for certain Sir Richard Wingfield and Sir Francis Stafford are at the water side attending the wind."—Dublin, 1599[-1600], February 28.

[*Postscript.*] "The ship, which I wrote lately to your Honour to be come into Lough Foyle, is now discovered to be no Spaniard, nor to have any intelligence that way, but a Scottish merchant, that put in there to vent his wines, as I wrote unto you my conjecture before." *Signed. Endorsed*, received at Richmond the 8th [of March.] p. 1.

[Feb.]

134. "A brief of concordatums granted and paid between the first of January, 1599[-1600], and the last of February next following." Total, 388*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

Among the items are:—"To Mr. Serjeant Hoyer, for the apprehending of a notable Jesuit, named FitzSymons, 20*l.*"; "To Austin Hopkins, 29 *ejusdem mensis* [January], for the grass of meadows eaten by the beeves provided for the army, 4*l.*"; "To Giles Brookes, 6 February, for the bringing of a packet from England to Dublin, 66*s.* 8*d.*"; and to Sir Geoffrey Fenton, "for special service, 100*l.*" *Unsigned.* p. 1.

*On the dorse, the total of the above extraordinary charges is added to the totals for like charges during the Earl of Essex's government (9,488*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*) and from his departure to the end of 1599 (2,014*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*), making a grand total of 11,891*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* for the year 1 March, 1599, to 29 February, 1600.*

Feb. 29.

135. Division of 12,000 foot and 1,200 horse for the garrison of Ireland. Ulster, 5,100 foot, 450 horse; Connaught, 1,350 foot, 100 horse; Leinster, 1,868 foot, 200 horse; Munster, 3,000 foot, 250 horse. The remainder of the foot and horse to attend the Lord Deputy. *A note at the end states*:—"The matter of greatest difficulty and charge for the present will be in planting the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, a work very considerable; otherwise all the charge will be lost, and the success as heretofore."—[1600, February.] *Endorsed*, "For Mr. Secretary." *Unsigned.* pp. 2.

[Feb.]

136. Edward FitzHarries to Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland. "At my late being in the province of Munster, I was licensed to repair to the supposed Earl of Desmond, with whom I continued some two days, and, in regard of my duty, I think fit to acquaint your worship with their resolution (as I could conceive), and also with the private conference which I had with Father Archer, with whom I questioned upon



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what points they stood. Whose answer was, that their Catholic belief was their chief ground, without which they would not in any way yield themselves to subjection. Whereupon I demanded, if so much were granted, whether then they would; and he said they would not, unless every one dispos[s]ed of their living this many years were restored, notwithstanding any attainder. To the which I replied, alleging their religion not to be the only cause, sith they stood not to it only, and their actions of burning, spoiling, and other misdemeanours, contrary to God's laws, was not tolerable in men of their profession; which he confessed. Yet he said it was less hurt than the loss of so many souls, which through heresy have of long time gone to hell, according to the opinion of the learned; and therefore of two evils, the least was to be chosen; and if the Queen would not grant them so much, they would be pleased to send her a yearly rent, and themselves to enjoy and govern the whole realm. Then I demanded who should govern. Whereunto he said that every chief man of a province, as an earl or some such, should command his own country; which I thought an unreasonable motion for him, being descended of English, to disaffirm the Queen's Majesty's government, whose predecessors hath (*sic*) ruled sithence the Conquest, and we so long while obedient as subjects. And if that course were held, and the mere right examined, it should then fall out that the Irish nation should enjoy the whole as before the Conquest, and the Earl of Desmond and others to have no place by his computation; and the Irish, who had neither learning nor any way inclined to civility, to rule as superiors, would breed an utter confusion; which he excused, for that they might have learned men as counsellors to direct, and that their wicked living proceeded partly through want, and, the cause removed, my objection was answered. Then I doubted, if the Earl of Tyrone were chief, that we, descended of the English, not able to defend our own, should in time be banished, as well for suspicion of our loyalty to the Queen of England, as for the desire of the possessions which we enjoyed. And he said it was a vain imagination, considering the ancient English were so many, which being banished (as I doubted) would weaken the whole realm; beside the continuance had removed all claims of the Irish, [it] being not possible to know who had those places upon the Conquest. Whereupon I said that the same reason served for the Prince of England to continue our Queen. And he said it might, if the late tyrannical government had not been used, together with their devilish doctrine. And ending this discourse, I besought I might be forborne to repair my castle, and his wish was that there were no castles in all the whole realm, for they wrought a great inconvenience throughout the kingdom, by reason that every private gentleman kept himself at defiance with his betters, where otherwise they would join altogether. And to that I answered, the inconvenience would be far greater by that means, for so the stronger would have all; and I thought that those noblemen and others got most part of all their possessions from the weaker sort, for want of such strong places. And he said the King of the realm might soon reform those abuses with little cost.

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"And thus, loath to trouble your worship further with any more of these discourses, I humbly take leave, save only that I perceived them fearful of the Earl of Desmond his son's liberty, which they doubt to be their overthrow, for that country people generally love him better, and are minded to forsake the Earl, if it were so that he were amongst them. Besides, the chiefest of all the boonies is married to his sister, the best of the Burkes' boonies there likewise very near of kin unto him, which maketh them the more doubtful of their own estate; and, to prevent that danger, they publish the Earl's son to be an earnest Protestant, to make him odious, and an author of books to that effect, and they swear the country people not to join with him, if his liberty were granted."

[*Postscript.*] "He thought fit that the Earl of Tyrone should be chief over all the kingdom."—1599[-1600, February]. *Signed. Copy. pp. 2.*

[Feb.]

137. "Remembrances for Sir Griff. Marckham concerning Ballyshannon."

The importance of annexing Sligo to the government of Ballyshannon. The best bay for shipping for the landing of victuals. So little done from Connaught for Sligo. "Miserable and sleepy disposition" of the governor, Sir Arthur Savage. His failures in service. He ran away at the Curlews, and lost the treasure. He took his forces by water, when he might safely have gone by land. The house of Clanrickarde at faction with him. Sir John Barkley left in the room of Sir Arthur, during the latter's absence in England. Sir Arthur looking to increase of riches, and is "out of blood with the enemy, and so reputed likely to keep himself." Offer of the writer to be sent to Connaught, as he has had some experience in that country, and will be more welcome to all there than Sir Arthur Savage.

"Let not this be thought ambitiously or factiously written; for the desires there which have solicited me to that place, the blood I have lost there, and the experience Sir Conyers Clifford gave me thereof, from whom I should have had it, do make me able to promise more than another hath opportunity for."—[1600, February.] *Unsigned. p. 1.*



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